

Learning and the Market Place

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Learning and the Market Place

Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book

By
Ian Maclean



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INTRODUCTION

The essays brought together in this volume represent my engagement with early modern book history since 1985. My initiation into this strand of historical research was at a conference held at the Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance at Tours in the June of that year. It followed the publication of volume one of *l'Histoire de l'édition française*, the first collaborative multi-volume national history of book production, which had appeared in 1983 under the aegis of Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and Jean-Pierre Vivet (Paris: Promodis, 1983). Several of its early reviewers noted one flaw in its approach, namely the decision of its editors not to venture beyond the frontiers of France. Perhaps provoked by this critique, Martin and others organized the Tours conference, which was the first such event in France (to my knowledge) explicitly to bring together 'Anglo-American' material bibliography and the 'French' socio-cultural approach to book history inspired by the Annales school: a conjunction which had been called for as early as 1970 by Wallace Kirsop in his *Bibliographie matérielle et critique textuelle* (Paris: Lettres Modernes). The conference was presided over by Henri-Jean Martin, the co-author with Lucien Febvre of the ground-breaking work on book history covering the period from the beginnings of printing up to 1780s entitled *L'Apparition du livre* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1958). It was a product of the Annales school of French historical writing, which set out to study the social nexus as a whole, in all its human dimensions—economic, social, political, cultural, religious, and so on. Such a study naturally gave less weight to 'events' than to the examination of socio-economic structures over a relatively long period of time. This made it particularly well suited to the study of book history. Traditional historians of printing had agonized over who actually was the first inventor of moveable type; for Annales historians, it was more important to examine the whole range of circumstances which allowed printing to emerge as a technology. Attention was paid by Febvre and Martin to the role of *mentalités* and the analysis of historical events by *structure* and *conjoncture*, in which greater emphasis was laid on material factors than the impact of individual human agents. This research had been done piecemeal before: historians of printing had studied advances in technology, page layout and the aesthetics of

book production; historians of ideas had examined the evolution of philosophical ideas; cultural historians had looked at the social and anthropological practices of book ownership and reading; political historians had charted the legal constraints which were imposed on books; and economic historians had investigated book markets, sales and production costs. The authors of *L'Apparition du livre* felt able to combine all these approaches, and did so to great effect.¹

At Tours, papers were given by both the old and the new guard, and by bibliographers as well as historians of literary, cultural and intellectual life. The geographical coverage, which was understandably French-dominated, none the less included peripheral book-producing areas such as Hungary and Croatia, whose socio-cultural contexts were fully explored, as were those of towns such as Cologne, Brescia and Caen. The approaches to the subject were very diverse, as was the scale of investigation, although cases studies dominated. There were a number of studies of publishing policy; the legal and confessional aspects of book production were meticulously examined; the topic of libraries and their origins was also explored (the French were later to produce a multi-volume collaborative work dedicated to this topic alone).² From the side of material bibliography, the evidence provided by wormholes in pages and by minute variations in compositorial practice was used to throw new light on intellectual controversies and religious polemics. Many of the participants went on to expand on the papers they gave at the conference, and to apply their expertise to radical new work on page layout, textual criticism, clandestine printing, the economics of the book trade, and the interference of ideologies in the world of the book. All in all, the conference, whose *Actes* appeared in 1988 with the title *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, constituted a wide sample of the questions that can be asked of the book as a material object in its cultural context.³ But for all its range, there were areas it did not cover, and which have since attracted much more attention: notably the history of readers and reading practices. Even here, however, some distinctions were made at the conference (for example, that between

¹ See Peter Burke, *The French historical revolution: the Annales school 1929–89*, Cambridge: Polity, 1990.

² *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, 4 vols., ed. André Vernet, Claude Jolly, Dominique Varry and Martine Poulain, Paris: Promodis, 1988–91

³ *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin, Pierre Aquilon and François Dupuigrenet-Desroussilles, Paris: Promodis, 1988.

purchasers of books and their readers) which have not always been applied to subsequent research.⁴

L'Apparition du livre was of course not the first history of books and printing in the early modern era. The invention of moveable type (about which there are still many controversies) is usually dated to the 1450s. At the turn of the sixteenth century, contemporaries were already recognizing that the printed book in the form which we now know it was bringing about a revolution.⁵ By 1525, the technology and legal controls were in place that would regulate the book in many parts of Europe and ensure its production until the process was industrialised three centuries later.⁶ In the 1640s there were celebrations of the bicentenary of that discovery, with accounts of the history of its manufacture and its publishers.⁷ The eighteenth century saw several histories of printing and books, notably that by Prosper Marchand in 1740.⁸ In 1827, Thomas Carlyle, modifying Francis Bacon's venerable formula, made his famous claim that the three great elements of modern civilisation were gunpowder, printing and the protestant religion.⁹ Yet in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, the task of describing books remained largely in the hands of bibliophiles and librarians. The physical object was studiously recorded and a methodology of examining books was developed by R.B. McKerrow, Fredson Bowers, and latterly Philip Gaskell,¹⁰ but the social and cultural evidence it provided for

⁴ I am thinking here of William St. Clair's excellent *The reading nation in the Romantic period*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, which relies *inter alia* on data of purchasing to map reading practices and constituencies.

⁵ An often-cited example of this realisation is Johannes Trithemius's *De laude scriptorum*, Mainz: Peter Friedberg, 1494.

⁶ Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before copyright: the French book-privilege system, 1498–1526*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

⁷ Bernardus Mallinckrodt, *De ortu ac progressu artis typographicae dissertatio historica*, Cologne: Ioannes Kinchius, 1640; see also Anthony Harper, 'A man of many parts: some thoughts on the career of Christina Brehme, student, soldier, courtier, librarian, burgher-master, poet', in *The German Book 1450–1750*, ed. John L. Flood and William A. Kelly, London: The British Library, 1995, pp. 203–12 (208), and Jacqueline Glomski, 'Incunabula Typographiae: seventeenth-century views on early printing', *The Library*, 7.2 (2001), 336–48.

⁸ *Histoire des origines et des premiers progrès de l'imprimerie*, The Hague: La Veuve Le Vier and Pierre Paupie, 1740.

⁹ 'The state of German Literature (1827)', in *Critical and miscellaneous essays*, Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Co., 1858, p. 16 (referring to Bacon, *Novum Organum* (1620), 1.129).

¹⁰ R.B. McKerrow, *An introduction to bibliography for literary students* (1927), Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1995; Fredson Bowers, *Bibliography and textual criticism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964; Philip Gaskell, *A new introduction to*

the historian through its material form was largely unexploited. For literary scholars as for historians of ideas, books were their content, whether as scholarly productions or as imaginative literature; the idea that their content might be inflected by their material form was hardly pursued at all.

Two disciplines—literary studies, and history—made considerable use of books; both were to see considerable upheavals in the middle of the twentieth century. In the first case, the dominant approach to literary works through the study of their authors was supplanted in some quarters by a study of the text without reference to the intentions of its producer and a concentration on the constraints placed upon expression by language and genre (I am thinking here of Wimsatt and Beardsley's article 'The intentional fallacy' of 1946).¹¹ In the second case, the characterization of history through the actions of great men and the sequence of great events (what the French call 'histoire-traités-et-batailles') was challenged both by Marxist history, which placed the dominant motive forces of history at the level of suprapersonal forces such as class and socio-economic conditions, and by other forms of historical explanation which concentrated on continuity rather than change, on quantification rather than description, and on previously unrecognized sectors of the past such as those represented by the illiterate poor, by women, by the colonised, and so on. The Annales school played a large role in the promotion of this approach.

When, through the encouragement of Wallace Kirsop, book-historical research was enriched by the fruits of the Anglo-American approach to the physical object of the book, which revealed how complex its coming-into-being might be, and how much it could reveal about the involvement of promoters, publishers, proof-readers, censors, and authors themselves in the production of a text, the full gamut of expertise which now constitutes the history of the book was in place. One of the scholars who most elegantly and persuasively demonstrated the advantages of this broad-based approach was Don McKenzie in his Panizzi lectures of 1986 published under the title *Bibliography and the sociology of texts* (London: British Library, 1986). In this work and others, the study of the book became the study of the mediation of cultural, social, and philosophical messages whose material form also

bibliography (1974), New Castle, Del., and Winchester: Oak Knoll Press and St Paul's Bibliographies, 1995.

¹¹ W.K. Wimsatt and Monroe C. Beardsley, 'The intentional fallacy', *Sewanee Review*, 54 (1946), 468–88.

helped to shape the mental universe (the 'imaginaire') of readers, and mould their vision of reality. Prosper Marchand had said in 1740 that the *raison d'être* of the book was to 'faire ressortir la vérité'; McKenzie and his successors have shown that it is not an easy goal to fulfil; in many, if not most, cases, the act and physical form of mediation impede the straightforward or innocent reproduction of truth.

In the meanwhile, other developments have occurred in literary and historical studies. I do not need to chart the progress of structuralist and deconstructive approaches to literary texts, which have been seen as the antipode to responsible scholarship in that they diminish the role of authors in the production of their works, and relativize any meaning which can be derived from them; nor that of constructivism in cultural studies, according to which the meaning of any text or historical event, in virtue of being always created as opposed to objectively present, is in large part sociological and context-bound, and may well be impregnated with the ideology of the investigator. I would not wish to claim that the history of the book is a panacea for both developments, but it does have a number of advantages which can make it exciting to practise, responsible in its use of evidence, and imaginative in its results. Because the material form of the book, or broadsheet, or illustration, constitutes a constraint on what can be said about it, the historian of the book is both engaged in the positivistic reconstruction of the coming-into-being of his object of study, and in the construction of its broad historical significance. He is able to start from particular cases, and issues, and relate them to broader themes and trends. In this he is constrained to act responsibly as a scholar, neither making the claim sometimes associated with deconstructionists that all meanings of a text are equally valid and arbitrary, nor that of the constructivist, who sees all knowledge ultimately as the creation of the investigator.

In his *Comment on écrit l'histoire* which first appeared in 1971, Paul Veyne called the progress of historiography (in the English sense) not a march towards greater and greater truth but rather an 'extension of the historical agenda' ('*l'allongement du questionnaire*').¹² The history of the book is a clear example of this 'allongement'. Rather than begin the task of the intellectual, cultural or literary historian with the content of books of the past, the history of the book causes the historian to linger over a range of topics which can transform his or her perception of their meaning. The principal questions which arise are the follow-

¹² Paul Veyne, *Comment on écrit l'histoire*, Paris: Seuil, 1978, pp. 141–56.

ing: How did the book come into being? (i.e. who produced the copy [or promoted it, in the case of dead authors]? why did they write it or produce it in the language they did? who financed its publication, and paid for the paper and labour?) Whose consent was required for the book to appear? Was it obtained, and, if so, how? (what political and ecclesiastical censorship and guild control were involved?) How does the book come to be known about? (what is the role of book fairs and *colporteurs*? how do booksellers obtain and publicize their stock?) How was the book distributed? Was this by clandestine or public means? Who were the major purchasers of books? (it is worthy of note that the practice of exchange of goods between publishers, known in Germany as *Tauschhandel*, results in the surprising fact that the retail trade was much less significant than might be thought). How is the book consumed? (by which classes of reader? and in what ways did they read the book?) How were the images it contains integrated with the text, and how were page layout and illustrations perceived by its various classes of readers? What aids to finding books were produced, and what in the books themselves helped readers to find what they were looking for? How did the book get classified and located (in both public and private libraries)? Through what means was it exchanged, preserved, altered and destroyed? These questions can of course generate yet others when taken in combination, and demonstrate both the richness of this collocation of topics and the rigour which can be brought through them to the study of the production and reception of all sorts of composition.

My own focus is on the learned book: earlier versions of eight of these essays have appeared in various journals and collections in the last twenty years. In them, I tried both to create bodies of coherent data from which conclusions may be drawn, and to use documents from which it is possible to construct hypotheses about the operation of the market in the early modern period. It is in the nature of this sort of research that new or corrected data is constantly being made available, not least through the web. As a result, these essays have had to be corrected in some of their details, and I have been led to modify or even abandon some of the hypotheses I have put forward in them in their original form. In this volume, I have standardized some of their features (language, spelling, bibliographical conventions), to give the volume as a whole a sense of unity. What I have not done is to remove the paragraphs which in various essays set out the *problématique* which underlies the essay in question. I hope that I may be forgiven this small degree of repetition.

These are essays in one of the senses that Montaigne employs for this term; they are test pieces which each is driven by dominant question or set of questions, but which can be drawn into unforeseen directions. In 'The Market for Scholarly Books and Conceptions of Genre in Northern Europe, 1570–1630', I set out an overview of the general market conditions, and examine the factors internal to the market which contributed to its severe downturn around 1630. In 'The Readership of Philosophical Fictions in France in the Sixteenth Century: The Bibliographical Evidence', I look at the assumptions made by publishers about new vernacular market sectors. This is followed by a group of essays which address the problems raised by the transmission of knowledge in the early modern period. These include the ideological and financial concerns attached to speculative reprinting outside the initial area of production, the ways in which copy was selected, and the interference of legal and religious controls ('Mediations of Zabarella in Northern Europe, 1586–1623'; 'The Diffusion of Learned Medicine in the Sixteenth Century through the Printed Book'; 'The Reception of Medieval Practical Medicine in the Sixteenth Century: The Case of Arnau de Vilanova'; 'Melanchthon at the Book Fairs, 1560–1601: Editors, Markets and Religious Strife'). The path to publication trodden by impecunious authors is next examined ('Cardano and his Publishers, 1534–1663': see also 'Alberico Gentili, his Publishers, and the Vagaries of the Book Trade between England and Germany, 1580–1614', below). The establishment of publishing houses and their solvency and relationships with other houses are next addressed ('André Wechel at Frankfurt, 1572–1581'; 'Murder, Debt, and Retribution in the Italico-Franco-Spanish Book Trade: The Beraud-Michel-Ruiz Affair, 1586–1591'; 'Competitors or Collaborators? Sebastian Gryphius and his Colleagues in Lyon, 1528–1556'). The fate of scholarship and publishers on the margins of the European book trade in England and Portugal are next investigated ('Alberico Gentili, his Publishers, and the Vagaries of the Book Trade between England and Germany, 1580–1614'; 'English Books on the Continent, 1570–1630'; '"Lusitani periti": Portuguese Medical Authors, National Identity and Bibliography in the Late Renaissance'). Finally, the development of bibliography and bibliographical tools is examined through the activity of Louis Jacob de Saint-Charles (1608–1670); an enquiry which also touches on the issue of scribal culture in the print age. Several of these essays have appendices in the form of documents or bibliographies.

CHAPTER ONE

THE MARKET FOR SCHOLARLY BOOKS AND CONCEPTIONS OF GENRE IN NORTHERN EUROPE, 1570–1630

It is traditional, if not commonplace, to look on the last decades of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth as the ‘autumn’ of the Renaissance, a period marked at best by consolidation, at worst by decline.¹ It is alleged that political crises and confessional strife disrupted intellectual life both directly and indirectly, giving rise to a mentality often described as ‘baroque’, in which the optimism of the high Renaissance was succeeded by scepticism or even pessimism, serenity by violence and instability, conviction by doubt.² The *Respublica Literaria* was threatened by the gradual disintegration of the encyclopaedic aspirations of earlier generations of humanists, by increasing uncertainty as to whether learning and ethics, *studia* and *mores*, were as intimately linked as Erasmus claimed, by the manifest failure of scholars to agree on matters concerning religious truth.³ The antagonism between established centres of learning, still dominated by scholasticism or neo-Aristotelianism, and radical movements associated with neoplatonism, hermeticism, alchemy, and the observational and experimental sciences is reflected in the crisis faced by academic institutions, both long-established and of more recent foundation: a crisis exacerbated in German-speaking parts of Europe by the catastrophic events of the Thirty Years War.⁴ While it has been shown that humanistic enquiry

¹ See, for example, *L'automne de la Renaissance, 1580–1630* (Actes du XXII^e colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours), ed. Jean Lafond and André Stegmann, Paris: Vrin, 1981.

² For a general historical survey of this period in Northern Europe, see R.J.W. Evans, *The making of the Hapsburg monarchy, 1550–1700*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, pp. 41–116; for a recent study of baroque, see Claude-Gilbert Dubois, *Le baroque*, Paris: Larousse, 1973.

³ W.J. Ong, S.J., *Ramus, method and the decay of dialogue*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958, pp. 295–318; Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From humanism to the humanities*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986; W. Schmidt-Biggemann, *Topica universalis: eine Modellgeschichte humanistischer und barocker Wissenschaft*, Hamburg: Meiner, 1983.

⁴ R.J.W. Evans, ‘German universities after the Thirty Years War’, *History of Universities*, 1 (1981), 169–90; Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the hermetic tradition*, London:

continues to yield impressive scholarly results—the names of Joseph Scaliger, Denis Lambin, Marc-Antoine Muret, Justus Lipsius, Isaac Casaubon, Friedrich Sylburg spring to mind—this is often interpreted as yet another demonstration that the owl of Minerva flies at dusk.⁵

Not all of these assertions are uncontroversial;⁶ but they find *prima facie* confirmation in the statistics of the trade in scholarly books. Schwetschke's figures for the Frankfurt Book Fair show a marked and lasting downturn in the number of Latin books advertised after 1630; and the most recent authoritative account of publishing in France talks also of a severe decline at the end of the sixteenth century, caused by the passing away of a generation of humanist printer-publishers and the saturation of available markets.⁷ It would seem therefore unwise to deny the existence of a crisis in Northern European humanism at this time; but it is possible to ask whether this particular configuration of historical events and conditions is a sufficient explanation of it. It is traditional to assume that ideas emanating from scholars are freely received and exchanged; but these ideas are communicated in the material form of books, by a process which involves money at all levels: printing, advertising and distribution. I wish to investigate the economic conditions which may have contributed to intellectual decline, and especially the reciprocal relationship which exists between producer and consumer not in terms of author and reader, as is traditional, but publisher and purchaser. I hope to show that the material and legal conditions governing publication promoted certain trends in the marketing and consumption

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964; ead., *The occult philosophy in the Elizabethan age*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979; Brian Vickers (ed.), *Occult and scientific mentalities in the Renaissance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984; Charles B. Schmitt, *The Aristotelian tradition and Renaissance universities*, London: Variorum, 1984.

⁵ Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: a study in the history of classical scholarship: i, textual criticism and exegesis*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983; Jean Jehasse, *La Renaissance de la critique: l'essor de l'humanisme érudit de 1560 à 1614*, Saint Etienne: Presses de l'université de St-Etienne, 1976.

⁶ For accounts of such controversy, see Brian Vickers, 'Frances Yates and the writing of history', *Journal of Modern History*, 51 (1979), 287–316; Charles B. Schmitt, 'Aristotelianism in the Veneto and the origins of modern science: some considerations on the problem of continuity', *Aristotelismo Veneto e scienza moderna*, ed. Luigi Olivieri, Padua: Antenore, 1983, pp. 104–23; id., 'La cultura scientifica in Italia nel quattrocento: problemi d'interpretazione', *Studi filosofici*, 3 (1980), 55–70, esp. 68–9.

⁷ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'Apparition du livre*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1958, pp. 233ff., 331ff.; and the statistical evidence in Gustav Schwetschke, *Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis*, Halle: Schwetschke, 1850–77.

of books which influenced conceptions of genre and contributed to the collapse—perhaps more accurately described as implosion—of the boom in scholarly books in the 1620s. To do this, it will be necessary to offer a general account of the Northern European book market, before focusing attention on publishers themselves and investigating their finances, their connections with the world of scholarship, and their influence on the way scholarly activity was categorized and described.

The market in scholarly books was international in that its lingua franca was Latin; it had broad geographical limits which may be established from various sources, notably the balance sheets of international publishers such as Sigismund Feyerabend of Frankfurt, who flourished between 1560 and 1590, Christophe Plantin of Paris and Antwerp who died in 1589, and the Basle and Strasbourg printers of the late sixteenth century whose activities have been examined by Bietenholz and Chrisman.⁸ A glance at these half-yearly accounts—drawn up after the twice-yearly book fairs at Frankfurt—shows that their commercial activities extend throughout the German-speaking area of Europe and into France, Switzerland, the Low Countries, Northern Italy, and, later, England and Central Europe, mainly through agents and booksellers. The list of publishers cited in the general catalogue of the Frankfurt book fairs confirms this network of outlets for scholarly publication. Printers, publishers, booksellers, agents and scholars congregated there in remarkably favourable commercial and intellectual conditions, which the humanist publisher Henri Estienne describes in glowing terms in his famous eulogy of the Fair printed in 1574.⁹ Andreas Wechel, the Paris-based publisher of classical texts, settled in Frankfurt in 1572, having been forced to flee from France after the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572, and his newly founded presses flourished there through three

⁸ Heinrich Pallmann, *Sigmund Feyerabend: sein Leben und seine geschäftlichen Verbindungen nach archivalischen Quellen*, Frankfurt: Völcker, 1881; Leon Voet, *The golden compasses*, 2 vols. Amsterdam and New York: van Gendt; Abner Schram, 1969–72; P.G. Bietenholz, *Basle and France in the sixteenth century. The Basle humanists and printers in their contacts with francophone culture*, Geneva: Droz, 1971; Miriam U. Chrisman, *Lay culture, learned culture: books and social change in Strasbourg, 1480–1599*, Yale: Yale University Press, 1982.

⁹ *Der Frankfurter Markt oder die Frankfurter Messe von Henricus Stephanus*, ed. Julius Ziehen, Frankfurt: Frankfurter Buchmesse, 1919; also Hubert Languet, *Epistolae politicae et historicae scriptae quondam ad Philippum Sydnaeum*, Frankfurt: Fitzer, 1633, xciii, p. 339.

generations.¹⁰ Eustache Vignon of Geneva, Jacques Dupuis of Paris, and Antoine de Harsy of Lyon travelled regularly to Frankfurt, whose attraction lay not only in its commercial possibilities and relative tolerance, but also in its position on a number of trade routes between Italy and Northern France and Eastern and Western Europe.¹¹ This happy state of affairs ceased abruptly in 1631, at the time of the siege of the Imperial City by Gustavus Adolphus, after which other publishing centres gained prominence, notably Leipzig and Leiden.¹²

The final decades of Frankfurt's success marked also its most extensive display of scholarly books—an annual average of 1000 new publications in Latin, a brute figure not to be equalled for more than a century in Germany, representing three times the number of books of a similar sort declared annually in the decade 1570–80.¹³ It is of interest to ask by what means a threefold increase in production—which included a high percentage of new editions of classical texts, and of new commentaries and expositions—was generated, and how it was sustained, especially as there is some evidence that books produced in Germany did not readily find French and Italian outlets.¹⁴ Does this increase betoken an expanding class of purchasers—expanding either by geographical extension (to England and Central and Eastern Europe) or by the spread of Latinity and erudition to new categories of readers? Or a widespread demand for the latest and best edition of a given text? Or is it the case that print runs were smaller during these decades and that the expansion is illusory? How was this impressive commercial expansion (if such it was) financed? Such questions are not answered directly by contemporaries in their assessments of the market for books: these, on the whole, are restricted on the one hand to lamentations (by the publishers themselves) about the precariousness of their trade, and on the other by claims that it brought them vast profits (claims made for the most part by aspirant

¹⁰ R.J.W. Evans, *The Wechel presses: humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe, 1572–1627*, Oxford, 1975 [*Past and Present* supplement no. 2]; Ian Maclean, 'L'Economie du livre erudit: le cas Wechel (1572–1627)', in *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin and Pierre Aquilon, Paris: Promodis, 1988, pp. 230–40.

¹¹ See note 9, above, and Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, Leipzig: Verlag des deutschen Börsenvereins, 1886, pp. 448–521.

¹² Johann Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, 1648–1740*, Leipzig: Verlag des deutschen Börsenvereins, 1908, pp. 163–7; Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (eds.), *Histoire de l'édition française*, Paris: Promodis, 1983, i.398.

¹³ This estimate is based on Schwetschke's figures.

¹⁴ Pallmann, *Feyerabend*, pp. 128–33; Maclean, 'André Wechel at Frankfurt, 1572–1581', below, p. 180; *ibid.*, 'Mediations of Zabarella in Northern Germany', below, p. 42.

authors whose manuscripts had been rejected).¹⁵ An examination of the financial conditions of scholarly publication explains to some degree how these incompatible views come to be formulated.

Very few publishers in this sector of the book market were engaged solely in this activity. As well as taking the financial risks involved in printing, advertising and distributing manuscripts, they also acted as printers for other publishers, as booksellers (a role forced upon them by the practice of *Tauschhandel*, by which they exchanged their own books for those of competitors at the book fair), as hosts for visiting scholars and for scholar-proofreaders, as postal agents, as bankers and as money changers.¹⁶ Even as publishers they often shared financial risks with colleagues and with other denizens of the book trade, notably booksellers and paper manufacturers. Such interdependence often reveals itself in the form of mortgages: not only did they make over their stock and printing materials as surety to obtain loans from fellow publishers, but they even sacrificed their houses and real estate. Thus it was that Sigismund Feyerabend took on the mortgage of his former colleague's, Simon Hüter's, house, collaborated with his paper manufacturer Heinrich Tack, employed Andreas Wechel to print books for him, but later sold his house at a moment of financial difficulty to Andreas's heirs, who at the same time had accepted from Christophe Plantin of Antwerp his valuable collection of Greek punches and dyes as surety for a loan.¹⁷ It seems that a great deal of commercial activity in the book trade involved paper transactions of this kind: the half-yearly accounts of Feyerabend and others yield evidence of considerable movements of stock and exchange of goods, but few signs of satisfactory cash flow, causing frequent crises even in well-established publishing houses. The threefold increase in production between 1570 and 1630 seems even more extraordinary in the light of such financial conditions.

There were also important legal constraints on publishers. From the late 1560s, Imperial censorship in the form of a *Bücherkommission* operated fitfully in Frankfurt, designed to prevent the circulation

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 153; M. Magnien, 'Un humaniste face aux problèmes d'édition: J.-C. Scaliger et les imprimeurs', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 44 (1982), 307–29.

¹⁶ Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte*, pp. 89ff.; Evans, *The Wechel presses*; Maclean, 'Andre Wechel'. The botanist Charles de l'Escluse [Clusius] even used booksellers and publishers to distribute daffodil bulbs to his friends throughout Europe (see F.W.T. Hunger, *Charles de L'Escluse 1529–1609*, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1972–43, ii.75).

¹⁷ Pallmann, *Feyerabend*, pp. 37–9; Maclean 'Andre Wechel', 161–4; Voet, *The golden compasses*, i.120, ii.91; Evans, *The Wechel presses*, p. 4.

of defamatory and seditious material. What successive Holy Roman Emperors did not envisage was that the commission would serve two masters—Empire and Roman Catholic Church—and that its activities would eventually concentrate on the question of the precedence of Catholic over Protestant books in the Fair Catalogues.¹⁸ The religious bias of the commission has been cited as a cause for the decline of the Book Fair itself, in that it discouraged the presence of foreign protestant publishers, although it is not clear how far it was effective in imposing its desired reforms.¹⁹ This is not the only point where questions of law affect the book trade; these are much more in evidence in the licences (*privilèges*, *impressoria*) granted to authors or publishers to protect new editions from piracy in a given geographical zone. Because the market in scholarly books written in Latin was particularly susceptible to piracy or at the very least unauthorized printing in different market zones, it is common to find licences attached to them, sometimes from more than one jurisdiction, for it was possible for non-nationals and even petitioners of different confessional persuasions to obtain them. Judging by the Imperial *impressoria* preserved in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, these were carefully drafted by several echelons of Chancery officials. The final text, complete with Imperial or royal seal, was an impressive and very expensive document.²⁰

In many cases the genre of the protected book was cited, thus giving generic categories a legal status. When the son-in-law of Melancthon, Caspar Peucer, petitioned the Emperor for a licence to print his father-in-law's *Opera* (including his *Opera theologica*), the licence grants permission under the surprising general rubric 'res literaria, militaris disciplina et literaria monumenta', presumably because of the embarrassment implicit in a Holy Roman Emperor sanctioning the publication of Lutheran theology. In other cases,

¹⁸ Kapp, *Geschichte*, pp. 607ff.; U. Eisenhardt, *Die kaiserliche Aufsicht über Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Presse im Heiligen Römischen Reich*, Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1970, pp. 85ff.

¹⁹ W. Bruckner, 'Der kaiserliche Bucherkommissar Valentin Leucht', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 3 (1961), cols. 97–178, and Evans, *The Wechel Presses*, pp. 29–31.

²⁰ The cost of licences is attested by Erasmus in a letter to Willibald Pirckheimer (see *Opus epistolarum*, ed. P.S. Allen and H.M. Allen, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924, 1341, pp. 201–2 and 1344, pp. 232–3). See also Albert Labarre, 'Éditions et privilèges des héritiers d'André Wechel à Francfort et à Hanau 1582–1627', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 46 (1970), pp. 238ff.

petitioners' requests were attenuated, and the term 'Christian' preferred to 'Catholic', suggesting an irenic influence at work in the Chancery. Publishers could also be granted general licences: the French refugee Andreas Wechel received one in 1574 which afforded protection for all his books except those in the domain of theology and history.²¹ The former exclusion is readily comprehensible, as Wechel was a protestant; the latter is more unusual, especially as Wechel declares his intention to specialize in the publication of ancient and medieval historical documents in 1575.²² The category 'libri historici' in Frankfurt Book Fair Catalogues included, however, tendentious accounts of very recent history; it may be for this reason that the category was denied Imperial protection.²³ If so, it suggests that the generic categories cited in licences are those of the Fair Catalogues themselves.

It is also common to find references to the combined personal and public interest served by scholarly books: the publisher acted 'in the public interest' ('ad commodum rei literariae': 'in bonum publicum') in promoting learning and scholarship, but desired 'fair recompense' ('speratum laborum suorum emolumentum') for his 'heavy outlay of money' ('gravissima impensa'; 'magna sumpta'). This is one of the very rare occasions on which the commercial interests involved in intellectual life become explicit.²⁴

The most important feature of the licence for our purposes, however, is the fact that it can only be granted for a new or improved edition. In order to obtain protection for a book, publishers were obliged to claim that it is 'editio nova' or 'recognita', or 'locupletior'. As the licence was expensive, publishers must only have sought it when they were reasonably sure that a book would be profitable: this inference is confirmed by the readiness of publishers to reprint each other's scholarly productions outside the jurisdiction of the licence protecting them.²⁵ Such activity, which is very common in the period under discussion, suggests that the whole academic sector of the market was lucrative, but not all historians

²¹ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Impressoria, FZ 2, ff. 251–6; FZ 76, ff. 253–5, FZ 79, ff. 174–206.

²² Wechel's dedicatory letter in Albert Krantz, *Wandalia*, Frankfurt: Andreas Wechel, 1575, Aa2.

²³ See 'André Wechel at Frankfurt, 1572–81', below, Appendix II, p. 189.

²⁴ Impressoria, FZ 2, F 251; FZ 65 s.v. Wechel; FZ 56f. 25', 245'; FZ 79, ff. 181–4.

²⁵ On examples of this practice, and the disputes which arise from it, see Maclean, 'André Wechel', below, pp. 173–8.

agree on this point. Robert Kingdon has argued that humanist publishers such as Christophe Plantin or Henri Estienne chose to subsidize the publication of grandiose scholarly projects from the profits to be made from the sales of liturgical books in the first (Catholic) case, and psalters in the second.²⁶ Dyroff's account of the activities of Gotthard Vögelin suggests that he subsidized scholarship by the sale of text books and manuals; this may be true also in the case of Andreas Wechel.²⁷

One might also argue—with equal, if not greater, plausibility from the available data—that publishers did not take risk on books which they thought would not make a profit. The point is of some importance and can be tested by using the evidence provided by contemporary publishers' catalogues. Were these no more than means for advertising all available stock? Or do they contain judgements as to the desirability of certain sorts of publication? Did they aspire to comprehensive coverage in certain specialized areas? In what ways do they reflect the publishers' conception of the market and its divisions?

Such catalogues, which were distributed both as broadsheets and in the form of pamphlets, varied considerably, but the majority listed more than just the most recently published volumes. Most were arranged not alphabetically but by genre, no doubt to assist the potential purchaser; it is extremely rare to find any reference either to the year of publication or the price. In many cases, they included a fairly complete back list including books inherited from previous owners of the presses; sometimes they recorded the results of *Tauschhandel* or speculative bookselling. Some followed the order of categories laid down in the Book Fair catalogues, that is, the precedence of subjects in universities: theology, law, medicine, liberal arts, followed by extra-curricular subjects. Most others gave prominence to the specialties of the press in question: such is the case for Johannes Gymnich of Cologne and Zacharias Palthen of Frankfurt, both of whom concentrate on legal publications.²⁸

²⁶ R.M. Kingdon, 'The business activities of printers Henri and François Estienne', in *Aspects de la propagande religieuse*, ed. Gabrielle Berthoud, Geneva: Droz, 1957, pp. 258–75.

²⁷ H.D. Dyroff, 'Gotthard Vögelin—Verleger, Drucker, Buchhandler 1597–1631', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 4 (1963), cols. 1131–1423; Maclean, 'André Wechel'.

²⁸ *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts 1564–1600*, ed. Bernhard Fabian, 5 vols., Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1972–2001; G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The distribution of books by catalogue from the invention of printing to A.D. 1800, based on material in the Broxbourne Library*, Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965; G. Richter, 'Bibliographische Beiträge zur Geschichte buchhändlerischer Kataloge im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buches und seiner Funktion in der Gesellschaft*,

A well-documented set of examples of such lists is provided by the Wechel press: as well as the manuscript catalogue submitted by Andreas Wechel to the Bücherkommission in 1579, the printed lists of 1594, 1602 and 1618 survive.²⁹ The number of entries increased from 190 to 523 in this time: more or less all of the catalogue of 1594 was available in 1618, as well as some Wechel publications dating from the 1560s which were not declared in 1594. The order of entries changes in 1618 to conform to that of the Book Fair; in earlier catalogues the innovative textbooks of Greek grammar, logic and rhetoric, the prestigious editions of the classics, the collection of historical documents begun in 1575, and the writings of Ramus were given pride of place. It is possible to construct from these lists a number of academic preferences and objectives—an investment in Ramus's pedagogical texts, and his encyclopedic view of learning; an irenic version of Calvinism; a conviction that the classical heritage should be preserved and purified; but it is difficult to separate such objectives from notions of profit.³⁰ Kingdon's hypothesis that humanist publishers financed marginal scholarly publication from staples in the form of liturgical books or school books seems, even in this case, implausible; a more reasonable inference from the available data is that no risk was taken unless there was a good chance of uptake by the market. It is tempting to interpret the retention of all titles on the list as a sign of faith in the intrinsic value of their products; but it is more plausible to assume that nothing was to be lost by the continued advertisement of unsold stock.

The Wechel presses exemplify also the importance of insuring that books have known outlets. From the 1570s onwards, the Wechels were associated with an international set of scholars, court officials and schoolteachers who assisted with sales and supplied copy. This network, which extended from England to the Imperial court and beyond, has been skillfully uncovered by Robert Evans; a similar configuration has

Festschrift für Hans Widman, Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1974, pp. 183–229; R. Engelsing, "Deutsche Verlegerplakate des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, ix (1969), 217–338; Reinhart Wittmann (ed.), *Bücherkataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984.

²⁹ The present location of these catalogues is respectively the Stadtbibliothek, Mainz, the Staatsbibliothek, Bamberg, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

³⁰ Evans, *The Wechel presses*; Maclean, 'L'Economie du livre erudit' and 'André Wechel'.

been shown to feature in the success of the Plantin press by Leon Voet.³¹ Such networks, which are, in effect, a form of patronage, often represent fairly narrow confessional interests which publishers, as their clients, reflect. Thus their lists are influenced by a number of commercial and sectarian interests, at the same time as presenting to the broad public what purports to be timeless learning. But this is not all. As well as subscribing to the view that the truths of scholarship were eternal, publishers were obliged, by the system of licences and the nature of the market in which they operated—a market which required that new and better editions were forever pressed on the potential purchasers of scholarly books—to accede to the view that there was continual improvement and expansion in the world of letters, and thereby to commit themselves both to an ideology of progress and, in practical terms, to the view that publishing was an expanding economy.

These paradoxes reappear if we turn our attention to institutional and private purchasers at this time, and to the bibliographers through whom they acceded to the market. We have already seen that the Frankfurt Book Fair Catalogues follow approximately the precedence of university faculties: theology, law, medicine, philosophy. When Georg Draut of Marburg published the second edition of his immense cumulative bibliography of these fairs (which he supplemented from the catalogues and broadsheets ('nomenclaturae') of individual publishers) in 1625, he justified this order in a portentous prefatory letter to his patrons, the professorate of the University of Marburg, his alma mater. Knowledge is here portrayed as the colossus of Babylon, whose head is theology, arms and chest are law, stomach is medicine and legs are philosophy, the propedeutic discipline which leads to ('supports', in this metaphor) the higher faculties. The contents of theology and philosophy contain much which does not relate to those disciplines in themselves—either as propaganda or polemics, or as informal accounts of the mysteries of the universe; the category 'libri historici, geographici et politici' is intercalated between medicine and philosophy; and the categories 'libri poetici' and 'libri musici' come at the end, and contain humanistic schoolbooks such as Virgil and Ovid which one might have expected to be listed

³¹ Evans, *The Wechel presses*, pp. 6–37; Voet, *The golden compasses*, i.60–73; also Ursula Baumeister, 'Gilles Beys, 1541/2–1595', in *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle: ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1979, iii.312–73; Kingdon, 'The business activities of printers Henri and François Estienne'.

with the liberal arts. This general order has some sort of justification based on notions of disciplinary precedence.³² It is recommended also by the French scholar and librarian Gabriel Naudé in his *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque* of 1627 because, he avers, it is the traditional manner in which libraries are arranged and thus simplifies the task of those seeking given texts;³³ and it even is used as the general principle of organisation by the speculative bibliographer François Grudé de la Croix du Maine in his *Desseins ou projets pour dresser une bibliotheque parfaite* which were composed in the 1580s.³⁴

The sub-categories of bibliographical arrangement are, however, often less conservative, and reflect the intellectual trends of this period more clearly. In La Croix du Maine's ideal library, alchemy is placed between philosophy, mathematics and music, and Naudé, a known habitué of scientific and *libertin* circles in Paris, recommends the purchase of many subversive modern thinkers under innocuous headings, and even goes so far as to suggest that books altogether beyond the disciplinary map on 'matieres peu cognues' should be purchased.³⁵ These suggestions were put into effect by the important French patron of scholarship and book collector Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc.³⁶ Another practical example of the shifts in the disciplinary map is provided by Thomas James's subject catalogue of arts produced in 1624/5 to help Oxford graduates and possibly undergraduates consulting the holdings of the newly founded Bodleian Library.³⁷ The entries in this bibliography were all acquired between 1600 and the date of its composition; the majority were bought fresh from Book Fair Catalogues or through the bookseller John Bill of London, who was dispatched abroad in 1603 in quest of specific books.³⁸ This catalogue represents therefore a selection made

³² Draut, *Bibliotheca classica*, Frankfurt: Balthasar Oster, 1625, esp.*2–4. The books about disciplinary precedence are listed in cols. 1451–2.

³³ Guillaume Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque*, Leipzig: VEB, 1963, pp. 100–1.

³⁴ *Les bibliothèques françoises de la Croix de Maine et de Du Verdier*, ed. M. de la Monnoye et al., Paris: Saillant et Nyon; Lambert, 1772, ii.xxv–xxx.

³⁵ *Advis*, pp. 45–6.

³⁶ *La Bibliothèque de Peiresc*, ed. Edith Bayle, Agnès Bresson and Jean-François Mailard, Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1990.

³⁷ G.W. Wheeler, *The earliest catalogues of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. 104–14; the copy I have consulted of James's subject catalogue is that preserved in Queen's College, Oxford (MS 199).

³⁸ W.D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1890, p. 50, quoted by Pollard and Ehrman, *The distribution of books*, p. 77; Thomas

to be of use to scholars in Oxford as well as to enhance the prestige of the newly-founded library. It lists in turn books on grammar, geometry, astronomy, architecture, arithmetic, optics, cosmography, geography, chronology, music, logic, Aristotle, metaphysics, military arts, moral philosophy, politics, natural philosophy, rhetoric and history: each subject has sub-divisions within which titles are arranged alphabetically by author. History is the largest category, but the proliferation of mathematical genres should be noted, as well as the low priority given to Aristotle. James's spread of subjects does not accord well with the arts curriculum at Oxford in his time; this would suggest that the Bodleian Library was seen to be somewhat distanced from the immediate pedagogical concerns of the University.

The emergence of finding lists such as that of Draut or that of Philibert Mareschal which appeared at Paris in 1598³⁹ may well have had its own effect on the world of letters. Draut's *Bibliotheca classica* is notable for its complex and exhaustive sub-categories and for its cross-referencing. Under each general rubric, there is an alphabetical series of topics by which it is possible to establish a crude bibliography for almost any subject from Hebrew grammar to sleepwalking, from anagrammology to the lives of famous Jesuits, from naval battles to exorcism. Under the names of classical authors, all known editions are listed according to date and editor, but no value judgements are made; this is also the case with topic headings. Indeed, Draut, a Lutheran pastor, even went so far as to cite—and occasionally to intermingle—Catholic, Lutheran and other Protestant theological books under such inflammatory headings as justification by faith, the real presence, and predestination, perhaps in the hope that some super-theologian would emerge who would be capable, having read all the available material, of reaching a definitive verdict on a given issue. This is in fact not far-fetched, as Draut was a graduate of a University which actively encouraged such accumulation of opinions and their assessment.⁴⁰ Draut's cross-references reflect another feature of intellectual life of the late Renaissance: the interpenetration of disciplines. It had of course long been the case that lawyers had invoked medicine and theology, doctors law and theology, theologians

Hearne, *Reliquiae Bodleianae*, Oxford, 1703, p. 66, quoted by Pollard and Ehrman, *ibid.*, p. 86.

³⁹ Viz. *La guide des arts et sciences, et promptuaire de tous livres, tant composez que traduicts en françois*, Paris: F. Jacquin, 1598.

⁴⁰ See below, 'English books on the continent, 1570–1630', p. 345.

medicine and law, and philosophers all three. The scholastic reliance on the corpus and logical method of Aristotle had ensured to some degree the communication from one discipline to another.⁴¹ But titles like *Idea morborum Hermetico~Hippocratica methodo Ramea adornata*, *Tractatus politicoiuridicus de Nobilitate et mercatura* or *Physica Christiana, seu de rerum creaturarum creatione* suggest a more radical transgression of disciplinary boundaries.⁴²

How do these finding lists and bibliographical aids relate to the purchasers of scholarly books at this time? Connections are sometimes hard to establish. It seems, for example, that in spite of Draut's listing of all available editions of a given classic, and Naudé's recommendation that the most recent and best editions should be purchased together with all available commentaries and expositions, most libraries did not possess more than one copy of any given text, and, indeed, did not necessarily substitute their edition for the latest one to appear. Such an inference can be drawn from the extant catalogues of religious houses whose libraries were founded in the late Renaissance; it is also true of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, although there are counter-examples in a number of Cambridge colleges.⁴³ This suggests that there must have been an expanding market for humanistic texts at the end of the sixteenth century, presumably supplying the plethora of new educational establishments of various confessional kinds throughout Europe. Noncurricular subjects, especially history and philosophy in its broader sense, did not have such an obvious outlet. There is ample evidence that a market existed not only for topical historical books, but also texts relating to much earlier periods. When Andreas Wechel set up his printing presses anew in Frankfurt in 1574, he confided to his friend and protector Hubert Languet that he had decided to specialise in historical books and documents because these are attractive to 'many different kinds

⁴¹ See in general, Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1983; also Edward Grant, 'Aristotelianism and the longevity of the medieval world view', *History of Science*, xvi (1978), 93–106.

⁴² These examples are taken from Draut, *Bibliotheca classica*, cols. 948, 790, 491.

⁴³ See, for example, Dom Abrassart, *Catalogue alphabétique de la Bibliothèque de Tours* (Bibliothèque municipale, Tours, MS 1482), an inventory of confiscated libraries prepared for the Comite d'Instruction in the early 1790s, including many religious houses founded in the period 1580–1640; Wheeler, *Catalogues of the Bodleian Library*, p. 17. Dr. Elizabeth Leedham-Green, the author of *Books in Cambridge Inventories: book lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, has informed me of counter-examples in Cambridge colleges.

of reader' ('ad plurima genera lectorum'): he and his heirs produce a series of folio volumes of immense erudition, density and cost between 1575 and the 1620s which seem to have been collected as a series; their purchasers, such as Jan Rutgers, a court official of Gustavus Adolphus, may have read them for their intrinsic interest, but it is more likely that they looked upon them as investments or as prestigious possessions. Certainly, they were beyond the purse of University students.⁴⁴

A more accessible category of book is found under the rubric 'libri philosophici'. This included not only the manuals and texts associated with the arts course of most universities, but also texts explaining the wonders of nature, of human procreation and of the secrets of the universe. These proliferated between the middle of the sixteenth century and 1630; they were produced in small formats and frequently reprinted. One such book was the *De subtilitate* by Cardano, which first appeared in 1550. In it, the author set out to lay bare the principles by which the universe operates in a manner accessible to Latinate non-specialists.⁴⁵ Many other such works, often associated with magic and the occult, followed in its wake, written by such authors as Levinus Lemnius, Giambattista della Porta, John Dee, Pierre de la Primaudaye, and Robert Fludd.⁴⁶ Draut's general rubric of philosophy, in this and other cases, conflated a number of different purchasing groups from which a tripartite division can be deduced: buyers of textbooks in schools and universities; specialists in a given profession; and general readers, the 'studiosi', on whose purchases much of the speculative part of the market depended.⁴⁷

The case of Cardano illustrates the relative profitability of different market sectors quite well. His book enjoyed a spasm of success in the 1550s and again in the 1580s, but is thereafter not reprinted in the period which concerns us. But the text of Julius Caesar Scaliger, the neo-Aristotelian who undertook to refute Cardano in a series of

⁴⁴ Wechel's dedicatory letter in Albert Krantz, *Wandalia*; Evans, *The Wechel presses*, pp. 11–14; *Catalogus Bibliothecae Jani Rutgersii Dordraceni... quorum auctio habebitur in aedibus Elzevierianis I. Martii Anno 1633*, Leiden: Elzevier, 1633.

⁴⁵ On this topic in general, see *Occult and scientific mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Ian Maclean, 'Philosophical books in European markets, 1570–1630: the case of Ramus', in *New perspectives in Renaissance thought*, ed. S. Hutton and J. Henry, London: Duckworth, 1990, pp. 253–63; *Histoire de l'édition française*, i.543–83; Chrisman, *Lay culture, learned culture*, pp. 71ff.; Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, selling and reading 1450–1550*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967, p. 31.

Exercitationes first published in 1557, was reprinted again in 1576 as a university textbook and thereafter reappeared at least once a decade for the next fifty years. Scaliger's refutation was taken to be a statement of orthodox Aristotelianism in German Universities, or was used to provide subjects for short theses.⁴⁸ Both Cardano and Scaliger were frequently cited by turn-of-the-century scholars;⁴⁹ but from the point of view of the publisher and bookseller, only Scaliger is worthy of mention. Cardano's book may have fallen victim to its own claim to have explained natural phenomena more completely, more clearly and with greater authority than ever before; such a claim could be repeated by subsequent popular authors in the same field, and was in any case open to refutation by the advances made in observational and experimental science.

This survey of the scholarly book market from the point of view of its material producers has been necessarily elementary and sketchy; but it seems worthwhile in conclusion to measure the distance we have travelled from the commonplace view of academic decline in the late sixteenth century, and from the ideals of the early humanists. For them a library was a *locus amoenus* in which all texts would be restored to their first and authoritative state by palingenesis, would be provided once and for all with wholly adequate critical apparatus, and be placed at the appropriate point, on the appropriate shelf, under the appropriate rubric which itself formed part of the ideal encyclopaedia.⁵⁰ It was to this end that the praiseworthy and indefatigable efforts of late Renaissance scholars were directed, and I wish to stress that I have not set out in any way to vilify their work or impugn their motives. Seen in a commercial light, however, their texts and critical apparatus were not immaterial idealities, but the very life blood of the publishing industry, and were reproduced as much for financial as for scholarly ends. Palingenesis—the perfect restitution of texts—could never be allowed to come about, because it would make redundant new 'improved' editions with the protection they enjoyed by licence or *privilege* and bring an expanding market to a premature end. Genre was no longer an ideal

⁴⁸ Ian Maclean, 'The interpretation of natural signs: Cardano's *De subtilitate* versus Scaliger's *Exercitationes*', in *Occult and scientific mentalities*, pp. 231–52.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, and Kristian Jensen, 'Protestant rivalry, metaphysics and rhetoric in Germany, 1590–1620', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 41 (1990), 24–43.

⁵⁰ *Histoire de l'édition française*, i.429–57; H. Fischer, 'Conrad Gessner (1516–65) as bibliographer and encyclopaedist', *The Library*, v. 21 (1966), 269–81; R. McKeon, 'The transformation of the liberal arts in the Renaissance', in *Developments in the early Renaissance*, ed. B.S. Levy, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972, pp. 158–223.

category belonging to a closed and sufficient system of categories; rather it was, at best, a crude reflection of the contemporary state of knowledge in relation to existing academic institutions, at worst a means by which potential purchasers could be attracted to the parts of a sale catalogue most susceptible to be of interest to them: our humanist encyclopaedia has become open-ended and rough-and-ready. The cry was no longer 'abeant studia in mores', but rather 'abeant studia in libros', or even 'abeant libri in libros'.⁵¹ The book became, furthermore, an object to be preserved and catalogued for itself, thus making the fact of publication culturally significant no matter through what means or in whose interest it first came about. The book became also an object to be collected as a potentially valuable possession, as a token of social or intellectual prestige, as an item of exchange, and not just the physical manifestation of a message to be consumed by an intellect.⁵² Part of this development can be ascribed to the technology of printing, which facilitated the production and distribution of texts; part can be laid at the door of the laws governing publishing in Europe at this time; part can be seen as the logical extension of bibliographical activities which encourage the production of books on books. But whatever causes one ascribes to the publishing boom, and especially the boom in the interpretation and mediation of texts, between 1570 and 1630, it seems difficult to deny it a role in the decline and eventual demise of the world of humanism of which it was the material expression.

⁵¹ Cf. Montaigne, *Essais*, ed. A. Thibaudet and M. Rat, Paris: Gallimard, 1962, iii.13, p. 1045: 'Il y a plus affaire à interpreter les interpretations qu'à interpreter les choses, et plus de livres sur les livres que sur autre subject: nous ne faisons que nous entregloser.'

⁵² Cf. the subtitle of Gessner's *Bibliotheca universalis* of 1545: 'sive catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus, in tribus linguis, latina, graeca et hebraica: extantium et non extantium, veterum et recentiorum in hunc usque diem, doctorum et indoctorum, publicatorum et in bibliothecis latentium.' See also, *Les usages de l'imprimé (XV^e-XIX^e siècle)*, ed. Roger Chartier. Paris: Fayard, 1987.

CHAPTER TWO

THE READERSHIP OF PHILOSOPHICAL FICTIONS IN FRANCE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

The title of the colloquium to which this paper was presented ('Philosophical fictions and the French Renaissance') would have come as no surprise to Friedrich Nietzsche, who would no doubt have been delighted that his message had got through at last. For him, philosophy's claim to truth was hollow: 'truths', he declares, 'are illusions which we have forgotten are illusions, worn-out metaphors which have lost their concrete sense and force, coins with obliterated images no longer taken to be money but to be metal'.¹ Such asseverations might have surprised even the most committed relativists of the Renaissance, and it would be historically insensitive to pin them on to a Henricus Cornelius Agrippa or a Michel de Montaigne. Similarly, a certain amount of terminological caution about 'philosophical fictions' is required, even if they are taken to be no more than 'narratives which tell us about philosophical issues'. I suppose that an obvious pioneer work in the study of such texts is Albert-Marie Schmidt's *La Poésie scientifique en France au seizième siècle*, whose introduction presents scientific poetry as an uncontentious and self-evident genre:

La plupart des poètes de quelque renom se tinrent prêts, durant la seconde partie du seizième siècle, à exposer en vers la conception qu'ils se formaient de la nature des choses, contents, soit de lui consacrer quelque poème suivi, soit d'en disséminer les traits dans plusieurs compositions de genre et de génie différents [...] ainsi se constitue une nouvelle espèce de poésie [...] dont le propos primitif n'est jamais d'enseigner, puisqu'elle s'adresse aux habiles, à ceux qui sont sortis vainqueurs du combat contre l'ignorance [...] une poésie dont la fin dernière consiste à exposer sur le

¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, 'Über Wahrheit und Lüge im aussermoralischen Sinn' in *Werke*, ed. Karl Schlechta, 4 vols., Munich: Hanser, 1960–5, iii.309–22 (314): 'die Wahrheiten sind Illusionen, von denen man vergessen hat, dass sie welche sind, Metaphern, die abgenutzt und sinnlich kraftlos geworden sind, Münzen, die ihr Bild verloren haben und nun als Metall, nicht mehr als Münzen, in Betracht kommen.'

mode lyrique, épique ou gnomique, à quels principes de synthèse s'est soumis l'écrivain qui la cultive, pour ordonner en une cosmologie les résultats épars de la philosophie naturelle.²

Embedded in this paragraph are assumptions about authors, readers and choices of genre which no doubt might come under scrutiny from various angles: I have chosen to look at them from the modest perspective of the book trade. Is there such a thing as a category of 'scientific poetry' or 'philosophical fiction' in the minds of those concerned with the book market at this time? How does it relate to 'philosophy' as it was then understood? Is Schmidt right to talk of readers in this domain as 'habiles', to assume that authors' choice of genre is unconstrained and that their works taken together form a homogeneous field? Does it matter, to take a case in point, that he discusses the whole *oeuvre* of Jacques Peletier du Mans, but chooses not to comment on the fact that some works were published in Latin and some in French; some printed in Paris, others in the provinces, and yet others abroad; some printed in octavo, some in quarto and some in folio; some by a single printer-publisher, others by a group?³ What happens, in other words, when we cease to look upon texts as existing in some sort of uncontaminated semantic or aesthetic space, and grapple with the facts of their material production?

It would be possible to dwell here at some length on historiographical problems, which I do not propose to do; but I should like to mention one or two issues which arise when one assesses bibliographical data. It is not rare to find that the same evidence about books has been construed in almost contrary ways: from the fact that few books of a given sort have survived, some scholars have concluded that they were read to death, others that few were produced and distributed in the first place; some have claimed that the present location of books is no indication of their initial diffusion, others rely on such data to construct arguments about influence and distribution; some historians of ideas seem to believe that the fact of publication proves that a text is culturally significant, others deny this and rest their case on the reception of books; republication is seen by some as a sign of popularity and market demand,

² Albert-Marie Schmidt, *La Poésie scientifique*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1938, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7–69. I do not wish to suggest that Schmidt was not aware of the different readerships of Peletier's works: merely that he chose to see them as a corpus whose contents could be integrated.

by others as a speculative venture, especially if it can be shown that a reissue is in question; collaboration between printer-publishers has been variously explained as risk-spreading in an unresponsive market and as profit-sharing in a buoyant one.⁴ But most contentious of all is the treatment of evidence about readership. In this paper I propose to approach this thorny question *en biais*, looking first at the term 'philosophy' in relation to the book market, then at the category of books whose contents seem most closely to correlate with 'philosophical fictions', and finally at the way these are looked upon by the denizens of the world of books-patrons, authors, publishers, bibliographers, purchasers and readers.

Philosophy is sometimes defined, like wisdom, as a disposition, faculty or possession of the mind (witness the oft-encountered Ciceronian formulation 'rerum divinarum et humanarum scientiam cognitionemque, quae cuiusque rei causa sit');⁵ more often it is seen in pedagogical terms, and defined by its content. For the Renaissance, as Charles Schmitt has argued, the scope of philosophy is that of Aristotelianism in its normal systematic arrangement: logic, natural, moral and speculative philosophy.⁶ By the late Renaissance it comes to be defined in contradistinction to theology and to be heavily impregnated with moral overtones where appropriate.⁷ Institutionally, its presence in curricula varies from place to place, as does its

⁴ For a consideration of some of these issues see Albert Labarre, 'Sur la transmission des livres anciens' in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buches und seiner Funktion in der Gesellschaft: Festschrift für Hans Widmann*, Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1974, pp. 111–25; Jean-François Gilmont, 'La Diffusion et la conservation des oeuvres de C. Scribani', *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité*, 53 (1977), 261–74; E. Seils, *Die Staatslehre des Jesuiten Adam Contzen*, Lübeck and Hamburg: Matthiesen, 1968, pp. 192–8.

⁵ *Disputationes tusculanae* IV.57. See also the formulations of Isidore of Seville and Alcuin cited by W.J. Ong, *Ramus, method and the decay of dialogue*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1974, pp. 152–3, and that of Adrien Turnèbe, cited by Peter Sharratt, 'Peter Ramus and the reform of the university: the divorce of philosophy and eloquence' in *French Renaissance studies 1540–70: Humanism and the encyclopedia*, ed. P. Sharratt, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976, pp. 4–20 (15).

⁶ Charles B. Schmitt, 'Towards a reassessment of Renaissance Aristotelianism', *History of Science*, 11 (1973), pp. 159–93, and his *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983.

⁷ See, for example, Guillaume du Val's introduction to his edition of Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, 2 vols., Paris: Typis Regiis, 1619, i.2–3, in which philosophy is defined as 'Vera illa salus et panacea animorum, certissima vitae humanae directrix, dux, lux, fax, pax, inventrix legum, mater urbium, virtutis indagatrix, expultrix vitiorum, magistra morum et disciplinae', and its role limited to natural speculation: 'de Christiana enim et supernaturali beatitudine non pronuntiat philosophus'.

status in the body academic; for the most part, it remains closely associated with the liberal arts and with the propaedeutic courses leading to degrees in the faculties of theology, law and medicine.⁸ For publishers, the rubric 'libri philosophici' seems to be more wide-ranging, to judge from their lists and the entries in the Frankfurt book fair catalogues.⁹ One might divide books appearing under this rubric into three broad groups: first, schoolbooks or 'libri scholastici'; second, works of scholarship recognized by academic institutions of the day—polemical treatises, commentaries, editions, systematic treatments of non-curricular subjects; finally, works of general interest and less technical presentation containing explanations of puzzling natural phenomena, that is, books offering accounts of the 'hidden causes of things' such as human procreation, dreams, the future, the harmony of the universe and so on. The rubric often appeared in the portmanteau form 'libri philosophici et libri omnium artium', or 'libri philosophici et libri miscellanei', or even 'libri philosophici, artium humaniorum et alii miscellanei libri', indicating how broad its scope was considered to be.

This tripartite division seems from the evidence of prefaces and forewords to coincide with three envisaged readerships (which are not mutually exclusive categories): students, specialists and general readers, whose wonderment at nature fired their curiosity about its hidden laws. These last might be readers of Latin; in the course of the sixteenth century, more and more vernacular versions of philosophical texts appeared, suggesting that Latin was not always possessed by such consumers.¹⁰ Wonderment at natural phenomena and intellectual curiosity were common to philosopher and inquisitive non-specialist

⁸ On the place of philosophy in university curricula see Charles B. Schmitt, *The Aristotelian tradition and Renaissance universities*, London: Variorum, 1984.

⁹ See *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts 1564–1600*, edited by Bernhard Fabian, 5 vols., Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1972–2001; Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The distribution of books by catalogue from the invention of printing to AD. 1800, based on material in the Broxbourne Library*, Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965; G. Richter, 'Bibliographische Beiträge zur Geschichte buchhändlerischer Kataloge im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert' in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buches*, pp. 183–229; Rudolf Engelsing, 'Deutscher Verlegerplakate des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 9 (1969), 217–338; *Bücherkataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Reinhard Wittmann, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984.

¹⁰ Witness the publication in Latin and French of such texts as Girolamo Cardano's *De subtilitate*, Paris: Granjon and Fezendat, 1551, translated into French by Richard Le Blanc, Paris: Le Noir et al., 1556, and Levinus Lemnius's *De occultis naturae miraculis*, Antwerp: Simon, 1559, translated into French by Antoine du Pinet de Noroy, Lyon: J. Frellon, 1566 and Jacques Gohorry, Paris: P. du Pré, 1567.

alike;¹¹ their satisfaction in private acts of reading fostered, it has been argued, the development of an intimate space in which heretical or seditious meditation on religious and political issues is made possible, as well as various forms of imaginative fantasy and wish-fulfilment.¹² It is natural therefore that the vulgarization and dissemination of ideas through such books, especially if written in the vernacular, should provoke repeated attempts at regulation and control by ecclesiastical and political authorities.

Many 'philosophical fictions' belong to this third category: indeed they may even constitute a majority of such vernacular books in the sixteenth century. Many more fall into the category 'libri poetici', especially if produced in verse. Does this mean that philosophical fiction is a genre intelligible only in retrospect? Would the contemporaries of Pierre de Ronsard, Pontus de Tyard and Guillaume du Bartas have distinguished radically their works from those of Erasmus, Cardano and Lemnius? One epithet-'poétique'-suggests a link insofar as this term connotes 'containing veiled truth'; the detour through 'fable' to gain access to higher knowledge, the passage through the material to the ideal, is redolent of neoplatonism, as indeed are the implied combination of philosophy with eloquence, the informal presentation of premise and argument, the suggestion of the unicity of knowledge and of its encyclopedic coherence. Not that this combination of verse form and philosophical content need be neoplatonist: Virgil's *Georgics*, and to some degree Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*, offer models for the poetic treatment of natural and moral philosophy and are used as such, as Schmidt has shown, by sixteenth-century poets.¹³ A philosophical fiction, seen in these contexts, would combine timeless truth with narrative, the figurative with the literal, the *utile* with the *dulce*; but it might also parade informal, popular learning in place of ordered doctrine presented in a form which pays tribute to a classical model, vernacular in place of Latin, even perhaps the insights of autodidacts and

¹¹ On the motives traditionally ascribed to those engaging in philosophy see Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, A.I, and Cicero, *De divinatione*, II.17.

¹² This is argued by Paul Saenger in his contribution to *L'Histoire de l'édition française*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and Jean-Pierre Vivet, 4 vols., Paris: Promodis, 1982-86, i.136-7.

¹³ On the neoplatonist apology for poetry see Graeme Castor, *Pléiade poetics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 24-36. On the use of Virgil's *Georgics* as a model see Schmidt, *Poésie scientifique*, pp. 15-21.

eccentrics in place of the sanctioned textual monuments of academic institutions. The philosophical unveiling of mysteries offered to the curious reader occupies, therefore, an area of publication fraught with cultural risks: it is also an area which depends for its continued existence on the paradoxical fact that every act of 'unveiling' truths, which necessarily claims to be more successful than any previous attempt, must itself be imperfect enough to allow for future contributions to the genre.¹⁴

How does such a category of books fit into the publishing policy of sixteenth-century publishers? How profitable was it thought to be? Was the market for such books clearly circumscribed and subject to saturation, or was it extensible? Such questions have prompted discordant conjectures from historians of the book. The majority argue that in the case of '*matieres peu cognues*', that is, books of a genre as yet untried in the market, there is a high degree of speculative risk: advertisement on the title-page of the revelations promised in the book, the prestige of the dedicatee and the preface are all factors in success or failure. With such a view accords the claim that the market itself encourages risk and experiment with faddish publication because it is narrow enough to become frequently saturated;¹⁵ but others see publishers as more cautious and more ruthlessly commercial. There are famous cases to support both views: the failure of Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* in 1499, the success of French vernacular publication in the 1540s and 1550s.¹⁶ I cannot hope to settle such questions here, but I should like to suggest some strategies of approach which might prepare the way for some answers. A first approach to determining the success and readership of a book might be made through the facts of patronage. It is not difficult to find attestations of the importance of a patron's name in the success of a book which are independent of the rhetoric of the dedications in which they are named: a case which springs to mind

¹⁴ On the presence of this feature in occult writing see Ian Maclean, 'The Interpretation of Natural Signs: Cardano's *De subtilitate* versus Scaliger's *Exercitationes*' in *Occult and scientific mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 234–6.

¹⁵ See *Histoire de l'édition française*, i.160–1, 255–77.

¹⁶ See Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'Apparition du livre*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1958, p. 142 (this assessment of the fate of Colonna's work is omitted from subsequent editions), and below, notes. 25 and 26.

is Petrus Ramus's use of the name of the Cardinal de Lorraine.¹⁷ I do not intend to pursue this question, which leads into prosopographical study, but it is worth making the point that patrons are not all of one kind. In some cases, this role is taken by the publisher, who takes the full financial risk; there are those who commission books; others act as general protectors to their clients and supply all of their needs; yet others do no more than accept dedication of books to them and usually provide in return financial or other favours.¹⁸ Dependence upon patrons does not, of course, necessarily imply that severe constraints are placed on the freedom of expression of the author; but it does generate a rhetoric of donation in which the disinterestedness of the patron and his love of learning are praised, and his service to the public domain emphasized.¹⁹ Whatever patronal interests are also served (and they need not be sinister ones) is often left unsaid; so also, in such cases, is the precise readership aspired to by the author.

A second strategy for determining the readership of a book is through its author, or, as is often the case with the vernacular books which we are considering, its translators. To get one's works published without private means or a generous patron was not very easy (witness the struggles of Julius Caesar Scaliger with Parisian publishers in the 1530s):²⁰ the returns which one might expect are also not very great and seem in the main to have taken the form of free copies which were used by the author to attract patronage and make his name known in the nascent Republic of Letters.²¹ A rich gentleman author such as Montaigne could afford to comment wryly: 'j'achette les imprimeurs en Guiene: ailleurs ils m'achettent' and write a preface inviting his potential purchaser not

¹⁷ On Ramus and the Cardinal de Lorraine see James J. Murphy, Introduction to P. Ramus, *Arguments in rhetoric against Quintilian*, trans. C. Newlands, DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986, p. 3 (a translation of *Rhetoricae distinctiones in Quintilianum*).

¹⁸ See Jean Balsamo, 'Les Traducteurs français d'ouvrages italiens et leurs mécènes (1574–1589)' in *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance: Actes du XXVIII^e colloque international d'Etudes humanistes de Tours*, ed. Pierre Aquilon, Henri-Jean Martin and François Dupuiguenet-Desroussilles, Paris: Promodis, 1988, pp. 122–32.

¹⁹ For a different assessment see Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the market: books as gifts in sixteenth-century France', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 33 (1983), 69–88.

²⁰ See Michel Magnien, 'Un humaniste face aux problèmes d'édition: Jules-César Scaliger et les imprimeurs', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 44 (1982), 307–29.

²¹ On payment of authors see *Histoire de l'édition française*, i.237–42.

to buy the book;²² for those who lived directly or indirectly from their writings such nonchalance would have been an unthinkable luxury. It is most common to find that the title-page and preface claim to appeal to the widest conceivable readership, either by a litany of the benefits to be derived from the book by different classes of readers, or by its claim to reveal secrets or to make texts accessible which had hitherto been known only to initiates.²³ Translation falls into the latter category; in the area of philosophical fictions, the fact of translation is a strong indication of speculative investment and market prediction, especially if the translation has been undertaken by one of the small band of professional translators of this period.²⁴

As I have already suggested, it is not at all uncommon to discover that the publisher acted as patron or commercial sponsor of a book. What is less clear is how such speculation fitted in with the overall financial strategy of a given publisher, if indeed he had one. Did publishers take very few risks? Did they balance staples against marginals? How close were their relationships with authors and with the other publishers with whom they might choose to collaborate? I shall cite briefly four cases which throw some light on to these questions. The first is that of Vincent Sertenas, whose career as publisher between 1534 and 1562 has been studied by Michel Simonin. Sertenas is characterized by him as an opportunist working outside the charmed circle of humanist printer-publishers whose erudition and devotion to learning authors acknowledged gratefully in prefaces; he specialized in those areas of the market where a speculative profit was to be made—vernacular literature,

²² Michel de Montaigne, *Essais*, ed. A. Thibaudet and M. Rat, Paris: Gallimard, 1962, p. 786 (iii.2); p. 9 ('Au Lecteur').

²³ A few examples are afforded by Etienne Binet, *Essay des merveilles de nature, et des plus nobles artifices. Piece tres-necessaire à tous ceux qui font profession d'éloquence*, Rouen: R de Beauvais, 1621; Jean Bodin, *Le Theatre de la nature universelle [...] auquel on peut contempler les causes efficientes et finales de toutes choses, desquelles l'ordre est continue par questions et responces en cinq livres*, trans. François de Fougerolles, Lyon: J. Pillehotte, 1597 (the *Universae naturae theatrum* was published in Lyon by J. Roussin in 1596); Christofle de Savigny, *Tableaux accomplis de tous les arts liberaux, contenant brevement et clerement par singuliere methode de doctrine, une generale et sommaire partition des dicts arts, amassez et reduits en ordre pour le soulagement et profit de la jeunesse*, Paris: J. and F. Gourmont, 1587; Justus Zintzerling (Jodocus Sincerus), *Le Voyage de France, dressé pour l'instruction et commodité tant des françois, que des estrangers*, Paris: O. de Varennes, 1639 (the *Itinerarium Galliae* was published in Lyon by J. du Creux alias Molliard in 1616).

²⁴ See Balsamo, 'Traducteurs français'.

translations and philosophical fictions.²⁵ The case of André Wechel offers a contrast to such a publishing policy. The heir of his uncle Chrétien Wechel, whose range of specialties he perpetuated, André sponsored editions of Greek and Latin classics and new pedagogical material (especially Greek grammars and textbooks of rhetoric). For a time in the 1550s, as Geneviève Guilleminot has shown, he acted as the publisher of prominent members of the Pléiade: this gesture may indicate both the growing respectability of vernacular letters and the fine commercial judgement of Wechel himself. The association was fairly short-lived (perhaps because of the presumed religious affiliations of Wechel), but it is a sign of the willingness of established publishers to diversify and to sponsor new areas of the market.²⁶ This suggests that the commercial potential of vernacular publication and a shift in the constitution of the market are features of the middle years of the century.

Confirmation of this hypothesis may be derived from the third case I wish to cite, that of Gilles Beys. Unlike Wechel, Beys seems not to have been able to call on accumulated reserves of capital or credit with other publishers; he was the agent of Christophe Plantin (whose son-in-law he was to become), and the manager of his Paris branch from 1564. In 1577, his father-in-law sold his Paris outlet to Michael Sonnius much to Gilles's annoyance,²⁷ and made Sonnius his Paris outlet. As a consequence, Gilles became a *libraire juré* and began to publish (although not to print) under his own name. This venture seems to have suffered from under-capitalization; after six difficult years, he diversified by opening a bookshop at the Palais and seems at all times to have been struggling to establish himself. His entry into the market in 1577 offers evidence of what an experienced agent in the world of books thought of as the right portfolio of publishing interests. To open his account, he chooses to sponsor liturgical books, sermons, textbooks

²⁵ See Michel Simonin, 'Peut-on parler de politique éditoriale au XVI^e siècle? Le cas de Vincent Sertenas (1534–62) libraire du Palais' in *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, pp. 264–81.

²⁶ See Geneviève Guilleminot, 'André Wechel et la Pléiade (1555–1559)', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 17 (1980), 66–72. On Wechel see also R.J.W. Evans, *The Wechel presses: humanism and Calvinism in central Europe 1572–1627, Past and present*, Supplement 2, Oxford, 1975.

²⁷ See Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and engraved book illustrations in sixteenth-century Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 208, 365.

and poetry, and to balance this with scholarly books and philosophical fictions, using Plantin's Paris connections-Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, Gilbert Génébrard and Claude Mignault. His 1577–8 list is revealing: a number of very small formats (Génébrard's edition of the Psalms in 32mo, a Cicero florilegium in 16mo, as well as Guillaume Gosselin's *Six Livres de similitudes*); some octavos destined for the general reader and the school market (Jacques Amyot's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, Cardano's *De subtilitate*; also translations of Marsilio Ficino, Antonio Guevara and Francesco Patrizi, Guillaume Gosselin's *De arte magna*, Niccolò Tartaglia's *Arithmetique*); a quarto for the university market (Omer Talon's *Rhetorica*, edited by Claude Mignault). Among these books are a number of translations (mostly reprints of renderings undertaken earlier in the century); one example of extensive collaboration (Cardano's *De subtilitate* appears with seven different imprints), which, given Beys's financial circumstances, must represent shared risk in this case; and a hint of new scholarship in the figures of Gosselin and Mignault.²⁸ Beys's assessment of the profitable sectors of the market is confirmed by a similar configuration (with greater emphasis on poetry and on texts in vernaculars other than French) in the 1592–3 list of Jamet Mettayer of Tours, who, like Beys, broadened his range to include a speculative investment in the market for philosophical fictions (Mettayer was the publisher of François Bérolalde de Verville's *Les Aventures de Floride*).²⁹ From these four cases of publishers, we may surmise that vernacular literature and foreign books of philosophical interest in translation represent shrewd investment in a potentially lucrative sector of the market, but one which is not so safe that all eggs were placed in this one basket.

We must now turn to the potential purchasers whom Sertenas, Wechel, Beys and Mettayer were courting with their wares. In this respect, contemporary bibliographies, that is, guides for purchasers, do not offer much assistance. For different reasons, Conrad Gessner, François Grudé de la Croix du Maine and Antoine du Verdier are all unselective, although they offer interesting insights as to contemporary

²⁸ See Ursula Baurmeister, 'Gilles Beys, 1541/2–1595' in *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle: ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1964–, iii.312–73.

²⁹ See Albert Labarre, 'Tours' in *Bibliotheca bibliographica aureliana: répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, 30 fascicules, Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1968–80, XXIII (1976), pp. 31–148 (74–125).

notions of genre;³⁰ even Gabriel Naudé in his *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (1626) excludes very little, although he makes a number of positive recommendations.³¹ Furthermore, not much information about purchases in the general area of philosophical fiction is forthcoming from *inventaires après décès*, as a perusal of the meagre findings of Doucet, Labarre, Chrisman and Aquilon shows.³² Some late Renaissance libraries are more informative; that of the Parisian doctor Nicolas Rasse des Neux is being worked on at present and that of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc was published in 1990.³³ The vernacular entries of the section 'philosophie' confirm the portmanteau nature of the category: together with folio annotated editions of Aristotle's works, one finds such entries as *Les Merveilles du monde ou le secret de l'histoire naturelle [...] tirées de Pline* (Lyon, 1534); Marin Cureau de la Chambre's *Nouvelles pensées sur les causes de la lumière, du desbordement du Nil et de l'amour d'inclination* (Paris, 1634); Claude Duret's *Traicté des causes du mouvement, flux et reflux de la mer* (Paris, 1600); Guillaume du Vair's *De la constance et consolation en calamitez publiques* (Paris, 1595); and a number of Italian and Spanish works, including Giulio Durante's *Trattato di dodici bagni singolari della cita di Viterbo* (Perugia, 1599)

³⁰ The full title of Gessner's work reads *Bibliotheca universalis, sive catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus, in tribus linguis, latina, graeca et hebraica: extantium et non extantium, veterum et recentiorum in hunc usque diem, doctorum et indoctorum, publicatorum et in bibliothecis latentium*, Zürich: Froschauer, 1545. La Croix du Maine declares that he listed as many French writers as possible to show by how far the French surpass the Italians (as these are represented in Antonio Francesco Doni's *La libreria*, 3 vols., Venice: Scoto, 1550); Du Verdier alleges the same reason and adds that as knowledge is the birthright of every man, he conceives it to be his duty to make public knowledge in all its forms (even heresy): see *Les Bibliothèques françaises de La Croix du Maine et de Du Verdier*, ed. M. Rigoley de Juvigny, 6 vols., Paris: Saillant and Nyon, 1772–3, ii. i–xxiv; iii. i–xli. Gessner's continuators develop even more ingenious apologies for all-inclusiveness: see that of Joannes Jacobus Frisius, editor (with Josias Simlerus) of the *Epitome bibliothecae Gesneri*, Zürich: Froschauer, 1583, sigs *7–8.

³¹ Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, Leipzig: VEB, 1963, esp. pp. 37–73.

³² See Roger Doucet, *Les Bibliothèques parisiennes au XVI^e siècle*, Paris: Picard, 1956; Albert Labarre, *Le Livre dans la vie amiénoise du 16^e siècle*, Paris and Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1971; Miriam Chrisman, *Lay culture, learned culture: books and social change in Strasbourg, 1480–1599*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982; Pierre Aquilon, 'Trois Avocats angevins dans leur librairie' in *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, pp. 502–49.

³³ The catalogue of the library of Nicolas Rasse is being prepared by Mme Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer; see her 'Un collectionneur peu connu: François Rasse des Neux, chirurgien parisien', in *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey*, ed. S. van der Woude, Amsterdam: Herzberger, 1968, pp. 368–417; *La Bibliothèque de Peiresc*, ed. Edith Bayle, Agnès Bresson and Jean-François Maillard, Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1990.

and Gaspar de Morales's *Libro de las virtudes y propiedades maravillosas de las piedras preciosas* (Madrid, 1605). Clearly Peiresc did not think that the possession of such volumes was demeaning; but gentlemen-scholars with broad intellectual interests cannot have constituted the whole of the market. It would be pleasing to find confirmation of lowlier purchasers and proof of the intuitions of historians working in this area that both men and women of quite modest social rank were among the consumers of such books.

Although the *inventaires après décès* do not tell us much on this matter, there are a few clues as to the existence of such consumers. One such identifiable group is constituted by francophone exiles in Germany in the second half of the sixteenth century. From 1568 onwards, the twice-yearly Frankfurt Book Fair catalogues carry a few titles of books written in vernaculars other than German; this category of entry gradually increased from about ten to about twenty-five a year in the first decade and continued to grow erratically until the end of the century.³⁴ Over the same period, the French émigré population of Frankfurt itself (mainly religious refugees) increased from about 2,000 to 4,000 and included a broad range of social classes, with artisans in the majority.³⁵ It does not seem implausible that the 'libri peregrino idiomate conscripti' reflect the judgement of French-language publishers as to what the tastes of such a non-Latinate population might be. The books offered comprise Calvinist piety and recent French history (as one would expect), together with the configuration of interests we have noted in the lists of Beys and Mettayer: translations of the classics, recent vernacular poetry and prose, translations of philosophical fictions. Was this the reading chosen by émigrés to alleviate their exile? It would seem that some French publishers thought so, to the extent that they were willing to transport such works abroad at considerable expense.³⁶ No doubt it is possible to infer that the reading matter of such émigrés would have been the same if they had remained at home in France and that the same social classes inside France engaged in the same reading. This inference is somewhat shaky, as it is well known that Calvinists

³⁴ This information has been extracted from *Die Messkataloge*.

³⁵ See Matthias Meyn, *Die Reichstadt Frankfurt vor dem Bürgeraufstand von 1612 bis 1614: Struktur und Krise*, Frankfurt: Kramer, 1980, esp. pp. 228–33.

³⁶ On transport and other selling costs see Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, selling and reading*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967, pp. 63–5.

in particular were encouraged to acquire reading skills;³⁷ later evidence also shows rather restricted reading habits in artisan classes and among the lower orders of legal officials.³⁸ But it seems reasonable to assume that the readership of philosophical fictions extended well below the category of gentleman-scholar and that the interest shown in producing cheap books for this market sector suggests that the market envisaged by Sertenas, Wechel, Beys and Mettayer was extensible because of its potential appeal to the lower social orders.

This brief and unsystematic survey cannot lead to firm conclusions. I hope that I have shown that 'philosophy' as a category in the Renaissance is a mixture of the institutional and the amateur; of sober enquiry into natural phenomena and the more specious and popular satisfaction of human curiosity about the world and its workings; of textbooks and books of less definable scope in terms of readership. The fact that informal philosophical books relate to the developable sector of the book market suggests that there may be a certain danger inherent in attempting to extract single readings and a single system from them; but their possession by gentlemen-scholars suggests also that they were not necessarily produced for the gullible and ill-educated. In the light of these findings, Albert-Marie Schmidt's description of scientific poetry seems to me to be neither as coherent a category as he alleges, nor to be addressed only (or even primarily) to the audience he alleges. A consideration of bibliographical data—format, publication, financing—and of the perspective on the book market offered by publishers and authors can, therefore, I think be of use to modern interpreters who are concerned to give a historical dimension to their analyses in determining genre, in identifying intended readerships and in recognizing the rhetorical strategies of dedications and prefaces.

³⁷ See Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and culture in early modern France*, London: Duckworth, 1975, pp. 66–96, 188–226. Some evidence is also afforded by the *Recueil general des caquets de l'accouchee*, n.p. 1623, pp. 35–6, 56–61.

³⁸ See *Histoire de l'édition française*, i.585–603.

CHAPTER THREE

MEDIATIONS OF ZABARELLA IN NORTHERN GERMANY, 1586–1623

This is not a paper about Zabarella's philosophy, but the history of its mediation to Northern Europe, through the activities of editors, printer-publishers and the operation of the Frankfurt book fair. It raises the question of intellectual property, and the reasons behind the adoption of certain Italian texts rather than others in the period 1580–1620.

I begin with a few salient facts about the economic, commercial and legal aspects of book production in the sixteenth century. All publication began with copy to be printed and published; to set production in train, the first thing to pay for was the paper, the cost of which represented about half the total cost of production, as against 14%–20% in the case of modern books. Only then did the labour costs of the printing workshop come into question; and these could be to some degree discounted by giving the printer a share in the eventual print run. In the case of learned books, many authors oversaw the proofs of their own works, although the larger printing houses had their own 'corrector', who was usually an eminent scholar. The choice of format reflected in large part the choice of market (folio was reserved for commemorative publication or large-scale reference works, aimed at the institutional market or rich collectors; smaller formats were aimed at a broader market). The last part of the book to be printed were the preliminaries (the titlepage and first gathering). This contained what I shall call the 'paratext': that is, liminary prefaces and poems, dedications, and references to licences or permissions. These materials, as well as the information given on the titlepage, may indicate all or some of the following: the targeted readership, the sources of financing, the genre of the book and its place in the market, and the relation of the work to previous works of the same kind.

Once printed, the book entered the book market, usually by being presented in one of the great Book Fairs. International publishers and printer-publishers usually not only had warehouses of books in the Book Fair cities, but also their own shops as outlets in certain places. They engaged widely in *Tauschhandel* (the practice of swapping page

for page of printed material in the same format with other publishers), which relieved their problems of cash flow and turned them into book-sellers or at least book dealers; but it was possible to be no more than a publisher, or no more than a bookseller, or no more than a printer. In some cases, the books they advertised would be protected from piracy by a licence or 'privilege'. These were very expensive legal instruments, and were usually only obtained if it was thought both that the work or works in question would be commercially successful as a monopoly product, and that piracy was therefore likely. They could be held by the author, the producer (i.e. editor), or the printer-publisher. They were usually only issued for new works or 'improved' works; they protected the book in a given jurisdiction; for example the Holy Roman Empire, or the state of Venice.¹

I intend to investigate the publication of Zabarella in the period 1578 and 1623 in the light of these points, taking the *Opera logica*, the *De rebus naturalibus* and the Commentaries separately. Under the first I shall discuss the place of Zabarella's work in the context of both works on a posteriori demonstration and logic tables; in the second I shall look at the other Italian candidates for dissemination as general textbooks on natural philosophy, before offering some general conclusions about Zabarella's mediation in my chosen period. But first of all I must introduce you to the major players—editors, printers and publishers—in the story I shall tell, and give you some information about their confessional affiliations, their ideological commitments, and their contacts with each other.

Giulio Pace (1550–1635) was one of the most distinguished logicians and jurists of his generation. He was a pupil of Zabarella at Padua who fled because of his Calvinist persuasions to Geneva, where he taught for a time at the Academy of Geneva, before leaving in 1585 to go to

¹ On the various points made here, see Ian Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books and conceptions of genre in northern Europe, 1570–1630', above, pp. 9–23; K. Schottenloher, 'Die Druckprivilegien des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 19 (1933), 89–111; Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before copyright: the French book-privilege system 1498–1526*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; R.J.W. Evans, *The Wechsel presses; humanism and Calvinism in central Europe 1572–1627*, *Past and Present* Supplement 2, Oxford, 1975; Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, Leipzig: Verlag des deutschen Börsenvereins, 1889, esp. pp. 448–521; Johann Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, 1648–1740*, Leipzig: Verlag des deutschen Börsenvereins, 1908, pp. 89ff.; Ulrich Engelhardt, *Die kaiserliche Aufsicht über Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Presse im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation (1492–1806)*, Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1970.

Heidelberg, probably because he was refused permission to teach logic. He met the publisher Jean Mareschal while in Heidelberg, and with him published two of his own works, as well as Zabarella's complete works (to date) in 1586–7, for which he wrote the introduction while in Frankfurt, where the volume was printed.²

Jean Mareschal of Lyon (1510–90) was a member of a printing and publishing family; he became a protestant before 1560, and moved from Lyon first to Basle, then to Heidelberg. After his death his son was a bookseller ('libraire') in that city from 1593 to 1623, where he continued intermittently to publish. Jean was connected to both André Wechel and Johann Wechel, two of the most enterprising humanist printer-publishers of the century.³

Johann (or Jean) Wechel, a member of the famous Wechel family of printers, was active between 1583 and 1593 in Frankfurt; among the authors whom he published were a number of Englishmen (Case, Bright, Digby), some prominent Italian doctors, and some of the most famous writers of his day, including Bodin, Bruno and Lipsius. His house was frequented during the time of the Frankfurt fairs by many publishers and authors. When he died, his widow married Zacharias Palthen, who continued to publish learned works from abroad (notably in the areas of law and medicine), and to print for others until the second decade of the seventeenth century.⁴

Paulo Meietti flourished from around 1570 into the first decade of the seventeenth century; he was a bookseller in Padua and publisher in Padua and Venice who edited medical works himself,⁵ and was one

² Irene Backus, 'The teaching of logic in two protestant academies at the end of the sixteenth century: the reception of Zabarella in Strasbourg and Geneva', *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte*, 80 (1989), 240–51 (241). See also Cesare Vasoli, 'Giulio Pace e la diffusione europea di alcuni temi Aristotelici Padovani', in *Aristotelismo Veneto e Scienza Moderna: atti del 25^o. Anno accademico del Centro per la storia della tradizione Aristotelica nel Veneto*, ed. Luigi Olivieri, Padua: Antenore, 1983, pp. 1009–34.

³ Henri-Louis Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, Paris: F. de Nobele, 1964, xi.375ff.; Evans, *The Wechel presses*; Ian Maclean, 'L'Economie du livre érudit: le cas Wechel (1572–1627)', in *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, ed. Pierre Aquilon, Henri-Jean Martin and François Dupuigrenet-Desroussilles, Paris: Promodis, 1988, pp. 230–9; idem, 'André Wechel at Frankfurt, 1572–1581', below, pp. 163–225. There are other examples (e.g. Petrus Sanctandreas, Antoine Vincent) of expatriate publishers retaining a Lyon imprint while living elsewhere.

⁴ Ibid. Among the Italian doctors published were Costanzo Varioli, Giovanni Battista Cortes, and Girolamo Mercuriale, some of whom were also published by Paolo Meietti.

⁵ *Opuscula illustrium medicorum de dosibus, seu de iusta quantitate et proportione medicamentorum*; a version with only four authors appeared in Padua in 1556, edited

of the foremost Venetian publishers of learned materials (especially natural philosophy and medicine) of his day. His son Roberto Meietti was active as a bookseller in nearby Treviso.⁶

Giovanni Battista Ciotti (1560–after 1625) was one of the most active international publishers of his day. From 1583 on, he was a regular attendee at the Frankfurt Book Fair; an early publication was printed for him there in 1587 by Johann Wechel (a book on palmistry), but with a title-page which claimed that it had appeared in Bergamo, presumably to avoid problems with the censor.⁷ Between 1588 and 1590, as Dennis Rhodes has shown, he chose to have a number of scholarly books printed by Johann Feyerabend of Frankfurt for distribution at the Book Fair in that city; they appeared under the safe Catholic imprint of Cologne, no doubt to facilitate their entry into the Italian market. Like Lazarus Zetzner, about whom we shall hear shortly, he was a speculator on the book market, looking for opportunities to sell Italian authors in Germany. He is known to have acted as go-between for authors, patrons and publishers (including Konrad von Waldkirch) while in Frankfurt; it was there that he met Giordano Bruno in 1592, probably at the house of Johann Wechel, and urged him to return to Italy on the bidding of the Archbishop of Cyprus, Filippo Mocenigo, one of Zabarella's patrons. His role as mediator from one culture to another is evinced by the many prefaces and introductory dedications he writes to the books he published. Like many speculators of his day, he entered into collaboration with fellow publishers both in Italy and elsewhere; these include Francesco dei Franceschi and Roberto Meietti.⁸

Lazarus Zetzner of Strasbourg (1551–1616) is the most important figure in the transmission of Zabarella to Northern Europe. He began as a publisher in 1585, and like Ciotti, employed Johann Wechel to print his first publication; thereafter, he used printers in Montbéliard (Jacques Foillet),

by the printer Hieronymus de Gibertis; followed other Italian editions in 1562, 1564, 1566 and 1579 (this last was edited by Paolo Meietto and reprinted by Jean Mareschal without an address in 1584, 8vo).

⁶ See Dennis E. Rhodes, 'Roberto Meietti e alcuni documenti della controversia fra Papa Paolo V e Venezia', *Studi secenteschi*, 1 (1960), 165–74 (167–8).

⁷ Antonio Piccioli, *De manus inspectione libri tres*, 'Bergomi, expensis Ioannis Baptistae Ciotti Senensis'.

⁸ Massimo Firpo, 'Giovanni Battista Ciotti', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 25 (1981), 692–6; Dennis E. Rhodes, 'Some neglected aspects of the career of Giovanni Battista Ciotti', *The Library*, Sixth series, 9 (1987), 225–39 (giving details of Ciotti at the book fairs). Dr Rhodes is preparing a full bibliography of the very extensive publications of Ciotti.

Basle (Konrad von Waldkirch, a contact of Giovanni Battista Ciotti),⁹ Frankfurt (Zacharias Palthen, Johannes Saur, Nicholas Bassée, and the heirs of André Wechel), Oberursel (Cornelius Sutor) and possibly Neustadt (Matthaeus Harnisch); he seems to have used Strasbourg printers only for local (Academy) publications. Like Ciotti, he publishes a number of books with the imprint Cologne, where he had an outlet, although they were not printed there.¹⁰ By 1596, he was doing so well that he could afford to buy a privilege from the Holy Roman Emperor, in which he admits to his commercial motive in publishing. He was clearly known to be a Lutheran, as the imperial privilege warns him not to attempt to publish anything ‘in se scandalosum, aut orthodoxae Religioni Catholicae sacrique Romani Imperii constitutionibus adversum, sive in praefatione, sive in textu aut alio quoque modo’; but in a later letter of 1608 requesting a privilege for a book of exorcism, his statement that he wished to publish this for the good of the Catholic Church is amended to read ‘in Christianorum usum’; and he was in such good odour with Rudolf II that the Emperor ennobled him (there is a previous example of this, in the figure of Heinrich Petri of Basle).¹¹ Like Ciotti, he wrote introductions to many of the works he caused to be reprinted (as the Imperial censor noted by his reference to ‘in praefatione’). Like André Wechel, he seemed to have made sure that all his publishing activities were above board and visible to the imperial authorities in Frankfurt. He became a very rich man, and one with influence in Strasbourg; his editorial policy seems to have been driven like Ciotti’s by an agenda of cultural mediation through the republishing of authors in places and to readerships to which they were not yet accessible. Many of his publications are reprintings of existing books, for which he did not need to negotiate the delivery of copy from an author. Some of these acts of

⁹ See also his publication of Italian authors such as Michele Colombo, *Liber responsorum et consultationum medicinalium*, in 1588.

¹⁰ The book fair catalogues often use the formula ‘Coloniae apud Lazarum Zetznerum prostant’ (e.g. in the entry for the Collegium Conimbricense commentaries on the *De anima*, announced in the autumn of 1599). His sensitivity to the Catholic market may have been such that when he published in 1603 Joannes ad Indagine’s work on the conjectural arts, which begins with a section on chiromancy, he omitted the reference to the first section from the titlepage because of the bull of Sixtus V issued in 1586 against the practice: see Guido Canziani, ‘Causalité et analogie dans la théorie physiognomique’, *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et de Théologiques*, 72 (1988), 209–25.

¹¹ See Ian Maclean, ‘Cardano and his publishers, 1534–1663’, below, pp. 131–61.

republication could be interpreted as commercially aggressive.¹² They included the works of Lull, Paracelsus, Zabarella, and alchemical literature.¹³ His protestant persuasions emerged in one polemical work, and in the publication of politico-legal works supporting a Lutheran view of statehood (Botero's *Della ragion de stato*).¹⁴ His collaboration with other publishers included work with Pierre Mareschal, Johann Albin of Mainz, Ciotti and Johann Theobald Schönwetter, all of whom except Albin were also involved in the publication of Zabarella.¹⁵ Like Ciotti, he wrote numerous prefaces to the works he published, in which he often casts himself as the servant of the German learning and culture.¹⁶

¹² An example might be the publication of Lull's *Opera* in 8vo in 1598, two years after his colleague Cornelius Sutor (whom he was to employ as a printer in 1603) had published the *Ars magna* in the same format and market zone.

¹³ Rita Sturlese, 'Lazar Zetzner, "Bibliopola Argentiniensis": Alchimie und Lullismus in Strassburg an den Anfängen der Moderne', *Sudhoffs Archiv* 75 (1991), 140–62 argues that he was personally committed to the publication of these authors, but some caution must be exercised in interpreting his acts of republication. His edition of the *Opera* of Lull appeared with the imprint Cologne in 1597, one year after the appearance of Lull's *Ars magna* and other works by Cornelius Sutor (typis Joannis Saurii), and may be a predatory or opportunistic act of market exploitation. Sutor appears to be involved with him again in 1603, this time as the printer of Abraham Scultetus's *Ethica*, in 8vo. On Sutor, see Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 370.

¹⁴ Rita Sturlese, 'Lazar Zetzner', 144. The polemical publication was an edition of the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.

¹⁵ Vienna, Haus-Hof und Staatsarchiv, Impressoria, FZ 79, ff. 174–206; Joseph Benzing, 'Die deutschen Verleger des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 18 (1977), 1308. Zetzner also speculated by buying in (or acquiring by Tauschhandel) unsold sheets of other publishers and reissuing them: see Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica*, Strasbourg, per Lazarum Zetznerum, 1594, colophon 'Basileae, ex officina Hervagiana, per Eusebium Episcopium, 1577'. Apart from the co-publication of Pedro de Fonseca's commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* with Johann Theobald Schönwetter in 1599–1601, few texts after 1600 bear the name of the printer anywhere in the book. See also Jean Muller, *Bibliographie Strasbourgeoise*, Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1986, pp. 639–46. Zetzner collaborated with Johann Albin in the first German edition of the Collegium Conimbricense commentaries on *De generatione et corruptione*: see Leipzig: *Messkataloge*, Olms Microform, Michaelismesse 1599. The same book appears in the catalogues for 1600 and 1601 without mention of Zetzner, however. See F. Edward Cranz, *A bibliography of Aristotle editions 1501–1600*, 2nd ed., add. and rev. by Charles B. Schmitt, Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1984, pp. 109–13, nos 108 752 (Coimbra, 1593 edition), 108 772, 779, 779B. Schönwetter also collaborated with Albin in the publication of Martin Delrio's *Disquisitiones magicae* in 1600. I add this detail to show how closely intermeshed the activities of publishers of learned material were at this time. On Albin, see Josef Benzing, *Buchdrucker*, p. 318; on Schönwetter, see Hildegard Starp, 'Das Verlagshaus Schönwetter, 1598–1726', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 1 (1958), 38–113.

¹⁶ A good example of this is the introduction he co-authored with Schönwetter in 1599 for Pedro de Fonseca's commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. He frequently

Neither he nor Ciotti ever printed works. Their choice of printers was certainly in part dictated by the need to meet correct scholarly standards; another one important issue was cost; paper could be twice as expensive in Italy as in Germany, and printing costs seem to have varied widely also. It is difficult to know whether ideology or confessional affiliation entered into their choice, although it seems on circumstantial evidence to have played an important role. Johann Wechel had a marked association with a distinct intellectual and religious outlook. He was a printer-publisher of not Lutheran but reformed (i.e. Calvinist) authors; but his most marked commitment was to an international outlook and to a range of up-to-the minute intellectual topics which he seems to have shared with Zetzner, Schönwetter and von Waldkirch. These include the works of Paracelsus; alchemy; astrology and cosmology; occultism and Lullism; and new works on medicine and scientific method as far as this can be associated with a posteriori demonstration.

Johann Ludwig Hawenreuter (1548–1618) is the last figure whom I shall mention. He was a pupil of Sturm in the Strasbourg Academy, where taught logic from 1573–97; from 1585–9 he occupied the chair of medicine, and from 1589 onwards the chair of Physics and Metaphysics. Like Pace, he wrote a preface to Zabarella's logical works when these were first published by Zetzner; this was less enthusiastic than Pace's and resisted some of Zabarella's innovations in the doctrine of demonstration, but supported Zabarella's vision of Aristotle as an author whose works were to be seen as a unity, of dialectics as part of logic and not vice versa, and of logic as an instrument not a science in itself. Also unlike Pace, he seems not to have been involved with the international set of educated printer-publishers, although as Sachiko Kusakawa has shown, he had a clear grasp of the needs and interests of fellow protestant university teachers of his time.¹⁷

I come now to the publications of Zabarella, and first the *Opera logica*; I shall speak briefly of the Italian phase as an introduction to Zabarella's passage north of the Alps. The first of Zabarella's publications was occasioned by the invitation extended to him in 1578 by

advertised on title-pages the fact that his publications were 'nunc primum in Germania typis descript[a]'.¹⁷

¹⁷ Backus, 'Teaching of logic'; Peter Petersen, *Geschichte der Aristotelischen Philosophie in Deutschland*, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann, 1964, pp. 195–218; Kusakawa, 'Mediations of Zabarella in Northern Europe: the Preface of Johann Ludwig Hawenreuter', in *La presenza dell'Aristotelismo padovano nella filosofia della prima modernità*, ed. Gregorio Piaia, Padua: Antenore, 2002, pp. 199–214.

King Stephen of Poland to settle in that country. He declined, but was sufficiently moved by the offer to produce nine essays on logic which he sent to the King as propitiation.¹⁸ It is slightly unusual for Paduan professors to have their lectures and pedagogical material published during their lifetime: the motive in this case may well have been the royal invitation. A year later, one of his pupils, Antonio Compagna, published his diagrammatic tables of logic, covering not only parts of the *Organon* and Porphyry's *Isagoge*, but also a section on modal logic not actually covered by Aristotle. Two years later, the commentary on the *Posterior Analytics* appeared; this was followed by the defence which Zabarella wrote of his approach to Aristotle against the attack made upon it in his own university by Francesco Piccolomini.¹⁹ The final section of this phase of Zabarella's work appeared in 1586, entitled *De naturalis scientiae constitutione*: a short résumé of what later was to become the *De rebus naturalibus*. All of these works were published in folio by Paolo Meietti, who seems the most likely financier; all but the first were dedicated to senior churchmen of some learning, some of whom may have contributed to the costs of production.²⁰

The first northern European edition was instigated by Giulio Pace, printed by Johann Wechel in Frankfurt, and published by Jean Mareschal of Heidelberg, although no place of publication is given on the five separate title-pages. As the paratext makes clear, the context of the publication is the pedagogical war being waged between Ramists and their opponents in Northern Europe at the time. The work's dedication, by Pace to Zabarella, was written in Frankfurt, possibly in the house of the printer Johann Wechel; in it, Pace records the need to combat the errors of Ramus with his erstwhile tutor's sound doctrine. He states that Jean Mareschal faced two problems: locating one of the scarce copies of the printed edition to be found north of the Alps, and assessing the

¹⁸ See Zedler, *Universalexicon*, s.v., and the dedication to the 1578 edition of the *Opera logica*.

¹⁹ See Nicholas Jardine, 'Keeping order in the School of Padua: Jacopo Zabarella and Francesco Piccolomini on the Offices of Philosophy', in *Method and order in Renaissance philosophy of nature*, ed. Daniel A. Di Liscia, Eckhard Kessler, and Charlotte Methuen, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997, pp. 183–210.

²⁰ The figures in question are Filippo Mocenigo, Archbishop of Cyprus; Cardinal Agostino Valerio, Bishop of Verona; Cardinal Alessandro Pereto (nephew of Pope Sixtus V, to whom the *De rebus naturalibus* is dedicated); and Francesco Cornelio, Bishop of Treviso.

reaction of Meietti to the plan for a new edition. In the second case, he declares to Zabarella:

There is no need to fear that the publisher Meietti would complain about the appearance of this edition, which has been brought out not for financial gain but for the public good; his character and probity are known to me; he is more likely to see himself as having been helped by Mareschal in the task of disseminating your excellent doctrine, for he will be able to sell his copies in Italy and neighbouring places. Nor will there be any harm to him through the fact that copies of another edition are on sale in German lands, which few copies of his own edition reach.²¹

This may look like insouciance, in that Mareschal did not engage in negotiations with his Italian colleague (it can be deduced also from the same preface that Pace did not consult the author himself in advance about the publication of his works); but Meietti must have known about Mareschal, as his own compilation of medical works on dosology had been republished by him in 1584.²² As Meietti had not secured a privilege in Germany for the *Opera logica*, neither he nor Zabarella was legally protected from unauthorised reprinting in any case. This means in effect that the market for Zabarella was zoned, and that different zones were covered by different publishers; for a work to be received in Northern Europe, an Italian printing was clearly not sufficient. Mareschal's publication is, like Meietti's, in folio; whereas in Italy this is not uncommonly chosen for books aimed at a quite broad university market, one would not have expected this format to be selected for the same purpose in Germany. It suggests to me therefore that the market targeted by Mareschal was not a very broad one, and probably included only academic institutions, committed professional readers, and perhaps the fringes of court culture. The most extraordinary claim made by Pace on the publisher's behalf, especially in the light of this, however, is the suggestion that Mareschal was not publishing for profit, but for the common

²¹ 'non esse verendum, ne Meietus typographus de hac editione, quae non lucri, sed publici boni causa instituta est, conquereretur; novi eius mores et probitatem, potius putabit se a Mareschalio adiutum in tua praeclara doctrina disseminanda: ipse enim poterit in Italia et vicinis locis exemplaria distrahere, nec moleste fieret, quod alia in Germania vendantur, quo paucissima ab ipso edita perveniunt': *Opera logica*, Frankfurt: Jean Wechel for Jean Mareschal, 1586–7, i. Sig.) (3r. The *Tabulae logicae* of 1589 published by Meietti in Venice have the same pagination and format as the Mareschal edition, but are not a reissue with a new titlepage for the Italian market.

²² See above, note 5.

good. A striking feature of the published text is the retention of the original five Zabarella dedications to senior churchmen.²³

Meietti continued to publish the *Opera logica* in the larger format in Italy, in the same five parts as in Northern Europe. His numbering of the editions does not recognise the Northern publications; his 'fourth edition' appeared in 1599–1601; this was shared with the Franceschi brothers (who also collaborated with Ciotti) and Francesco Bolzetta, another bookseller in Padua, whom we will soon meet again. A further edition appeared in 1604 in both Venice and nearby Treviso (bearing the name of Roberto Meietti); in this, the *Tabulae logicae* are said to be being published (or perhaps reprinted) for the sixteenth time. This number again refers only to Italian reprintings, of which there is some evidence in the Book Fair Catalogues (see appendix). Meietti seems to have used the Mareschal 1586 edition of the *Tabulae logicae* for his reprinting of the same work in 1589, protected with a privilege (presumably for Italy); but it would be unwise to take this to be evidence of collaboration between the Italian and the German publishers.²⁴

In Northern Europe, Zetzner and Mareschal's heir first undertake a new edition in Basle (in 1594); this is in 4to, and was printed by Konrad von Waldkirch. It may have been planned as early as 1590, as Jean Mareschal's name appears on some of the titlepages. It contains for the first time the preface of Hawenreuter, which gives a history of the reception of Aristotle's logic up to the present day, thanks Mareschal and Zetzner for publishing the works cheaply, and lists nine points in which Zabarella's mediation of Aristotle is particularly useful.²⁵ These constituents make up all editions up to 1623.²⁶ The next edition in date (1597) has as its address however Cologne, although it is clear that it was not printed there. As with the case of Ciotti's publications of the late 1580s, I suggest that this is to allow the text to be exported to Italy, where the place did not have the protestant connotations of Frankfurt or Basle.²⁷

²³ It is worthy of note that at least one of the authors contributing to the Heidelberg-Frankfurt paratext was Catholic (Blasius Kirchmair).

²⁴ I have inspected the copy in the University Library of Padua (shelfmark Ba 190/7); the printing is of an inferior quality to that of the Heidelberg/Frankfurt edition. A manuscript note of a very early owner on the flyleaf indicates that the tables were used as basic logic training in a seminary.

²⁵ On this, see the article of Sachiko Kusakawa, 'Mediations of Zabarella'.

²⁶ Zetzner and Mareschal are praised as 'bibliopolae solertissimae' for producing the *Opera logica* 'exiguo pretio' (sig.):(4').

²⁷ Rhodes, 'Neglected aspects', 235.

No name of printer appears on any of the editions from 1597 to 1623; but the initial letters, bandeaux and ornaments used are consistent with various Northern presses. The closest match (to date) is with the material of Matthaeus Harnisch of Neustadt: a town of such marked Calvinist affiliations that it would have been impossible to own up to the printer's identity without compromising a Catholic sale.²⁸ But it might equally have come from the presses of Johann Wechel, Johann Feyerabend, or Konrad von Waldkirch, all of whom use the same layouts, the same *mise en page*, the same compositorial practices, and have very similar materials. Zetzner could justify the imprint because he had a shop in Cologne. Editions follow in 1602 and 1603 (possibly the same print run), 1608, and 1623. The sequence 1597–1602/3–1608 probably reflects the renewal of the rights of privilege over the *Opera logica* by Zetzner; it is interesting to note that the market seems to be saturated by 1608, as no further reprint appears for fifteen years.²⁹

There are three aspects of these editions on which I should like briefly to comment. The first is their place in the Northern European debates about deductive inference (*demonstrationes ab effectu*) in both medicine and natural philosophy. I shall not discuss here the struggle between Philippists and Ramists,³⁰ nor the issue of Paduan naturalism and their apparent adherence to the doctrine of 'duplex veritas', but shall address the issue of a posteriori demonstration and what the 'pure' Aristotelian doctrine of this might have been seen to be.³¹ Such inference is treated in one of the five parts of academic medicine known as semiotic: this

²⁸ The evidence of common materials is to be found in the editions by Harnisch of Girolamo Zanchi's *Opera omnia* of 1589–91 and Georg Joachim Rheticus's *Opus palatinum de triangulis* (in comparison with the *Opera logica* of 1608 and the *De rebus naturalibus* of 1617). Since Harnisch died in 1598, and his heirs did not continue to publish for long after that date, it is likely that a third party bought the printing materials and used them. On Harnisch and his heirs and successors (Nicholas Schramm and Johann Halbey), see Josef Benzing, 'Matthäus Harnischs Söhne zu Neustadt an der Haart und ihre Nachfolger', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 1 (1958), 582–9. Many of these materials are found in other printers as far away as Helmstedt; only an identification of the papermarks together with the coincidence of a large number of ornaments and letters could constitute a convincing identification.

²⁹ See appended bibliography for all editions referred to in this text.

³⁰ A cursory glance at the book fair catalogues in the period 1580–1600 shows that this struggle dominated the field of 'philosophical' publication (in terms of the catalogues).

³¹ On these topics see Pedersen, *Geschichte*; Jardine, 'Keeping order'; and Horst Dreitzel, *Protestantischer Aristotelismus und absoluter Staat: die Politica des Henning Arnisaeus* (ca. 1575–1636), Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1970, pp. 80–6; Arnd Friedrich, *Die Gelehrtschulen in Marburg Kassel und Korbach zwischen Melanchthonianismus und*

is the study of signs in the context of diagnosis and prognosis, and involves demonstrationes ab effectu. Aristotle did not himself discuss signs at length, although there are passages on them in both parts of the *Analytics* and the two *Rhetorics*; Galen has more to say about them, but refers repeatedly to his work *De demonstratione*, which had been lost in the early Middle Ages. Various attempts were made by Renaissance doctors to reconstruct this work from scattered comments throughout the Galenic corpus: the most extensive is that of Jakob Schegk of Tübingen, which appeared in 1564. He ended up by writing something very closely calqued on Aristotle's *Posterior analytics*, a work which at Padua was recognised to be particularly suitable for use by doctors,³² and which is certainly in tune with their thoroughgoing realism; for how to reveal the 'res ipsae' is claimed to be the aim *simpliciter* of the methodical doctrine of doctors.³³ Zabarella's famous contribution to this issue is his discussion of regressus, in which the resolutive component starts from facts, effects, signs, all in the order of the senses;³⁴ but his claim that this can lead to apodictic demonstration is not upheld by either of his Northern editors, as Irene Backus has shown.³⁵ This topic is one which was much discussed in Germany in the last years of the sixteenth century, not only by Zabarella but also by the other Italian authors mentioned below in connection with his *De rebus naturalibus*. It is interesting to note that Zabarella emerges from this debate as both the upholder of the pure message of Aristotle and an innovator;

Ramismus in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, Darmstadt and Marburg: Hessische Historische Kommission, 1983.

³² Jacob Schegk, *De demonstratione libri XV: novum opus Galeni eiusdem argumenti iacturam resarciens*, Basle, 1564; cf. Adrien L'Alemand, *Ars parva*, Paris: Thomas Richard, 1549; Bartholomaeus Viottus, *De demonstratione libri quinque*, Paris: Andreas Wechel, 1560; Fortunatus Crellius, *In posteriora Aristotelis analytica commentarii*, Neustadt: Matthaeus Harnisch, 1584; Claude Aubéry, *Organon*, Morges: Franciscus le Preux, 1584; Sachiko Kusukawa, 'Lutheran uses of Aristotle: a comparison between Jacob Schegk and Philip Melancthon', in *Philosophy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: conversations with Aristotle*, ed. Constance Blackwell and Sachiko Kusukawa, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999, 169–88.

³³ Girolamo Capo di Vacca, *Opera omnia*, ed. Johann-Hartmann Beyer, Frankfurt: Jonas Rhodius, 1603, cols. 1011ff.

³⁴ See Heikki Mikkeli, *An Aristotelian response to Renaissance humanism: Jacopo Zabarella on the nature of the arts and the sciences*, Helsinki: SHS, 1992; Nicholas Jardine, 'Galileo's road to truth and demonstrative regress', *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science*, 7 (1976), 277–318; id., 'Epistemology of the sciences' in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 685–93.

³⁵ Backus, 'The teaching of logic'.

as Zetzner, Wechel and von Waldkirch are themselves more associated with innovation, it seems plausible to assume that Zabarella's Northern reputation was in turn coloured by those who transmitted his texts.

The *Tabulae logicae* also require some comment. It is a notable fact that after the dissemination of dichotomies in Ramus's work, some centres of publication rush to employ them, while others seem bent on avoiding their use. Basle and Frankfurt are cases of the former tendency; Venice of the latter. In my recension of medical publications in the period 1570 to 1600, it is striking that where there are both German and Italian editions of the same author (Girolamo Capo di Vacca, for example), the former contains dichotomies while the latter does not.³⁶ It is therefore of note that Zabarella's logic tables appear first in Venice, and are eagerly taken up in Northern Europe. It may be that the rigour of his approach is thought to separate him from the dialectician Ramus and those who emulate him: Zabarella's chart of modal logic is indeed impressive in its conciseness and its accuracy. But he was not alone in setting out to teach modal logic and consequentiae in this way: Claude Aubéry of Lausanne does something similar at about the same time as the appearance of the *Tabulae logicae* in Venice.³⁷ Again, it is of note that the innovative side of his writing seems to appeal to his Northern publisher, even if it does not find as much favour with his editors.

A last point should be made about the *De doctrinae ordine apologia*, written in 1584 as a reply to the attack made by Francesco Piccolomini in the previous year. It is interesting to note that the presses which do most to promote Ramus—those of André Wechel and his heirs—end up by publishing not only Piccolomini's rival account of natural philosophy (as one might expect) but also a work on logic by Giulio Pace. It seems that a debate whose affiliations were clear to its participants in 1586 had become somewhat cloudy and confused a decade later.³⁸

³⁶ See Maclean, 'The diffusion of learned medicine'; cf. Walter Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch der Universität Wittenberg 1: 1502–1611*, Magdeburg: Selbstverlag der historischen Kommission, 1926, pp. 173–84, 537–54 (on anti-Ramism in the Wittenberg statutes).

³⁷ Aubéry's *Organon*, Morges, 1584, pp. 62–3 discusses however modality by using the highly contentious sentence 'necesse est omnes iustificatos ex fide pacem habere erga Deum', following Philip Melanchthon's exemplary use of the same sentence in his *Erotemata dialectices*, Wittenberg: Johannes Lufft, 1547, sig. x5^v.

³⁸ In *Porphyrii Isagogen et Aristotelis Organon commentarii*, Frankfurt, apud haeredes Andrae Wecheli, 1597, 4to. On Wechel's aggressive defence of his stake in Ramus publication, see Ian Maclean, 'Philosophical books in European markets, 1570–1630:

I pass now to the last work of Zabarella, the *De rebus naturalibus*. The author's dedicatory letter to Pope Sixtus V, dated 28 September 1590, less than a month before his death, reveals that it is an expanded version of the *Liber de naturalis scientiae constitutione* dedicated to the same Pope's nephew three years before.³⁹ It was published in folio twice in 1590: in Venice by Paolo Meietti; and in 'Cologne', by Giovanni Battista Ciotti, whose letter of introduction points out that he had produced it in Germany to remedy the very partial treatment of the subject there (a possible reference to Ramus).⁴⁰ In 1594 Ciotti produced an edition in 4to, also with a Cologne imprint; a third edition appeared in 1597, financed and prefaced by Zetzner, who continued to reprint the book thereafter, in 1600 (Strasbourg), 1601, 1602, 1607, and 1617 (the last two in Frankfurt); the rhythm of these publications being determined by the need to maintain the right to protection through the privilege. A folio edition also appears in Italy in 1604, at the cost of Roberto Meietti, which bills itself as the tenth.

Unlike the *Opera logica*, this book fell into a well-known genre which no doubt accounts for its success: that of textbooks dealing with principia naturalia. There are rival productions, not only from the pens of Northern European scholars; but also in the form of a steady speculative importation of the work of Italians.⁴¹ It is pertinent to ask why Zabarella's version succeeded so well in this general field. Its Italian rivals are the works of Simone Porzio (*De rerum naturalium principiis*, first appearing in Naples in 1553; reprinted in 8vo by Paul Egenolph in Marburg in 1598); that of Francesco Vimercato (*De principiis rerum naturalium*, written in the middle of the century; produced by Francesco Bolzetta in 1596 with the comment 'even if commentaries by famous philosophers have been published in the forty years or more after these were eagerly awaited, I am confident that there is none the less a place left for them among lovers of truth and vigorous debate'.⁴² His work was

the case of Ramus', in *New perspectives in Renaissance thought*, ed. Sarah Hutton and John Henry, London: Duckworth, 1990, pp. 253–63.

³⁹ *De rebus naturalibus*, Cologne, 1594, sig.:(3r: 'illum librum typographis germanis aere recudendum tradidi'.

⁴⁰ Zetzner's preface to his edition of the *De rebus naturalibus* stresses twice his financial backing of the publication, and refers to its 'convenient format'.

⁴¹ See Maclean, 'The diffusion of learned medicine', Appendix, for more examples of this.

⁴² 'tametsi eiusdem argumenti commentationes a claris philosophis postea sunt editae, quam harum fuerat, annis ab hinc quadraginta, aut eo amplius, concitata expectatio;

also reprinted by Egenolph in 8vo in 1598. There are also the works of Benito Pereira (*De communibus omnium rerum naturalium principiis*, whose first edition appeared in 1562; a revised version appeared in 1576, followed by reprintings by Lazarus Zetzner in 8vo in Cologne (or Strasbourg) in 1595, 1603, 1609 and 1618) and of Francesco Piccolomini, whose *Libri ad scientiam de natura attinentes* were first published by Francesco dei Franceschi in Venice in folio in 1596 (another edition in 1600), and was reprinted by the heirs of André Wechel in Frankfurt in 4to in 1597. Zetzner also printed the Collegium Conimbricense commentaries and Pedro de Fonseca's commentary on the *Metaphysics*, to add to those already available by German authors.⁴³ The fact that there was this plethora of Italian and Catholic material, and that publishers such as Zetzner and Wechel were willing to produce material of various conflicting tendencies, illustrates the buoyancy of the market at this time, the commercial gains to be made out of academic debate, and the possibility of export back to Italy if the bibliographical address was not offensively protestant. It reflects the reading undertaken in many German universities as attested in disputations which cite nearly all of these authors.⁴⁴ Zabarella is often given pride of place in such citation, perhaps because he addressed both the texts of Aristotle and the issues arising from them, and was thus pedagogically more useful.⁴⁵ Some put him nearly on a par with Aristotle himself. It may also indicate an ideology of irenic inclusiveness which has been associated with certain religious factions at this time.⁴⁶

I shall briefly mention two other acts of reprinting in Germany, both posthumous works of Zabarella edited by his sons. The commentary on the *Physics* was produced by Francesco Bolzetta in Venice in 1601 in folio, and reprinted at the expense of Johann Theobald Schönwetter in Frankfurt in 4to in the following year; and the commentary on the *De anima* had a similar fate, appearing in folio in Venice in 1605, and in

suum tamen his ipsis locum apud veritatis, quam contentionis amantiores relictum nihilo secius esse confidimus': sig. a2^r.

⁴³ The Collegium Conimbricense commentaries were reprinted in 1608 and 1617.

⁴⁴ E.g. Wolfgangus Fischerus (resp.), *De natura et causis*, Helmstedt: Jacobus Lucius, 1601.

⁴⁵ See Cornelius Martinus, *Programma ad studiosam logices iuventutem in inclyta Iulij Academia*, Helmstedt: Jacobus Lucius, 1597, sig. A2^v, referring to 'Illustrem Zabarellam et Naturae illud miraculum Aristotelem' as 'duos enim summos homines, de quorum eruditione universo pene orbi constat, qui ipsam invidiam superarunt'.

⁴⁶ Evans, *The Wechel presses; International Calvinism*, ed. Menna Prestwich, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

Frankfurt at Zetzner's expense in 1606 (his heirs reprinted it in 1619). These works were never incorporated into either the *Opera logica* or the *De rebus naturalibus*.

I am now in a position to venture a few conclusions from this data. The first is to note the existence of an international group of academic entrepreneurs who meet apparently at the Frankfurt book fair. They have different religious principles and persuasions, but are able to set these aside when the issue of publications for the arts course comes into question. They have an agenda, which is to promote certain aspects of late sixteenth-century scholarship, but they are also able to react opportunistically to chances of reprinting material from outside the zone of its protection by licence. It seems that between 1590 and 1600 there was a demand for new Italian titles in Northern Europe which they were able to cultivate and exploit. They do not feel however themselves obliged to serve only one interest in the scholarly world. It is the light of these remarks that the mediation of Zabarella into Northern Europe should be seen. He arrived there complete with his gamut of highly placed Catholic protectors (his dedicatees); he received further mediation from professional teachers of logic and natural philosophy; he was transmitted to the public through academic entrepreneurs whose name was associated with modern scholarship, modern academic preoccupations and perhaps also a certain religious persuasion; this form of mediation placed him in the unexpected company of Calvinist scholars and doctors, Lull, Paracelsus, chemical writers and writers on natural magic, and may have made him seem less the pure interpreter of the authentic voice of Aristotle and more of an innovator in the area of deductive inference and natural philosophy. In virtue of the cheaper paper and smaller formats used in the North, he was passed back into the Italian sphere under the disguise of publication in the safe Catholic city of Cologne. He was accompanied in print by other Italian scholars writing in the same area, often in conflict with him; this suggests finally that the academic entrepreneurs of which I have spoken do not necessarily espouse a view of philosophical truth which is exclusive, but are willing to foster debate through the accumulation of materials in a market which in 1600 seems ready to absorb anything, but which by 1630 (as I have argued elsewhere) is oversaturated and sluggish.⁴⁷ One indication of this is the final edition of Zabarella to appear in Germany

⁴⁷ Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books.'

in the seventeenth century, in 1654, produced by Lazarus Zetzner's son Eberhard: he appears to have reprinted the *De rebus naturalibus*, but the *Opera logica* are a reissue of the 1623 edition (which presumably did not sell out), and the *Commentarii de anima* a reissue of that of 1619. It seems safe to say from this that Zabarella's fortunes as a textbook decline around 1620, and that he has to wait to the late-seventeenth-century historians of philosophy before his version of Aristotelianism is celebrated again.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ I should like to thank Dr Dennis Rhodes and Dr Sachiko Kusukawa for the help they have given me in the preparation of this paper.

APPENDIX:

A SUMMARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ZABARELLA EDITIONS 1578–1623

In the entries below, L refers to the Olms microfiches of the Leipzig Book Fair Catalogues, and F to those of Frankfurt edited by Bernhard Fabian (*Die Messkataloge des 16. Jahrhunderts 1564–1600*, Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1972–2001); S to the Spring, and A to the Autumn fair. Entries are to be found in major libraries, except where otherwise stated. I have given locations or sources for the rarer items (BSB denotes the Catalogue of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

(i) *Logical Works*

1. *Opera logica*, Venice, [apud] Paulum Meietum, 1578, fol. [*De natura logicae* with eight other treatises: *De quarta figura syllogismorum*; *De methodis*; *De conversione demonstrationis in definitionem*; *De propositionibus necessariis*; *De speciebus demonstrationis*; *De regressu*; *De tribus praecognitis*; *De medio demonstrationis*]. BSB.
 2. *Tabulae logicae*, ed. Antonius Compagna, Padua: apud Paulum Meietum, 1580, fol. BSB.
 3. *Opera logica*, Venice, 1580 (F1580S).
 4. *In duos libros posteriores analyticos commentarii cum antiqua Aristotelis in Latinum conversione ab Jacobo Zabarella collata et expurgata*, Venice: apud Paulum Meietum, 1582, fol.
 5. *Tabulae logicae secundo editae*, Padua: apud Paulum Meietum, 1583, 4to Basel UB.
 6. *De doctrinae ordine apologia*, Padua, 1584 (F1584A) BSB.
 7. *Opera logica, secunda editio*, Venice: [apud Georgium Angelarium, sumptibus Pauli Meieti], 1586, fol.
 8. *Liber de naturalis scientiae constitutione*, Venice: apud Paulum Meietum, 1586, fol. (F1586A: '4to') BSB
 9. *Tabulae logicae tertio editae*, Venice: apud Paulum Meietum, 1586, fol.
 10. *Opera quae in hunc diem edidit* [texts of nos. 1, 4, 6, 2, 8], pref. Julius Pacius, [Frankfurt], apud Ioan. Mareschallum Lugdunensem, 1587–6, fol. [contains *Tabulae logicae quarto editae*]. Texts of nos. 1, 2, 4, 6 declared in F1586A; 7 in F1587S. The title-page gives 1587 as the publication date; texts of nos. 2 and 6 are also dated 1587; texts of nos. 4 and 8 are dated 1586.
 11. *Tabulae logicae quarto editae, cum privilegio*, Padua: [apud] Paulum Meietum, 1589, fol.
- [same pagination as the *Tabulae* in 10]. Padua University Library.
12. *Opera logica editio tertia*, pref. Ioannis Ludovici Havvenreuter, Basle: typis Conradi Waldkirchii, impensis Lazari Zetznerei et Petri [or Ioannis] Mareschalli, 1594, 4to [contains *Tabulae logicae quinto editae*] (L1594A; L1595S: 'apud Conradum Waldkirch, fol.') Backus, Irene Backus, 'The

teaching of logic in two protestant academies at the end of the sixteenth century: the reception of Zabarella in Strasbourg and Geneva, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 80 (1989), 245, refers to an edition published in Strasbourg of this date. Georg Draut, *Bibliotheca classica*, Frankfurt, 1625, col. 1336 lists a 'Dialectica, Basileae, Conradum Waldkirch, 1594, 1595, fol.'; he also describes no 10 above as 'Dialectica'.

13. *Opera logica editio tertia*, pref. Ioannis Ludovici Havvenreuter, Cologne: impensis Lazari Zetzneri, 1597, 4to [contains *Tabulae logicae sexto editae*] (L1597S).
14. *Opera logica quarta editio*, Venice: apud Paulum Meietum, 3 vols., 1599–1601, fol. [14b is *In duos libros posteriores analyticos commentarii*, Venice: apud Ioannem Antonium et Iacobum de Franciscis et Franciscum Bolzetam, 1601, fol.] (L1600S). BSB.
15. *Opera logica*, Cologne: impensis Lazari Zetzneri, 1602, 1603 4to [contains *Tabulae logicae septimo editae*]. BSB.
16. *Opera logica*, Venice: apud Paulum Meietum bibliopolam Patavinum and Treviso, sumptibus Roberti Meietti, 1604, fol. [contains *Tabulae logicae 16 editae*].
17. *Apologia ad objectiones Piccolomini de doctrinae ordine libri II*, Padua, 1606, fol. Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Universallexikon*, s.v. Zabarella.
18. *Opera logica editio tertia*, Frankfurt: impensis Lazari Zetzneri, 1608, 4to.
19. *Opera logica edition postrema*, Frankfurt: impensis haeredum Lazari Zetzneri, 1622–3, 4to.

(ii) *De rebus naturalibus libri xxx*

20. Venice: apud Paulum Meietum, 1590, fol. (F1590S '1589').
21. Cologne: Joannis Baptistae Ciotti aere, 1590, fol. (F1590S).
22. Cologne: Joannis Baptistae Ciotti aere, 1594, 4to (L1594A).
23. *Tertia editio*, Cologne: sumptibus Lazari Zetzneri, 1597, 4to (L1597S).
24. Strasbourg: sumptibus Lazari Zetzneri, 1600, 4to.
25. *Editio quarta*, Cologne: sumptibus Lazari Zetzneri, 1601, 1602, 4to (L1601A: '1602').
26. *Editio decima, cum privilegio*, Treviso: sumptibus Roberti Meietti, 1604, fol.
27. Frankfurt: sumptibus Lazari Zetzneri, 1607, 4to.
28. Frankfurt: sumptibus haeredum Lazari Zetzneri, 1617, 4to.

(iii) *Commentaries*

1. *De Anima*
00. Frankfurt, 1596, 4to [Edinburgh University Library Catalogue] [probably erroneous].
29. Venice: apud Franciscum Bolzettam, 1605, fol. (L1605S: 'Colon. Prost. Apud Lazarum Zetznerum in 4 et apud societatem Venet. in fol').
30. Frankfurt: impensis Lazari Zetzneri, 1606, 4to.
31. Frankfurt: impensis haeredum Lazari Zetzneri, 1619, 4to.

2. *Physica*

32. Venice: apud Franciscum Bolzetam, 1601, fol. (L1601S: 'Venetiis apud Brecht. Et apud Franciscum de Francisciis in folio'; L1601A: 'apud Franciscum de Francisciis').
33. Frankfurt: typis Wolffgangi Richteri, sumptibus Johannis Theobaldi Schönewetteri, 1602, 4to (L1602S: 'apud Heinric. Petri [!]').

(iv) *Complete Works*

34. Venice: apud Iacobum Sarzinam, 1617, fol.
35. Frankfurt: Eberhard Zetznerus, 1654, 4to [contains reissues of *Opera logica* 1622–3; *In librum de anima commentarii*, 1619; *De rebus naturalibus* is dated 1654].

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DIFFUSION OF LEARNED MEDICINE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY THROUGH THE PRINTED BOOK

My aim in this chapter is to undertake a survey of the diffusion of learned medicine in the form of an ideal type which will be adequate as a general guide to the period 1525 to 1625 in Europe, but will concentrate on the period from 1565 to 1625.¹ This will only, of course, provide a framework within which to discuss each individual event of publication; it is not intended to be any more than a heuristic device by which to recognize the most important features of a field of knowledge which is in itself difficult to delimit. Its core may be taken to be editions of classical medical texts, monographs, scholarly works, and pedagogy all in Latin, for although some learned medicine is written in the vernacular, it had to be translated into Latin to have an international impact.² Works which are neither widely diffused nor published do not belong to it (this would be the category of local beliefs and practices, transmitted orally or by manuscript); nor does the learning which is unpublished but widely diffused through correspondence and the practice of *peregrinatio medica* which none the less leaves its mark on the field of printed books in the form

¹ For an attempt to describe the equivalent field of law books, see Ian Maclean, *Interpretation and meaning in the Renaissance: the case of law*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 30–49.

² A survey of the entries under the various languages in Georg Draut's *Bibliotheca librorum Germanorum classica*, Frankfurt: Balthasar Oster and Egenolff Emmel, 1625 and his *Bibliotheca exotica*, Frankfurt: Balthasar Oster, 1625, which contains works published in French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch and English, suggests that there is a very great difference in the nature of medical publication in the various vernaculars. It remains universally true, however, that a writer in the vernacular, such as Paracelsus or Ambroise Paré, had to be translated into Latin to achieve an international readership. On the national traditions, see Imke Schmidt, *Die Bücher aus der Frankfurter Offizin Gülfferich-Han Weigand Han Erben*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996, pp. 116–50; Paul Slack, 'The use of vernacular medical literature in Tudor England', in *Health, medicine and mortality in the sixteenth century*, ed. Charles Webster, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 237–73; Howard Stone, 'The French language in Renaissance medicine', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 15 (1953), 315–46; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and culture in early modern France*, London: Duckworth, 1975, pp. 222–5, 258–67; Josep Lluís Barona, *Sobre medicina y filosofía.natural en el Renacimiento*, Godella: Seminari d'Estudis sobre la Ciència, 1993.

of transcriptions of lecture notes (see Appendix 1, nos. 1, 2, 10, 22).³ But there is clearly a relation between the publication of books, the diffusion of learning, and the various networks of the Republic of Letters of the time, which I shall not have time to investigate here;⁴ and even published works which are printed for use in local universities, such as 'libri scholastici' (textbooks) and dissertations, or in narrow markets such as Spain, England, and certain small German printing centres, may play a part in it.

The questions I shall ask about this published field of knowledge are ones which are suggested by the economics of the book trade of the time. What drove the market for learned medical books? How was the market for medical books related to other parts of the learned book market?

³ This is a very significant factor in medical learning, especially in Germany. The list of German students at Padua, Bologna, and Ferrara between 1550 and 1630 is impressive; and Basle can also claim after 1580 to have an international student body who take away with them just as positive an impression of the teaching they received. A cursory glance at the matriculation and disputation lists of Paris, Montpellier, Heidelberg, Wittenberg, Vienna, Helmstedt, Oxford and Cambridge show a much more markedly, although not wholly, local character. Whatever the reasons for the popularity of some centres over others, it seems to me indubitable that their imprint on the European medical world is very great.

⁴ The correspondence of doctors, especially in the same period, also reveals the range and liveliness of academic exchange: see Ian Maclean, 'The medical republic of letters before the Thirty Years War', *Intellectual History Review*, 11 (2008), 15–30. It seems that letters could be said to fall into two broad classes; those written with an expectation of later publication; and those which are addressed to one recipient only. The first category is by 1550 an established genre; fifteenth-century Italian humanists had used the letter form with classical models in mind informally to discuss philosophical and philological questions, and their northern counterparts were happy to continue this tradition, and to adapt it for the specific purposes of medicine. Giovanni Manardo's early example in this was followed by Johannes Lange, Joachimus Camerarius, Johannes Schenck, Lorenz Scholze, Johannes Crato von Krafftheim and others. Even quite obscure doctors had the letters they received from their more notable contemporaries published: witness the volume entitled *Cista medica* which appeared in Nuremberg from the presses of Simon Halbmayer in 1626, and is made up of letters addressed to Sigismund Schnitzer of Ulm, who seems himself to have had otherwise an unremarkable medical career. The dedications and preliminary verses found in books offer further evidence of the range and nature of contacts between doctors. It is my impression that as a professional body they are much more cosmopolitan than their faculty rivals the lawyers, and more up to date with developments in medicine and natural philosophy throughout Europe. It is possible to detect networks inside the world of learning, not only in respect of places such as Padua, but also of people such as Andreas Libavius and Johannes Crato von Krafftheim; some of these networks are informed by ideologies such as the irenic and encyclopaedic version of Calvinism, on which see *International Calvinism*, ed. Menna Prestwich, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985; R.J.W. Evans, *The Wechel presses: humanism and Calvinism in central Europe 1572–1627, Past and Present*, Supplement 2, Oxford, 1975. For a bibliography of medical letters, see Appendix II below, pp. 85–6.

Where were the books produced, who paid to produce them, who saw to it that they were distributed, and what interests were they serving? Why did medical books appear in the forms that they did? How quickly did fashions, both with respect to content and presentation, change in the world of medical books? How did scholars hear about and accede to the books they cite in their manuals and monographs and often possess in their libraries? Were books generally more accessible to scholars in the protestant north than the Catholic south after the introduction of the Indices of forbidden books? Did the operation of the market over time bring about a unification of medical knowledge and a means of constituting a critical bibliography of any part of the subject?

For the sake of my ideal type, I need first to break down the sixteenth century into meaningful periods. I cautiously propose the following tripartite division; first, the period before 1525, in which year the Aldine Galen in Greek was published. Before that date, various attempts to publish the standard classical texts of medicine (including Callierges and Vlastos's Galen edition of 1500) had failed, and there are several indications of unsatisfactory book distribution.⁵ The second period would run from 1525 to 1565, during which Galen, Hippocrates and other classical texts were translated into Latin, the main genres of the medical book market emerged and became stable, new trends in publication, including studies of new diseases, divination, astrology and alchemy had been absorbed into the subject area, and methods of diffusion and protection of books were regularised; finally, the period from 1565 to 1625, which marks the heyday of the Frankfurt Book Fair, and which is the main focus of this study. This rough division accommodates quite well the emergence of Paracelsianism around 1565, through the efforts of Adam von Bodenstein and others, who saw to the publication in a decade of some eighty books of Paracelsus's writings, 30 of them in Latin;⁶ the conclusion of the Council of Trent (1563), and the development from 1561 onwards of the Catholic indices of forbidden books;⁷ the

⁵ Vivian Nutton cites the complaint of Leonhard Schmaus of Salzburg in 1519 that he could only get access to books if his friends from Vienna or Augsburg sent them to him: see 'Medicine and printing in the sixteenth century' (Bishop Memorial Lecture, 1993). See also Nutton, *John Caius and the manuscripts of Galen*, Cambridge: The Cambridge Philological Society, 1997, pp. 27–8.

⁶ See Karl Sudhoff, *Bibliographia Paracelsica*, Berlin: Reimer, 1894.

⁷ See G.H. Putnam, *The censorship of the Church of Rome and its influence on the production and distribution of literature*, 2 vols., New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1906. The dates he records of the introduction of indices are as follows: Bavaria, 1561; Rome,

dominance of a number of entrepreneurial humanist printer-publishers specialising in medical literature: Guillaume Rouillé of Lyon, Heinrich Petri and his heirs of Basle, Pietro Perna and Konrad von Waldkirch, also of Basle; the Giunti in Lyon and Venice, and Roberto Meietti in Venice; André Wechel, his heirs in Frankfurt and Hanau, and the presses which are associated with his name although independent of him (Johann Wechel and Zacharias Palthen); even perhaps figures such as Giambattista Ciotti of Venice and Jacques Chouet of Geneva, who specialised in reprinting.⁸ By 1565 also, the most important scholarly apparatus of medicine—Latin translations of Galen and Hippocrates, post-Dioscoridean herbals, Brasavola's index to Galen and other similar intellectual tools—were generally available. So also were better editions of the prominent Arab authors and systematisers; these continue to be read, in spite of widespread criticism of them. 1625 saw not only the apogee of the Book Fair, but publication of the ninth and last Giunti edition of Galen's complete works in Latin which had first appeared in 1550; and between 1590 and 1625, as a sign of the consolidation of the subject, at least three specialist bibliographies of medical writing were published, which owed much to the pioneering work on general bibliography undertaken by Conrad Gessner and his successors.⁹

1566, Antwerp 1569, Parma 1580, Lisbon 1581, Madrid 1583, Toledo 1584, Naples 1588; the published Roman Index first appeared in 1590.

⁸ These names emerge from an analysis of the holdings of a major library such as the Herzog-August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. See also Evans, *The Wechel presses*; Frank Hieronymus, 'Physicians and publishers: the translation of medical works in sixteenth-century Basle, in *The German book 1450–1750*, ed. John L. Flood and William A. Kelly, London: The British Library, 1995, pp. 95–110; and idem, *1488 Petri: Schwabe 1988: eine traditionsreiche Basler Offizin im Spiegel ihrer frühen Drucke*, Basel: Schwabe, 1997 (for the medical publications of Heinrich Petri); id., *Theophrast und Galen—Celsus und Paracelsus: Medizin, Naturphilosophie und Kirchenreform im Baseler Buchdruck bis zum dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 5 vols., Basel: Universitätsbibliothek, 2005; William Pettas, 'The Giunti and the book trade in Lyon', in *Libri, tipografi, biblioteche; ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo*, Florence: Olschki, 1997, pp. 169–92. On Ciotti, see Dennis Rhodes, 'Some neglected aspects of the career of Giovanni Battista Ciotti', *The library*, 6th series, 9 (1987), 225–39. Dr Rhodes is preparing a comprehensive bibliography of his publications.

⁹ Pascal Le Coq (Gallus), *Bibliotheca medica*, Basle: Konrad von Waldkirch, 1590; Israel Spachius, *Nomenclator scriptorum medicorum, hoc est, elenchus qui artem medicam suis scriptis illustrarunt, secundum locos communes ipsius medicinae conscriptus*, Frankfurt: Marin Lechler for Nicolas Bassée, 1591; Johann Georg Schenck, *Biblia iatrica*, Frankfurt: Johann Spiess for Anton Hummius, 1609. Under the rubric 'medicinae scriptores', Draut also names the continuator of Conrad Gessner's *Bibliotheca universalis* of 1545, Michael Neander, 'in bibl. sua universali, quam Grammaticae Graecae suae praefationis

Three institutions play a predominantly important role in the operation of the market for learned medical books: the universities, the book fairs, and the publishers. Although both town physicians and court doctors produced learned works, the majority of new publications came from the pens of university teachers.¹⁰ These took several forms: commentaries; monographs; pedagogical materials relating to the whole field of theoretical and practical medicine; lecture series, produced either with or without the consent of the lecturer, sometimes during his lifetime, sometimes after his death. Paduan professors were given an especially high profile through this form of publication, both at home and abroad;¹¹ the dissemination of these lectures had a clear effect on syllabuses in Germany, and contributed to the influence and high standing of the Paduan School. Universities were also outlets for lucrative 'libri scholastici' or textbooks, some of which were produced locally, some imported from centres such as Lyon, Basle and Frankfurt. These textbooks hardly ever figured in Book Fair Catalogues. They were brought out for the most part in small formats (8vo, 12mo and 16mo), and represented the staples of the medical book market. Galen's *Ars parva* or *Ars medica* and his *Methodus medendi* were printed, for example, at least 31 times between 1500 and 1550, 45 times in the next fifty years, and 29 times between 1600 and 1630.¹² Hippocrates's *Aphorisms* enjoyed at least 14 editions between 1500 and 1550, 33 between 1550 and 1600, and 24 in the first thirty years of the seventeenth century. Certain editions survive to this day in large numbers, indicating that they were course books: an example of a less obvious text would be Guinther von Andernach's edition in Paris of Galen's *De sectis* of 1528. These textbooks vary in their forms of presentation, from plain texts to rhymed mnemonic ver-

loco praefixit, medicinae scriptores extantes et latitantes: Impressi, et M.S., Veteres luculenter recenset' (Basle: Johannes Oporinus, 1565): *Bibliotheca classica*, col. 941.

¹⁰ Unusual examples of town physicians who published are François Valleriola of Arles, who is a prolific producer of learned material as well as casebooks, and Jakob Horst, who seems consciously to have published medical works to be read (in German) by the very categories of unlearned doctors and healing women which his University colleagues were so grimly devoted to suppressing.

¹¹ One might mention Johann Jessen's edition of Emilio Campilongo, and Peter Uffenbach's of Ercole Sassonia (see Appendix I, nos 22, 24): Giambattista da Monte, Girolamo Capo di Vacca, Alessandro Massaria, Girolamo Mercuriale undergo the same fate, sometimes more than once, with varying degrees of fidelity in the transcription.

¹² I have taken these figures from Martin Lipenius, *Bibliotheca realis medica*, Frankfurt: Johannes Nicolai for Johannes Fridericus, 1679, cols. 36–40, 51–4. Similar lists of editions can be found in the Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale catalogue des sciences médicales*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1857, s.vv.

sions (there are at least eight different versions of the *Aphorisms* in this form between 1575 and 1634).¹³ Other student best-sellers were fugitive anatomical broadsheets, never advertised in Book Fair Catalogues, which survive in much smaller numbers in libraries because of their fragility.¹⁴ It would be wrong to suggest, however, that students only purchased books linked directly to syllabuses: when Joseph Struthius's book on the pulse, the *Ars sphygmica*, was published in Padua in 1555, it is reported that 800 copies were sold in a single day.¹⁵

Another force which drove the market for medical books was the Book Fair. My comments on this institution will necessarily be germano-centric, because the survival of consolidated catalogues of the Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fairs makes it easy to produce crude statistics and to get some feel for the universe of discourse it reveals; but I hope to be able to throw some light, if only by analogy, on the operation of the French and Italian book markets. There is good evidence that Italy operated both an internal market which satisfied local needs and an export trade;¹⁶ where there are editions of the same book of the same date printed in Italy and Germany, it is often the case that French libraries now hold the Italian copy, suggesting that the Italian book trade with Paris and Lyon was more successful than the German (a surprising finding, as the cost of paper was much higher in Italy than in Germany).¹⁷ For books published in the Iberian peninsula, there seems

¹³ Ibid.; the pressmarks are Td⁶ 64–74.

¹⁴ See Andrea Carlino, *Paper bodies: catalogue of anatomical fugitive sheets, 1538–1687*, London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1999.

¹⁵ Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrtenlexikon*, Leipzig: J.F. Gleditsch, 1750–1, iv.892, quoted by Richard J. Durling, 'A chronological census of Renaissance editions and translations from Galen', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 24 (1961), 237. But Zedler, *Universallexikon*, s.v. Struthius, (which may be Jöcher's source) gives the number as 80.

¹⁶ See Paul F. Gehl, 'Credit sales strategies in the late cinquecento book trade', in *Libri, tipografi, biblioteche; ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo*, pp. 193–206; Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia*, Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2003.

¹⁷ See William Pettas, 'The Giunti and the book trade in Lyon'. For evidence of market zoning, see Ian Maclean, 'Philosophical books in European markets, 1570–1630: the case of Ramus', in *New perspectives on Renaissance thought*, ed. John Henry and Sarah Hutton, London: Duckworth, 1990, pp. 253–63; and id., 'Cardano and his publishers', in *Girolamo Cardano: Philosoph, Naturforscher, Arzt*, ed. Eckhard Kessler, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994, pp. 324–5. On the cost of paper, see Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, selling and reading 1450–1550*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967, p. 71, quoting Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, Leipzig: Verlag des deutschen Börsenvereins, 1886, p. 312. There is some evidence of poor standards of production in Venice: see Maclean, 'Cardano and his publishers', below, p. 136; the Lyon publisher's remarks in Giovanni Capo di Vacca, *Methodus practicae medicinae*, Lyon: Jacques Roussin, 1596;

to have been practically no international exposure; with one or two notable exceptions, Spanish and Portuguese medical authors, although themselves associated with a rich tradition, needed to be published in Venice, Antwerp or Basle to be noticed.¹⁸ The first consolidated Frankfurt book fair catalogues appeared in 1564;¹⁹ what I shall say will be based on catalogues up to 1631, the year in which the Thirty Years' War impinged very directly on Frankfurt, after which the advertised number of titles in Latin went into a marked decline.²⁰ During this period, the numbers of participating foreign publishers grew; by 1600, Venice (mainly through the 'Societas' or consortium arrangements for export) and Rome were well represented, as well as Switzerland, France and the Low Countries. There were problem years for French publishers (from 1572 until about 1577), but the flight of Calvinist refugees after the St Bartholomew's Eve Massacre to Frankfurt strengthened if anything the representation of books from France.²¹ The manner in which the Fair operated meant that books were distributed in more than one way: not only by direct purchase, but also by *Tauschhandel* (the swapping of the same number of printed sheets between publishers), by the activities of the bookshops, and by the presence of agents and colporteurs who bought books speculatively to offer to known clients who were themselves unable to visit the fair. By the 1590s, the twice-yearly pulse of the fair seems to determine the course of public debates on contentious

the parallel editions of Alpini's *De praesagienda vita et morte* produced in 1601 in Venice and Frankfurt. On the other hand, Giovanni Argenterio preferred to be published in Florence than Lyon or Basle, in spite of tempting solicitations from publishers: see Nancy Siraisi, 'Giovanni Argenterio and sixteenth-century medical innovation', *Osiris*, 2nd series 6 (1990), 177.

¹⁸ See 'Lusitani periti', below, pp. 390–6.

¹⁹ *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts 1564–1600*, ed. Bernhard Fabian, Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1972–2001; Gustav Schwetschke, *Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis*, Halle: Schwetschke, 1850–77 (whose analytical survey begins in 1565); Henning Grosse, *Elenchus seu index generalis, in quo continentur libri omnes qui [...] post annum 1593 usque ad annum 1600 in sancto Romano imperio et vicinis regionibus novi auctive prodierunt*, Leipzig: Grosse, 1600; Johann Cless, *Unius seculi; eiusque virorum literatorum monumentis tum florentissimi, tum fertilissimi: ab [...] 1500 ad 1602 [...] elenchus [...] librorum*, Frankfurt: Johannes Saur for Peter Kopf, 1602.

²⁰ I have argued elsewhere that even if the war had not come to Frankfurt in that year, the market, which after 1631 declined by more than half in numbers of declared books in the learned disciplines, would have collapsed anyway, because of market saturation and legal, institutional and economic factors intrinsic to its operation: see Ian Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books and conceptions of genre in northern Europe, 1570–1630', above, pp. 12–24.

²¹ This is especially true of especially vernacular books: see Draut, *Bibliotheca exotica*, cols. 1–212 (by far the longest entry for any vernacular).

academic and other issues: examples are afforded by the Erfurt debate over chemical medicine involving Georg am Wald and Libavius, and the debate about the infamous case of the Silesian boy with the Golden Tooth.²² A slower rate of polemic marks earlier decades of the century, but I do not think that it can safely be inferred from this that the rate of transmission of information was slower.

It is pertinent to compare the presence of medical books compare with those of other disciplines. The rubric 'libri medici' (sometimes 'libri medici et chymici') appeared after Theology and Law, and before Philosophical books, under which rubric books on natural philosophy were listed. Latin books were listed before those in vernaculars, which were usually relegated to the end of the catalogue.²³ Medical books invite comparison with law, and with natural philosophy: one being the professional rival, the other being the closest subject area. I shall not here give

²² Details of the Erfurt debate are given in *The dictionary of scientific biography*, ed. C.C. Gillespie, New York: Scribner, 1970–80, iii.309–10, s.v. Libavius. See also Wolf-Dieter Müller-Jahnke, 'Georg am Wald (1554–1616) Arzt und Unternehmer', in *Analecta Paracelsica*, ed. Joachim Telle, Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994, pp. 213–304. The relevant publications in the case of the Golden Tooth are Jakob Horst, *De aureo dente maxillari pueri silesii, primum, utrum eius generatio naturalis fuerit, necne; deinde an digna eius interpretatio dare queat* (Spring Fair 1595). Martin Ruland, *Nova, et in omni memoria omnino inaudita historia, de aureo dente [ad Andream Libavium]* (Autumn 1595); Jacobus Francus, *Historicae relationes continuatio. Warhafftige Beschreibung aller fuernemmen unnd gedanckwuerdigen Historien/ sosich [...] hiezzwischen nechstverschienen Franckfurter Herbstmess/ unnd etliche Monat zuvor biss auff gegenwertige Fastenmess dieses 1595 Jahrs zugetragen und verlauffen haben* (Autumn 1595); Jakob Horst, *Von dem gueldenen Zahn* trans. Georg Cober: (Spring 1596); Jakob Horst, *Etliche Sendbrieffe /zum zeugnis /das der Gueldene Zahn noch heutiges tages / guelden und kein betrug sey. Auch zu mehrerm bericht /wie er sich im dritten jahr erzeiget /und theils sich verendert* (Spring 1596); Johann Ingolstetter, *Responsio ad iudicium M. Rulandi* (Autumn 1596); Martin Ruland, *Demonstratio iuditii de dente aureo pueri Silesii: adversus responsionem M. Johannis Ingolstetteri* (Spring 1597); Johann Ingolstetter, *De natura occultorum et prodigiosorum dissertatio [...] ad D. Jacobum Horstium [...] qua respondetur ipsius libello de aureo, qui putabatur, dente* (Spring 1597); Johann Ingolstetter, *De natura naturalium et non naturalium [...] dissertatio bipartita; generalis: explicans omnium essentiam varietatemque sive philosophicam, sive medicam: et specialis: opposita demonstrationi iudicii Martini Rulandi F[i]lij* *De aureo dente: pro sua adversus illud responsione* (Autumn 1598); Andreas Libavius, *Singularium pars secunda* (Autumn 1599). Sometimes controversial works (i.e. books involved in specific debates) are reissued if they fail to sell over a period of years: an example of this Henning Rennemann's refutation (the *Responsio apologetica*) of Philippus Scherbius's *Dissertation pro philosophia peripatetica, adversus Ramistas* of 1590, which first appeared in 1595, was reissued in 1599 and again in 1603. For an earlier debate and its uptake, see Vivian Nutton, 'The reception of Fracastoro's theory of contagion', *Osiris*, 2nd series, 6 (1990), 196–234.

²³ Publisher's lists were differently arranged: see *Bücherkataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Reinhart Widmann, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984.

a detailed comparison of publication figures with natural philosophy, because they constitute a much smaller field of publication, with considerable fluctuations; but trends are more easily gauged through the comparison with law. Throughout the period 1565–1631, the number of declared law books is more than twice that of medicine:²⁴ these being books that were (with very rare exceptions) only advertised once, and were in the main protected by licence, and therefore in a certain sense ‘new’ publications). The average annual number of medical and law books in Latin declared by decade is:

Decade	Medical books	Law books
1570–9	20	60
1580–9	33	68
1590–9	36	88
1600–9	52	123
1610–9	46	130
1620–9	50	86

This table shows the sharp, indeed unsustainable, increase in production, not all of which was, of course, innovative publication. The publisher or printer and the format were recorded with the titles that were declared. For the period 1596–1601 in Leipzig, on a sample size of 230, the percentages of medical books in the various formats are the following: folio, 23%; 4to, 29%; 8vo, 43%; 12mo, 4.5%; 16mo, 0.5%. The small number of books declared in small formats gives support to my claim that ‘libri scholastici’, which were mostly produced in these sizes, were in general not advertised.

I should now like to move on to the role of printer-publishers in medical publication. This involves such issues as financing, the choice of format and presentation, and the targetting of a given readership. They are interrelated issues, which it is difficult to deal with neatly. For a book to be published, money had to be produced in advance to buy the paper either by the author, or by his patron, or by a publisher; the labour costs had to be paid for or a share of the profits agreed with the printer; there had to be advertisement in the right quarter (usually

²⁴ Paradoxically, however, in Draut’s subject catalogue, law and medicine take up the same amount of space. The size of the law faculty in many universities was far larger than the faculty of medicine (which was sometimes subsumed into the faculty of arts).

the Book Fairs) to attract the envisaged readership.²⁵ Ian Lonie has referred to 'the indeterminate audience created by printing' and to 'new genres prompted by [its] invention';²⁶ this seems to me somewhat misleading, for there is very little evidence that publishers or sponsors at this time were scholarly philanthropists willing to publish anything which might benefit mankind. That they were scholarly is however in the main true; they had to exercise a careful oversight over complex copy, as many authors lived too far away to supervise the production of their books.²⁷ This is of particular importance in the production of medical books, which contain clear evidence of the impact of humanism. Not only were they sometimes written as poems or dialogues, but they also cited Greek, even if this was only introduced into the text in the form of preliminary verses, short quotations or single terms of art.²⁸

Nor can it be denied that the activities of publishers are important to the development of the scholarly world: the Wechel's policy of importing

²⁵ Publishers often specified the intended purchaser(s) on the title-page. Examples are afforded by Jessen/Campilongo (Appendix no. 8); Argenterio's titlepage *In artem medicinalem Galeni commentarii* claims them to be 'non solum medicinae professoribus utiles et necessarii: sed etiam Philosophis, et universis, qui rerum scientia delectantur, summopere i[u]cundi' (cited by Owsei Temkin, *Galenism: rise and decline of a medical philosophy*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973, p. 150); the titlepage of Rodericus a Castro's *Medicus-politicus* of 1614, a work broadly of medical ethics, suggests that the book may be read with profit by all the following: doctors, patients, the friends and relations of patients, moral and political philosophers, and those who just like a good read. For books to be advertised in the book fairs, they had to fall into one of the following categories: 'ganz neu'; 'sonstens verbessert'; 'auffs neu wieder aufgelegt'. The first category was often associated with legal protection of the book in question, on which see Ulrich Eisenhardt, *Die kaiserliche Aufsicht über Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Presse im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation*, Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1970.

²⁶ Iain M. Lonie, 'Fever pathology in the sixteenth century: tradition and innovation' in *Theories of fever from antiquity to the Enlightenment*, ed. W.F. Bynum and V. Nutton, *Medical History*, Supplement no. 1, London, 1981, p. 20.

²⁷ Cardano and others, for example, complain that they are unable to monitor the production of their works, and have to rely on the probity and thoroughness of the printer. The entrepreneurial Frankfurt publisher Sigismund Feyerabend, who published quite a number of medical books, could not read Latin, but he was exceptional: see Maclean 'Cardano and his publishers', p. 322; Heinrich Pallmann, *Sigismund Feyerabend: sein Leben und seine geschäftlichen Verbindungen nach archivalistischen Quellen*, Frankfurt: Völcker, 1881.

²⁸ Girolamo Fracastoro's work on syphilis is in the form of a poem, as is Giampetro Valeriano's work on the herb milax (*Odae et epigrammata*, Venice: Gabriel Giolito di Ferrariis, 1550, ff. 5–21); Jean Fernel's *De abditis rerum causis* and Guinther von Andernach's *De medicina veteri et nova* are dialogues. On the knowledge of Greek, see Vivian Nutton, 'Hellenism postponed: some aspects of Renaissance medicine 1490–1530', *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 81 (1997), 158–81; Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From humanism to the humanities*, London and New Haven: Harvard University Press, 1986.

into the German-speaking world French (and later English, Italian and Central European) medical writers, including such figures as Jean Fernel (André's father-in-law), Girolamo Mercuriale, Tomas Jordán, Jean de Gorris, Nicolas Lepois and Thomas Moffet clearly made a difference to the field of medical knowledge, as did Valentin Voegelin's sponsorship of Jakob Horst, Peter Kopf's sponsorship of Libavius, Christophe Plantin's various acts of patronage of medical publication, Andreas Osiander's signing up of Girolamo Cardano for Johannes Petreius, and Cardano's later support from Guillaume Rouillé and Heinrich Petri.²⁹ But I would not myself wish to argue from this that the commercial sense of these publishers abandoned them when they adopted these authors. Indeed there is surviving testimony to show that they refused to publish works of very limited appeal or second editions of unsuccessful works, even by authors from whom they had greatly profited.³⁰ Further testimony to the hard-headedness of publishers is the phenomenon of the self-payer, the author who can find no sponsor at all, and has to finance the whole operation himself.³¹

Printer-publishers also made decisions about which books merited reprinting (these being mainly, but not always, produced outside the zones of their licenced protection or after the lapse of a licence). This was a speculative activity which reveals particularly clearly the symbiosis of commercial and intellectual interests in the medical book market; its results have sometimes been taken as a straightforward index of wide influence and popularity. Thus the intellectual impact of Manardo's letters has been gauged by the spread of editions, from Ferrara (in 1529), to Venice, Lyon (thanks to the initiative of François Rabelais), Paris, Strasbourg, Basle and finally Hanau: a fine folio edition in 1611, a companion piece for the letters of Lorenz Scholze (1610) and Orazio Augenio (1597, first printed in Venice in 1592), and those of Johannes Lange, first published in 8vo at Basle in 1554, then by the Wechel presses

²⁹ See Evans, *The Wechel presses*; Maclean, 'Cardano and his publishers'; the books by Kleinfeld (appendix, no. 19) and Karl Wittstein, *Vera totius medicinae forma* of 1588 are examples of Plantin's sponsorship of medical writing; on whom see also Leon Voet, *The golden compasses*, 2 vols., Amsterdam: Vangendt, and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969–72.

³⁰ Two examples of such refusal to publish are Wechel's of Camerarius's Commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics* (see Ian Maclean, 'André Wechel at Frankfurt, 1572–1581', below, p. 179) and Petri's of the second edition of Cardano's *De utilitate ex adversis capienda* (see Maclean, 'Cardano and his publishers', below, p. 143).

³¹ One example of a self-payer is Ingolstetter (see above, note 19).

in 8vo in 1585, and in folio in 1605. Guinther von Andernach's *Institutiones anatomicae* begin life in Paris in 1536, and travelled via Basle, Venice and Padua to Wittenberg in 1585. Similar erratic trajectories can be traced for many successful textbooks and consilia; but they may reflect as much the protectionism of major international publishers who were willing to go to great lengths to preserve their monopoly of certain authors as the local needs of teaching institutions or academic enthusiasms.³² There is ample evidence of the successful protection of monopolies, such as that of Waldkirch and Perna in respect of Paracelsus (at least up to the 1590s, when Johann Wechel begins to publish Paracelsus at Frankfurt) and Petri in respect of Cardano; from this it is possible to infer that publication in Basle or in Frankfurt alone is not an index of narrow but of very wide international exposure.

Some later republication in other printing centres seems to be more straightforwardly driven by speculation: thus Duncan Liddel's *Opera* were reprinted at Lyon in 1624, and thereafter at Hamburg in 1628, in response, I suspect, to his recommendation as a textbook in Leiden.³³ The publishers of the books by Lemos and Colomba cited in the appendix, both of which appeared in printing centres which did not gain access to the Book Fairs, explicitly state that they have speculated on a gap in the market. I am not suggesting that it was printer-publishers alone who determined what was reprinted, or that they were solely driven by the economics of the book trade; but their influence in this area is very considerable. It is able to be gauged *ex negativo* by noting that some excellent and highly innovative books have little or no European exposure (Gomez Pereira's *Novae veraeque medicinae, experimentis et evidentibus rationibus comprobatae*, published in Medina del Campo in 1558, springs here to mind).³⁴

To what degree was the market sensitive to novelty? This is a difficult question to answer. The term 'neotericus' or '[auctor] recentior' is applied to more or less any post-1300 writer; and many medieval authors of secrets, of practical medical works and even of teaching materials were

³² See Maclean, 'Philosophical books in European markets'; 'Cardano and his publishers'. The trajectories traced above are to be found in Nutton 'Medicine and printing in the sixteenth century'.

³³ See Petrus Laurembergius, *Laurus delphica, seu consilium, quo describitur methodus perfacilis ad medicinam*, Leiden: Jean Maire, 1621.

³⁴ On the influence of scholarly promoters in the choice of works to reprint, see below, 'The reception of medieval practical medicine in the sixteenth century: the case of Arnau de Vilanova', pp. 94–9.

republished as 'neoterici' or 'recentiores' during the sixteenth century. To give a few examples: Alphonsus Betruti's *Therapeutica* was reprinted in 1534; Arnau de Vilanova's works were published in an edition by Nicolaus Taurellus in 1585;³⁵ Pietro d'Abano's *Conciliator* had at least sixteen reprintings in the century, and appeared in a digest form for students of Giessen University as late as 1625; the *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum* enjoys a similar fate.³⁶ Works were also available on the second hand market; it is interesting to note also that in some of the recorded libraries of practising doctors around 1600 (Bauhin, Horst, Waldung, Paddy, Mercuriale, Martius, Peucer), there are still incunabula cited.³⁷ Yet when Francesco Bolzetta published Francesco Vimercato's *De principiis rerum naturalium* in 1596, he apologized in a preface for producing a work that was written forty years ago, in the 1550s.

Even though new authors did not always find it easy to accede to the world of print, once they were established, their writings appeared very quickly, suggesting that innovative writing was eagerly taken up by the profession.³⁸ The sense of novelty certainly seems to me to be very marked in some areas: not only in the demand for accounts of prodigious cases, but also in the area of iatrochemistry after 1570. By 1625, the foremost representatives of Paracelsian medicine were cited by one commentator as Henning Scheunemann, Johannes Tanckius and Oswald Croll, all of whom wrote after 1610 (he did not cite the very

³⁵ See *ibid.*

³⁶ On the reprintings of Pietro d'Abano see Charles Schmitt, 'Aristotle among the physicians', in *The medical Renaissance of the sixteenth century*, ed. A. Wear, R.K. French and I.M. Lonie, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 276. The *Conciliator enucleatus* was produced in 1625 with a commentary by Gregor Horst.

³⁷ Horst's library is printed in the introduction to his *Opera omnia* of 1641; Bauhin's appears in his *De hermaphroditum monstrosorumque partium natura [...]*, Oppenheim: Hieronymus Gallerus for Johan-Theodor de Bry, 1614, pp. 12–36. William Paddy's library is the subject of an unpublished Oxford B.Litt thesis by John Fuggles; J.-M. Agasse, 'La bibliothèque d'un médecin humaniste: l'*Index librorum* de Girolamo Mercuriale', *Les Cahiers de l'humanisme*, 3–4 (2002–3) 201–53 (217); Ieremias Martius, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, Augsburg: Michael Mangerus, 1572, A4r: R. Kolb, *Caspar Peucer's Library*, St. Louis: Center for Reformation research, 1976, pp. 45–55.

³⁸ For the example of Cardano's publishing career, see Maclean, 'Cardano and his publishers', and 'Interpreting Cardano's *De libris propriis*', in *Girolamo Cardano: le opere, le fonti, la vita*, ed. Marialuisa Baldi and Guido Canziani, Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1999, p. 19 (Rouillé's urging of Cardano to bring out his unpublished manuscripts); for the somewhat different case of Fracastoro, see Nutton, 'The reception of Fracastoro's theory of contagion'.

popular Jean Béguin):³⁹ the luminaries of the late sixteenth century, Gerard Dorn, Joseph du Chesne, and Petrus Severinus, seem to have slipped from view.⁴⁰ This state of affairs coexists however with commemorative posthumous publication: Felix Platter's *Quaestiones endoxae et paradoxae*, for example, were published after his death in 1625, some forty years after they had been written.

It is interesting to compare this situation with that which pertains about thirty years later in the 1650s, by which time the plethora of Renaissance publications on medicine, although no doubt still available on the second hand market, had been reduced to a few reprinted titles, seen to be worthy of standing as the monuments of their age. Two scholarly collaborators who actively involved in this selection were Gui Patin and Charles Spon of Lyon, who between 1650 and 1665 selected Heurnius, Schenck, Cardano, Caspar Hofmann and Daniel Sennert for folio editions which were produced by the entrepreneurial protestant firm of Huguetan and Ravaud.⁴¹ Elsewhere, André du Laurens, Jacques Dubois and Jacques Houiller had enjoyed similar celebration;⁴² but I do not believe that the Paduans, Bolognans or Ferrarese fare so well. Nor is there any indication that these acts of republication had the effect of keeping these authors in the forefront of academic debate.⁴³ The break in international communications which was caused by the Thirty Years War marks also the end of a phase in intellectual activity as well.

I come now to the question of the genres of medical writing, which can be distributed according to various criteria; here I have taken readership to be the guiding principle. I have already mentioned the student market, principally made up of textbooks; books intended for practitioners seem to be dominated by treatises of practical medicine (pathology, therapeutics, pharmacopoea): the many books written on new diseases such as syphilis are also directed at this readership. The

³⁹ The author of the *Tyrocyinium chymicum* which enjoyed six editions between 1611 and 1625.

⁴⁰ See Joannes Wolf, *Exercitationes semeiotikae in Cl. Galeni de locis affectis libros vi*, Helmstedt: Jacobus Lucius, 1620, B1^r.

⁴¹ On Patin's and Spon's activity, see his *Lettres inédites à Guy Patin*, in Pierre Pic, *Guy Patin*, Paris: G. Steinheil, 1911, pp. 206ff.

⁴² Du Laurens's *Opera omnia anatomica et medica* appeared in 2 vols in folio in Paris in 1627–8; Jacques Houiller's *Opera omnia practica* were reprinted in Geneva in 1623, 1635 and 1664. Jacques Dubois enjoyed folio republication in Cologne in 1630.

⁴³ Although, if we are to believe Georgi's *Bücherlexikon* which contains eighteenth-century prices, the value of these books seems to remain high into the age of Enlightenment.

production of lecture series and of commentaries on set texts (which may also have been given as lectures) seems to be aimed at all levels of the university market. Of broader appeal is the class of bestsellers constituted by the secrets and remedies literature of the Middle Ages and its sixteenth-century counterpart: works such as the *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum*, spruced up and made more agreeable to read by Johannes Curio and Jacobus Crellius; or Puff von Strich's book on herbal distillations, which was printed 38 times in the course of the century; or Levinus Lemnius's *De occultis naturae miraculis*, which enjoyed multiple publication and translation in the second half of the period under consideration. I am myself inclined to include with this category of book the many volumes of mirabilia or remarkable cases, beginning with that of Antonio Benivieni (first published in 1507) and stretching to Schenck's immense compendium of *Observationes* published between 1584 and 1609.⁴⁴ An equally popular genre in both Latin and the vernacular is constituted by books of advice about the plague, of which literally hundreds were written. These are often quite local in character, and differ in this way from monographs on specific diseases: this seems to have been recognised at the time, as Pascal Le Coq (Gallus) devotes a separate section to them in his *Bibliotheca medica* of 1590. Works on aspects of pathology and therapeutics written outside universities by university-trained practitioners appeared in quite large numbers towards the end of this period (see, for examples, Appendix nos. 9, 12, 14, 16, 20, 26, 27, 28, 33).

Related to genre is the question of format, which I should like now to review in greater detail. In terms of a percentage of book production as a whole, there are many more law books published in folio throughout the period, reflecting perhaps the fact that lawyers practised amid their books, which were a sort of externalisation of their knowledge and of the competence and of the dignity of their profession; whereas doctors very often practised their profession, whether academically or therapeutically, away from their books, and did not need to be surrounded by them to impress their audiences or patients. But there is still a considerable percentage of medical books produced in folio. They are sometimes termed 'libri di banco',⁴⁵ and are made up of a mixture of

⁴⁴ See Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books'; idem, 'The readership of philosophical fictions'; Nutton 'Medicine and printing in the sixteenth century'.

⁴⁵ Armando Petrucci, 'Alle origini del libro moderno. Libri da banco, libri da bisaccia, libretti da mano', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 12 (1969), 295–313 (297–8).

standard editions of, and commentaries on, classic texts, the collected works of celebrated Renaissance doctors, books on anatomy, herbals, and the diagrammatic presentation of medical knowledge (indeed, medical books were among the first to be printed in dichotomous form),⁴⁶ Not all of these needed to be produced in folio: celebratory or commemorative publications such as *opera omnia*, *consilia*, *epistolae* could as well have been produced in a smaller format; certain prestigious publishers used the larger format in series, no doubt to generate profit;⁴⁷ likewise Peter Kopf, the Frankfurt bookseller who funded the publications of Andreas Libavius, began (in 1595) by publishing him in 8vo, but moved to folio when he became well-known (after 1600). Some genres also appeared in folio for apparently traditional reasons: Conciliators, for example, (renamed in the Renaissance *controversiae* and *contradidentia* perhaps indicating that full reconciliation of authorities was no longer thought possible) mainly followed the folio format of their ancestor, the *Conciliator* of Pietro d'Abano;⁴⁸ and scholarly apparatus connected with an edition in folio (e.g. Brasavola's index to the Giunta Galen of 1550).⁴⁹ Publication in folio is also a matter of the physical expression of the excellence of the contents: Janus Cornarius reminded his reader in the preface to his translation of Galen of 1537 of Froben's old motto that a man who buys a good book at a high price gets a bargain, whereas someone who buys a bad book cheaply makes a loss.⁵⁰ Other folio printings are determined by the nature of the contents, such as books on anatomy, surgery and botany with splendid illustrations, of which

⁴⁶ The question of visual presentation also arises here, because the vogue for dichotomous tables as a pedagogical aid, which seems to begin in print around 1535 in Paris and Basle, generated a new genre (the textbook written in tables). On this see Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983, p. 56; M. Evans, 'The geometry of the mind', *Architectural Association Quarterly*, 12.4 (1980), 32–55; K.J. Hölzgen, 'Synoptische Tabellen in der medizinischen Literatur und die Logik Agricolas und Ramus', *Südhoffs Archiv*, 49 (1965), 371–90; and Ian Maclean, 'Logical division and visual dichotomies: Ramus in the context of Renaissance legal and medical writing', in *The influence of Petrus Ramus, 1570–1630*, ed. M. Feingold and J. Freedman, Basle: Schwabe, 2001, pp. 228–48.

⁴⁷ Heinrich Petri and his heirs at Basle published commentaries on Hippocrates and astrology in this format; André Wechel and his heirs at Frankfurt used it for *consilia* and collections of letters.

⁴⁸ E.g. Francesco de Valles, *Controversiae* (various editions from 1556 to 1606) and Joannes Baptista Silvaticus, *Controversiae medicae* (1601).

⁴⁹ Lexica tend to match the size of the parent edition: that the Giunta Galen is in folio; but Dorn's lexicon for Paracelsus is in 8vo.

⁵⁰ *Opus medicum practicum*, Basle, 1537, quoted by Hieronymus 'Physicians and publishers', p. 100.

Vesalius's *Fabrica* is the paradigm example.⁵¹ It is pertinent to ask here who bought these fine editions. Elizabeth Eisenstein seems to think that they were accessible to students; but their cost was such that it is even doubtful whether any but the most prosperous professors of medicine or court doctor could afford them. Vesalius's illustrations can be shown to have had very little impact on anatomical illustration in cheaper formats, and indeed (for a variety of reasons) little impact on anatomical teaching. It seems that such lavish publication was aimed at the court and the institutional library more than any other market sector.⁵² This would not be true, however, of plainer folio productions, which are to be found in abundance in the inventories of private libraries. A cursory glance of the distributions of various formats in the libraries of prominent and less prominent academic doctors confirm the percentages which my sampling of the Leipzig catalogues given above produced.⁵³ The dominant format for academic monographs in the case of France, Switzerland and Germany is 8vo, and in Italy and Holland is 4to.

I come next to the issue of accessibility: how did a doctor find out about books on any given subject, and how did he get access to them? Before the production of book fair catalogues by the major Frankfurt and Leipzig booksellers, correspondence with colleagues and references in printed books were the principal ways of learning about recent productions; when a doctor found out about a book, he then sought to borrow it from a local source, or get some patron to buy it for him.⁵⁴ There were also some collections of books available for consultation in

⁵¹ Other examples are Vidus Vidius's *Chirurgia* of 1544; Charles Estienne's *De dissectione* of 1542; and Leonhart Fuchs's, *De historia stirpium commentarii insignes* of 1542, on which see Sachiko Kusakawa, 'Leonhart Fuchs on the importance of pictures', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 58 (1997), 403–27.

⁵² See Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 566–74; Vivian Nutton, 'Wittenberg anatomy', in *Medicine and the Reformation*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham, London: Routledge, 1993, pp. 11–32; and Andrew Cunningham, *The anatomical Renaissance*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997.

⁵³ I refer to a number of medical libraries the inventory in the will of Francesco Martinez Polo (Valladolid, Archivo Histórico Provincial, Protocolos 1629). The Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel contains the library of Wolfgang von Waldung, which was acquired in the early decades of the seventeenth century, which manifests the same features.

⁵⁴ See, for an example, *Cista medica*, ed. Joannes Hornung, Nuremberg: Simon Halbmayer, 1626, ccv, p. 387 (letter of Petrus Hofman to Sigismund Schnitzer about the books he has been recommended, dated 13 November 1602: 'istos in hoc genere autores, quos significas, non habeo, videbo tamen an ex clementissimi Nostri Principis Bibliotheca habere aut petere possim').

universities by the end of the century: the German nation in Padua had its own library, as is well known, and among the early acquisitions of the Bodleian Library in Oxford is a comprehensive collection of medical books. These, together with the early donations in the Merton College and Magdalen College, show a marked and somewhat surprising preference for books of medical practica, even though this part of medicine was hardly taught at Oxford at all.⁵⁵ They also reveal that both Bodley's agents and certain English collectors (notably William Paddy) not only went to some lengths to acquire medical books published in Iberia and regional Italy but also Paris and Lyon, which for all their importance as centres of medical publication seem not to have exploited the book fairs to ensure good sales of their books.

By 1612, furthermore, there had appeared a significant number of bibliographical guides either arranged by subject or specific to medicine.⁵⁶ These tend to be thorough and unselective, in the same way the Fair Catalogues are; indeed some of them are no more than organized compendia of catalogues available at fairs (including publishers' and booksellers' catalogues).⁵⁷ The Fair Catalogues themselves were used by those wishing to build up collections: the Professor at Heidelberg was in fact instructed by the revised University statutes of 1558 to attend the fair and make desirable purchases, and a similar practice was instituted

⁵⁵ See L. Rossetti, 'Le bibiothece delle "natione" nello studio di Padova', *Quaderni per la storia dell'università di Padova*, 2(1969), 53–70; Thomas James, *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae publicae quam vir ornatissimus Thomas Bodleius Eques Auratus in Academiae Oxoniensi nuper instituit*, Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1605, pp. 181–217; Gillian Lewis, 'The Faculty of Medicine', in *The history of the University of Oxford: vol. 3 The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986, pp. 213–56; Ian Maclean, 'Medieval and early modern medicine in Oxford Libraries', forthcoming. The more surprising feature of these collections is the high esteem in which medieval authors of practica were held, to judge by their acquisition: both the first generations (Nicolaus Praepositus, Gilbert the Englishman (fl. 1250), Dino del Garbo (d. 1280), Taddeo Alderotti (1223–1303), Arnau de Vilanova (c. 1240–1311) Pietro d'Abano (d. c. 1316), Bernard of Gordon (1283–1320), Niccolò Bertrucci (d. 1347), Gentile da Foligno (d. 1348), Pietro Torrigiano (1270–1350), John of Gaddesden (1280?–1361), Tommaso del Garbo (d. 1370), Jean de Tournemire (1329–1396), Marsilio de Santasofia (d. 1405) and Jacopo da Forlì (d. 1413), and the fifteenth-century masters (Ugo Benzi (1376–1448), Antonio Guainerio (d. 1440), Bartolommeo de Montagnana (d. 1460), Michele Savonarola (d. 1461), Giovanni Arcolani (c. 1390–1458), Gianmatteo Ferrari de Gradi (d. 1472), and Marco Gatinaria (d. 1496)).

⁵⁶ See above, note 9.

⁵⁷ See above, note 19.

at the Bodleian in its early years.⁵⁸ This ensured diffusion and accessibility in Northern Europe; the same does not seem to hold for Italy, and in the sale catalogues of book agents who obtain their second-hand material there in the early seventeenth century, it is extremely rare to find books from north of the Alps.⁵⁹ There seems to me to be more citation of recent Catholic authors by protestants than vice versa, although even authors of forbidden books (such as Paracelsus) are discussed (usually allusively and critically) by Italian doctors.⁶⁰ The editions of Italian and Spanish writers referred to by Northern protestants are often those produced outside Italy, and reflect the speculative publishing of works from abroad, which is a feature also of Italian publication.⁶¹ It has often been said that Spain remains somewhat isolated from European intellectual debate after the measures of 1558–9 designed to control the importation of ideas, but the inventories of private medical libraries in Valladolid which I have seen suggests that more penetration of foreign books occurred than is generally thought.⁶²

I come finally to the issue of the field of medical knowledge. By the end of the period I am discussing, there seems to be a strong family resemblance between the real and ideal libraries which are recorded over

⁵⁸ See E. Stübler, *Geschichte der medizinischen Fakultät der Universität Heidelberg*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1926, pp. 33–42; W.D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1890, p. 50, quoted by G. Pollard and A. Ehrmann, *The distribution of books by catalogue from the invention of printing to A.D. 1800, based on material in the Broxbourne Library*, Cambridge: for the Roxburghe Club, 1965, p. 77; Thomas Hearne, *Reliquiae Bodleianae*, Oxford, 1703, p. 66, quoted by Pollard and Ehrman, *ibid.*, p. 86.

⁵⁹ See for example *Catalogus librorum in diversis Italiae locis emptorum, anno 1636... qui Londini in Caementerio Sancti Pauli ad Insigne Rosae prostant venales*, London, 1637.

⁶⁰ See for example, Fabrizio Bartoletti (of Bologna), *Encyclopaedia hermetico-dogmatica*, Bologna: Sebastianus Bononius, 1619, who refers to the author of the *Opus Paramirum* (i.e. Paracelsus) allusively as 'hermeticus'. The Jesuit Laurentius Forerus (praeses), in his *Viridarium philosophicum hoc est disputationes aliquot de selectis materiis partim in Ingolstadiensi partim in Dilingana Universitate ad publicum certamen propositae*, Dillingen: Rem, 1624, p. 276, is more forthright in referring to the protestant Rodolphus Goclenius: 'iste Goclenius hactenus philosophi haeretici, hic etiam personam Idololatriae suscepit. Antea Calvinista, nunc factus est Caballista'. In general on this issue, see *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buchwesens im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, ed. Herbert G. Göpfert, Peter Vodosek, Erdmann Weyrauch and Reinhard Wittmann, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985. On Paracelsus, see Ralf-Georg Bogner, 'Paracelsus auf dem Index', in *Analecta Paracelsica*, ed. Telle, pp. 489–530.

⁶¹ See for example Appendix I, no. 18. and 'Lusitani periti', below, pp. 394–6.

⁶² See above, note 53. On the 1558–9 measures, see John Lynch, *Spain under the Hapsburgs*, 2 vols., Oxford: Blackwell, 1964–9, i.236–41.

a wide area of Europe. By ideal library, I mean a recommended reading list for students and practitioners: Rodericus a Castro of Hamburg produced one of these in his *Medicus-politicus* of 1614; Petrus Laurembergus produced another for students at Leyden at 1625, Zacutus Lusitanus a third in 1642.⁶³ Of real libraries, the collections of Wolfgang von Waldung, Gregor Horst, Caspar Bauhin all of about the same period give an indication of the assiduity with which new publications across the whole field of medical learning were acquired, and the possession of similar libraries is deducible from the writings of figures in universities such as Fortunio Liceti, the omnivorous reader and refuter of the opinions of others, town physicians like Libavius at Rothenburg an der Tauber, and court doctors such as Joseph du Chesne. Their libraries cover the whole range of medical scholarship; much of this would have been familiar to doctors living in 1500, although parts of the sections on anatomy, botany, chemistry and zoology might have been unfamiliar to them. An index of the similarity of the field of medical learning is to be found in the 1625 student textbook version of Pietro d'Abano's *Conciliator*: new issues (such as the 'morbus totius substantiae' and the debates in anatomy and etiology) have been interpolated, but the general framework is the same.

I should now like briefly to return to the questions which I asked at the beginning of this lecture, and offer some tentative answers. I should wish to argue that the learned medical book was international rather than local in character by 1600, even if there seems to be little direct presence of books produced in the north of Europe in Italian libraries at this time. There is a class of medical books of *practica* written by local doctors which are produced in Italy and France, and not advertised at the book fairs: but even these could be obtained abroad through determined agents. The operation of the market was considerably aided in its operation by the institutionalisation of the Frankfurt book fair in the 1560s, and given a new character by the dissemination of chemical medicine in the decade which followed, so much so that the heading of the Book Fairs was changed for a time to 'libri medici et chymici'. The market was sustained largely by speculative publication financed more by publishers or patrons than by the authors themselves; it was

⁶³ A Castro, *Medicus-politicus*, Hamburg: Froben, 1614, pp. 84–91 (the recommended list contains no Paduans); Laurembergius, *Laurus delphica*, passim: Zacutus's list in his *Opera*, Lyon: Huguetan, 1642, is discussed in 'Lusitani periti', below, pp. 394–6.

omnivorous, consuming ancient and medieval medicine with the same appetite as new theories and new syntheses, and local productions as much as foreign ones; over time, instruments were elaborated to allow access to the whole field of production. The market was duplicated by a very active network of correspondence, and given an international character by travelling students and academics. This, I believe, is the idealtypical description of the market, at least in 1600. The feature I should like to end by stressing is the role of the printer-publisher, whose mediation of learned books ties medical intellectual activity both to commercial interests and to patronage networks which are often ideological in character.

APPENDIX I

It is possible to test the validity of this ideal type: I have done so here by looking at a group of books on semiology and related issues published between 1592 and 1602. Semiology, one of the five parts of medicine, falls both in *theoria* and *practica*; the field it covers is not easy to define closely. It is based on classic texts (e.g. Hippocrates's *Aphorisms*, i.12; *Prognosis*; *Prorrheticum*; Galen's commentary on these texts as well as his *De differentiis morborum et symptomatum*, *De crisibus* and his various works on the pulse). I have added books on urine, as its inspection was perceived as an important element of diagnosis. Galen's distinction of cause, illness, and symptom is a much debated theoretical issue; but the pathological guidelines offered in these works are not contentious, and find a place in many general works of *practica*, whose titles may suggest that they are more theoretical in approach than they in fact are. As well as the monographs listed below, there are also relevant sections in the *Opera* of prominent non-German professors published at or near this time:

1. Girolamo Capo di Vacca (Professor at Padua, dead), *Opera omnia*, ed. Johann Hartmann Beyer (ex-pupil), Frankfurt, ex officina Paltheniana, 1603, fol.; previous editions in Frankfurt, 1593, Venice, before 1596, Lyon, 1596 (referring to the inadequacies of the Venice edition), and Venice, 1598; a subsequent edition entitled *Medendi methodus universalis tabulis comprehensa. In usum medicorum theoreticorum tum practicorum* appeared at Frankfurt, e Collegio Musarum Paltheniana, 1606, fol. See also his *Tractatus de foetus formatione, de pulsibus [...] expositio in primum librum Aphorismorum Hippocratis, de arte collegiandi et de modo interrogandi aegros*, Venice: apud haeredes Melchioris Sessae, 1599, fol. See also Monographs below, no. 10.
2. Giovanni Argenterio (Professor at Naples and Pisa, dead), *Opera*, Venice, apud Ioannem Baptistam Ciottum et socios, 1592, fol.; *Opera ex exemplari Veneto revisa*, Hanau, typis Wecheliani, 1610, fol.
3. Giambattista da Monte (Professor at Padua, dead), *Medicina universa*, ed. Martin Weindrich (town physician, Breslau), Frankfurt, typis Wecheliani, 1587, fol.

Both Argenterio and Capo di Vacca have disciples who publish books of semiology/*practica* using their theories (François Le Thielleux, *Methodus dignoscendarum morborum*, Nantes: ex officina Joannis Gandin, 1581, 4to; Campilongo, no. 24 below).

4. Eustachius Rudius (Professor at Padua, alive), *De humani corporis affectibus dignoscendis, praedicendis, curandis et conservandis libri tres*, Venice: apud Paulum (Robertum) Meietum, 1590–2, fol. A later edition with a different title by Joannis Antonius and Jacobus de Franciscis, Venice, 1606, fol.
5. Jean Fernel, (Professor at Paris, dead), *Universa medicina*, Frankfurt: apud Andreae Wecheli haeredes, claudium Marnium et Johannem Aubrium, 1593, fol. 'editio quinta': the third edition appeared in 1574, the fourth in 1581, and the sixth in 1607 from the same Presses. Fernel was André Wechel's father-in-law.

6. Franciscus Vallesius (Professor at Alcalá de Henares, died in 1592), *Commentaria illustria [...] tractatus medicinales*, ed. Giovanni Pietro Airoidi, Cologne: Francisci de Franciscis et Johannis Baptistae Ciotti aere, 1592, fol. The *Tractatus* include *De urinis* and *De pulsibus*.

There is a previous publication by Ciotti in Cologne also edited by Airoidi, which suggests that the death of Vallesius was not a factor in this publication,

7. Jean Riolan the Elder (Professor at Paris, dead), *Opera omnia*, ed. Jean Riolan the Younger, Paris, ex officina Plantiniana apud Hadrianum Perier, fol. An explicit commemorative publication; there is also a Frankfurt: apud Zachariam Palthenium, 1611, fol. edition 'omnibus philosophiae studiosis medicis tum theoreticis tum practicis necessaria et utilia', which is probably an unauthorized reprint.

Monographs

8. Guillaume Rondelet (Professor at Montpellier, dead) *Methodus curandorum omnium morborum corporis humani [...] de dignoscendis morbis febris*, Frankfurt: apud Andreae Wecheli haeredes, Claudium Marnium et Johannem Aubrium, 1592, 8vo. 'Omnia nunc in lucem castigatius edita'. First edition in 1564. Advertised at the book fairs.
9. Petrus Olai (Rector of School in Odense, living), *De febris pestilentibus, earum causis et symptomatibus oratio*, Herborn: typis Christophori Corvini, 1594, 4to. Not advertised at book fairs. A speech made in Aarhus University on 28 November 1592. Acquired by 1605 by the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
10. Hieronymus Capivaccius (see above), *Tractatus de urinis*, Zerbst: excudebat B. Faber, 1595, 8vo. 'Ex bibliotheca Laurentii Scholzii'. Almost certainly lecture notes taken by Scholz as a student.
11. João Bravo (Professor at Salamanca, living), *In libros Galeni de differentiis febrium commentaria*, Salamanca: excudebat Ioannes Ferdinandus, 1596, 4to. Not advertised at the book fairs, but acquired by 1605 by the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
12. Jacques Aubert (town physician, Lausanne, living), *Semiotike sive ratio dignoscendarum sedium male affectarum*, n.p. [Lyon or Geneva]: apud Jacobum Chouet, 1596, 8vo. A straight book of practical medicine: in the Leipzig Book Fair Catalogue. 1st ed. Lausanne, 1587, 8vo. Chouet was based in Geneva, and frequently practised reprinting.
13. André du Laurens, (University of Montpellier, living), *De crisibus*, Frankfurt: ex officina Paltheniana, apud Petrum Fischerum, 1596, 8vo. In the book fair catalogues. 1st edition at Tours (exc. J. Mettayer, 1593, 8vo). Fischer had published Du Laurens's *Opera anatomica* in folio in 1595, before they appeared in Paris (1600). The *De crisibus* was reprinted in 1606 (at the expiry of Palthen's privilege) by Jonas Rhodius, who purchased Fischer's bookshop, also in 8vo.
14. Petrus Paulus Galea (Professor at Perugia, living), *Tractatus de pulsibus*, Perugia: ex typographia PetriPauli Orlandi, 1597, 4to. Lectures given in

- Perugia in 1596. Not advertised at the book fairs, but acquired by 1605 by the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
15. Felix Platter (Professor at Basle, living), *De febribus liber*, Frankfurt: apud Andreae Wecheli haeredes, Claudium Marnium et Johannem Aubrium, 1597, 8vo. Advertised at the book fairs. Previous publications in Basle; the author was presumably approached by the entrepreneurial Wechel presses for copy.
 16. Franciscus Perrellus (a Parisian-born doctor) *De febribus intermittentibus deque veris intermissionum caussis libellis. Cui adiectae sunt observationes quaedam de urinis*, Paros: apud Ambrosium Drouart, 1597, 8vo. Perrellus mentions that Louis Duret (Professor at Paris) was his tutor. A first work, dedicated to the Paris medical faculty. Not advertised at the book fairs, but acquired by 1605 by the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 17. Jan van Heurne (Professor at Leiden, living) *Hippocratis prolegomena, et Prognosticorum libri tres: cum paraphrasica versione et brevibus commentariis*, Leiden: ex officina Plantaniana apud Christophorum Raphaelengium, 1597, 4to. In the Book Fair Catalogues.
 18. Luis de Lemos (University of Salamanca), *De optimi praedicendi ratione libri sex*, Venice: apud Robertum Meietum, 1592, 4to. In the Frankfurt Book Fair Catalogue. 1st ed. Salamanca, 1585. Meietti says in his note to the reader that he published this because it was inaccessible to Italian students (i.e. those studying at Padua) and presumably filled a gap; he advertised the book at the Frankfurt book fair, but it is the *Salamanca* edition which is found in Paris libraries and which presumably reached there via Medina del Campo and Lyon.
 19. Nicolaus Kleinfeld (of Dantzic, living), *Pathologia secundum genus, hoc est de morbis eorumque causis et differentiis [et] de symptomatis eorumque causis et differentiis*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana apud Christophorum Raphaelengium, 1598, 8vo. In the Book Fair Catalogues. With a (solicited) testimonial letter by Jan van Heurne. Reprinted Lyon, 1618, 16mo, together with a separate treatise *De immortalitate animae declamatio* (1st ed. also Leiden, 1598).
 20. Carolus Gallus (doctor in Pontremoli, living), *De febribus pestilentibus ac malignis tractatus bipartitus*, Ferrara: apud Vicentium Balduinum, 1600 4to. Not advertised at the book fairs. The work of a veteran practitioner, acquired by the Bodleian Library by 1605.
 21. Nicolaus Boccangelinus (doctor to the Queen of Spain, living) *De morbis malignis et pestilentibus, causis, praesagiis et medendi methodo*, Madrid: apud Ludovicum Sanchez, 1600, 4to. Not advertised at the book fairs, and not acquired early by the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 22. Ercole Sassonia (University of Padua, living), *Tractatus triplex, de fe[b]rium putridarum signis et symptomatibus, de pulsibus et de urinis*, ed. Peter Uffenbach, (the town physician of Frankfurt): impensis Johannis Theobaldi Schönwetteri, 1600, 8vo. Three treatises on prognostics from a practical, rather than theoretical point of view, financed by a Frankfurt bookseller. Advertised at the Book Fairs. Three years later Uffenbach published at the expense of Zacharias Palthen the *Pantheum medicinae selectum* of

- Sassonia in folio, inspired, as he says, by four other Germans (Johannes Hartmann Beyer, Johannes Baumann with Johannes Munster, and Peter de Spina), who had edited the lecture notes of Girolamo Capo di Vacca, Antonio Massaria and Girolamo Mercuriale respectively. A further folio volume by Sassonia (the *De pulsibus*) was edited by Uffenbach appeared in 1604, following its appearance in Padua in 1603, 4to. Part of these works, all based on lecture notes, then appeared in folio, also from the Palthen presses, in 1610 with the title *Prognoseon practicarum*, edited this time by an ex-student from Cremona, Leander Vialatus, with an introduction by Johann Jessen (University of Wittenberg). In 1620, the Venice publisher Francesco Bolzetta reprinted this volume in Vicenza, in folio.
23. Prospero Alpini (University of Padua, living), *De praesagienda vita et morte aegrotantium*, Venice: apud haeredes Melchioris Sessae, 1601, 4to; *ibid.* (but with corrections), Frankfurt apud Jonam Rhodium, 1601, 8vo. Frankfurt edition advertised at the Book Fairs.
 24. Emilio Campilongo (University of Padua, living), *Semeiotike*, ed. Johann Jessen (Professor at Wittenberg), Wittenberg, typis Seuberlichij, 1601, 8vo. 'for the use of clinicians and teachers (medentium et discentium)'. Advertised at the Book Fairs.
 25. Johannes Cocus, praeses (University of Wittenberg), *De signorum discretionem*, Wittenberg, 1601, 4to. Respondens Paulus Reinholdus: a disputation on the subject of the distinction of medical signs, which makes no reference to Campilongo's work, or any other 'new' author. One surviving copy of this disputation, probably owned by someone who attended it because he transcribed Cocus's own schemata, contains interleaved notes set out for the most part in Ramist dichotomies, which draw on writings by modern scholars, including Du Laurens's *De crisibus*. Not advertised at the Book Fairs.
 26. Gerardo Colomba (presumably living), *Disputationum medicarum de febris pestilentia cognitione et curatione libri duo* Frankfurt: apud heredes R. Beati, G. Beatum et J.L. Bitschium 1601, 8vo. 1st ed. Messina, 1596. Book one on astrological medicine. Advertised in the Book Fair Catalogues.
 27. Pietro Verderio (town physician at Mantua?), *De morborum ac symptomatum causis occultis ac manifestis disputatio*, Venice: apud Robertum Meietum, 1601 4to. Advertised in the Book Fair Catalogues.
 28. Jean Ferrand the Elder (a doctor in Poitiers, probably dead), *De nephritis et lithiasis seu de renum, et vesicum calculi definitione, causis, signis, praedictione, praecautione et curatione ex Hippocrate collectis*, Paris: apud Michaellem Sonnum, 1601, 12mo. The work of a veteran practitioner, acquired by the Bodleian Library by 1605.
 29. Joseph Struthius (Professor at Padua, dead) *Ars sphymica seu pulsuum doctrina*, Basle: impensis Ludovici Königs, 1602, 8vo. published with Capivaccius's *De pulsibus* (above, no. 3) and Caspar Bauhin (Professor at Basle, living), *Introductio pulsuum synopsin*. Ludwig König published a work by Platter (see above, no. 8) in the following year. Advertised at the book fairs. The practice of combining a number of works on the same subject is a common publisher's ploy at this time; König has shrewdly included a

- local scholar. On Struthius's work, which first appeared in 1555, see above p. 64.
30. Eustachius Rudius (see above, no. 4) *De pulsibus libri duo*, Frankfurt: sumptibus Iohannis Spiessii et Romani Beati, 1602, 12mo. 'Nunc primum in Germania variegati characteribus et scholiis marginalibus auctius editi'; a reprint, possibly unauthorized, of *De pulsibus*, Padua: apud Paulum Meietum, ex officina Laurentii Pasquarti, 1602, 4to. Only the German edition was advertised at the book fairs.
 31. Jean Hucher (Professor at Montpellier, living), *De febrium differentiis, causis, signisque et curatione libri 4*, Lyon: apud Antonium de Harsy, 1601, 8vo. Not advertised at the book fairs, but acquired by 1605 by the Bodleian Library, Oxford, as was also his *De prognosi medici libri duo* (Lyon: apud Antonium de Harsy, 1602, 8vo). Antoine de Harsy was a frequent visitor to the Frankfurt Book Fair (see above, 'The market for scholarly books', p. 12), but chose not to include these books in the official catalogue.
 32. Jean Ferrand the Younger (presumably son of no. 28, above, living), *De febribus libellus*, Paris: apud Michaellem Sonnum, 1602, 12mo. Not advertised at the book fairs, but acquired by the Bodleian Library, Oxford by 1605.
 33. Giacomo Lavelli (living), *Commentarii de pulsibus*: Venice: apud Marcum Antonium Zalterum [in the book fair catalogue as 'apud Johannem Baptistam Ciotti, 1602, 4to']. Advertised at the book fairs by one its shrewdest Italian visitors.

APPENDIX II:

PUBLISHED COLLECTIONS OF MEDICAL LETTERS 1521–1626, IN
APPROXIMATE DATE ORDER (SEE ABOVE, P. 60)

1. Giovanni Manardo (1462–1536), *Epistolae medicinales* (Ferrara: Bernardino de Odonino, 1521, 4to: books 1–6); subsequent editions in 1528 (Paris, Chrétien Wechel, 8vo), 1529 (Strasbourg, Johann Schott, 8vo); 1531, (Bologna, Giovanni Battista di Phaelli, 1531, 4to: books 7–12); 1532 (Lyon, Sebastianus Gryphius, 8vo); 1535 (Basle, Michael Isingrin, fol.: 18 books), 1540 (ibid., fol.: final state of text), and frequently thereafter.
2. Luigi Mundella (d. 1553), *Epistolae medicinales* (Basle, Michael Isingrin, 1538, 8vo); other editions in 1543, (Basle, Michael Isingrin, 4to) and 1556–7, fol. (see below, no. 6)
3. Giovanni Battista Theodosio (d. 1538), *Medicinales epistolae* (Basle, Nicolaus Episcopus Junior, 1553, 8vo); subsequent edition in 1556–7 (see below)
4. Taddeo Duni (1523–1613), *Thaddaei Duni Locarnensis medici et Francisci Cigalini, Ioannisque Pauli Turriani medicorum Novocomensium clarissimorum, item Hieronymi Cardani medici et philosophi celeberrimi disputationum per epistolas liber unus* (Zürich, Gesner Presses [preface dated 1555] 8vo); *Epistolae medicinales* (Zürich, Joannes Wolphius, 1592, 8vo)
5. Joannes Langius (1485–1565), *Epistolarum medicinalium volumen* (Hanau, Wechel Presses, 1589, 8vo (first editions of the various elements 1554, 1555, 1560, 1589) See also below, no. 6.
6. *Epistolae medicinales diversorum authorum, nempe Ioannis Manardi Med. Ferrariensis, Nicolai Massae Med. Veneti, Aloisii Mundellae Med. Brixien-sis, Io. Baptistae Theodosii Med. Bononiensis, Ioan. Langii Lembergii Med. Principum Palatinorum Rheni. Adiectis indicibus duobus, quorum prior Epistolarum argumenta, posterior rerum ac vocum toto opere memorabilium elenchum continet* (Lyon, Giunti Presses, 1556, fol.). Niccolò Massa lived from 1489 to 1569.
7. Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1500–77), *Epistolarum medicinalium libri v* (Prague [Venice], Vincenzo Valgrisio, 1561, fol.)
8. Conrad Gessner (1516–65), *Epistolarum medicinalium libri iii* (Zürich, Froschauer Presses, 1577, 4to)
9. Thomas Moffett (1553–1604), *Epistolae quaedam medicinales*, in *De iure et praestantia chymicorum medicamentorum dialogus apologeticus* (Frankfurt, Wechel Presses, 1584, 8vo)
10. Antonio Alvarez (Professor at Alcalá de Henares) *Epistolarum et conciliorum medicinalium pars prima* (Naples, Orazio Salviani, 1585, 8vo). This appears to be the only part printed.
11. Vittore Trincavelli (1496–1563), *Consilia medica post editionem Venetam et Lugdunensem, accerrime cxxviii consiliorum locupletata et per locos communes digesta. Epistolae item philosophicis et medicis quaestionibus insignitae expolitaeque. Accessere tractatus tres De reactione, De venae sectione in pleuritidis, etc., De febre pestilente, plane novus. Cum indice copiosissimo* (Basle, Konrad von Waldkirch, 1586, fol.)

12. Balduinus Ronsse (d. 1596), *Miscellanea seu Epistolae medicinales* (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius, 1590, 8vo)
13. Johannes Crato von Krafftheim (1519–85), *Consiliorum et epistolarum medicinalium liber* (Frankfurt, Wechel Presses, 1591, 8vo); subsequent vols. in 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595.
14. Jakob Horst, *Epistolae philosophicae et medicinales* (Leipzig, Valentin Vögelin, 1596, 8vo)
15. Andreas Libavius (1566–1616), *Rerum chymicarum epistolica forma ad philosophos et medicos in Germania excellentes descriptarum*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt, Peter Kopf, 1596–9, 8vo)
16. Orazio Augenio (1527–1603), *Epistolarum et consultationum medicinalium libri xxiii*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, Wechel Presses, 1597, fol.)
17. Marcellus Donatus, *De historia medica mirabili libri sex* (Venice, Giunti Presses, 1597, 4to); a subsequent edition in 1613 (Frankfurt, Johannes Martinus Porsius, 8vo)
18. Lorenz Scholze (1552–99), *Epistolarum philosophicarum, medicinalium, ac chymicarum a summis nostrae aetatis philosophis ac medicis exaratum volumen* (Frankfurt, Wechel Presses, 1598, fol.)
19. Henrik de Smet a Leda (1537–1614), *Miscellanea; cum praestantissimis quinque medicis [...] Thoma Erasto [...] Henrico Brucae communicata et in libros xii digesta*, Frankfurt, Jonas Rosa, 1611, 8vo)
20. Pietro Castelli (1575–1656), *Epistolae medicinales* (Rome, Jacopo Mascardi, 1626, 4to)
21. Johannes Hornung (1611–25), *Cista medica, in qua epistolae clarissimorum Germaniae medicorum familiares, et in re medica, tam quoad hermetica et chymica, quam etiam Galenica principia, lectu iucundae et utiles, cum diu reconditis experimentis asservantur. Potissimum ex posthuma quondam Philosophia et Medicina doctoris dn Sigismundi Schnitzeri Ulmensi Archiatri...bibliotheca, publico medicorum bono communicata et fideliter non necessariis omissis ad praelum elaborata* (Nuremberg, Simon Halbmayer, 1626, 4to)

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RECEPTION OF MEDIEVAL PRACTICAL MEDICINE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: THE CASE OF ARNAU DE VILANOVA

It may seem otiose to return to the question of Arnau's Renaissance reception after the excellent and thorough examination they it has received very recently in Sebastià Giralt i Soler's *Arnau de Vilanova en la imprenta renaixentista* of 2002.¹ With the benefit of his work, I have chosen to pursue two related questions raised by the transmission of learned medical knowledge in this period: how did publishers select their copy, and did this change as print culture developed? What was the status of medieval medical texts, and how did this evolve? These general questions will lead me to offer some reflections on the mediation of Arnau's medical works in particular, and on the role two of his editors and commentators played in this process. The context in which I wish to consider Arnau's works is principally that of medieval writers on 'practica' (pathology, therapeutics, hygiene) rather than 'theoria' (physiology, etiology and semiology).² Up to 1400, new writers ('neoterici'; 'recentiores') in this area whose works enjoyed scribal transmission—many of them in the form of pathologies from head to toe in the wake of Avicenna and the *Liber ad Almansorem* by Rhazes—include (with Arnau) the twelfth-century Salernitan doctor Nicolaus Praepositus, Gilbert the Englishman (fl. 1250), Dino del Garbo (d. 1280), Taddeo Alderotti (1223–1303), Bernard of Gordon (1283–1320), Niccolò Bertrucci (d. 1347), Gentile da Foligno (d. 1348), Pietro Torrigiano (1270–1350), John of Gaddesden (1280?–1361), Tommaso del Garbo

¹ Sebastià Giralt i Soler, *Arnau de Vilanova en la imprenta renaixentista*, Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Arxiu Històric de les Ciències de la Salut, Col·legi Oficial de Metges de Barcelona, 2002.

² I am excluding from consideration his theological texts (as Arnau's earliest editors do), the alchemical texts attributed to him (and their uptake by such editors as Antoine Mizauld), texts in the vernacular (such as the *Le tresor des pauvres* incorrectly attributed to Arnau), and the equally spurious attribution of the *Regimen salernitanum*.

(d. 1370), Jean de Tournemire (1329–1396), Marsilio de Santasofia (d. 1405) and Jacopo da Forlì (d. 1413).³

In the fifteenth-century, the majority of writers in this field whose works survived until the advent of printing were Italians, among them Ugo Benzi (1376–1448), Antonio Guainerio (d. 1440), Bartolommeo de Montagnana (d. 1460), Michele Savonarola (d. 1461), Giovanni Arcolani (c. 1390–1458), Gianmatteo Ferrari de Gradi (d. 1472), and Marco Gatinaria (d. 1496). In an excellent essay on medieval medicine, Vivian Nutton notes this growing emphasis on *practica* as one of the achievements of fifteenth-century medicine (together with a growing rejection of authority and lively debates about alchemy, astrology, and even magic), and ends with the following observation:

The fact that most writings of the fifteenth century remain in manuscript, or that those books of medicine and science printed before 1500 are more likely to contain works from the twelfth century or earlier than from the fifteenth is not interpreted as a consequence of a book-trade seeking solid profit in standard authors and medical set-texts, but a judgement on the quality of medical learning.⁴

This (implicitly false) conclusion from the evidence may be plausible in relation to the very beginnings of printing; but it is difficult to uphold in relation to the end of the incunable period (1500 to 1520), when all these names, as well as their predecessors, were linked to the achievements of pre-humanistic medicine and were considered early as candidates for printing, as we shall see.

In the very early years of the new technology, the choice of copy was determined in some cases by the commissions printers received; in others, it was related to the staple products of scriptoria, such as set academic texts and major liturgical or devotional works. But as those engaged in the new industry began to move beyond books destined both for local consumption and for known purchasers, and to engage in speculative production in an ever-widening market, it is not so clear what governed their choice. General protestations about service to the

³ Cf. the comment of Lynn Thorndike, *Science and thought in the fifteenth century*, New York: Hafner, 1929, 18: ‘in medicine the works of Marsilius de Sancta Sophia Junior [...] and Jacopo da Forlì [...] by the time of Michael Savonarola, about twenty years later “occupy all the schools of our time”.’

⁴ Vivian Nutton, ‘Medicine in medieval Western Europe, 1000–1500’, in *The Western medical tradition 800 BC to AD 1800*, eds. Lawrance I. Conrad, Michael Neve, Vivian Nutton, Roy Porter, Andrew Wear, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 139–206 (199).

world of scholarship which are commonly found in prefaces do not provide much enlightenment in specific cases. For learned medicine, one criterion might plausibly have been university curricula insofar as these were known; another might have been the presumed needs of practitioners; a third might have been the interests of a more general Latinate reading public.

Carl Bühler's excellent study of early publishing at Bologna yields rather surprising results in respect of a university environment. It transpires from his study that very few lecturers at the university availed themselves of the new technology; it was not until the second decade of the sixteenth century that publications by living authors outnumbered those by dead authors in university environments.⁵ Print also had to compete with the existing means of scribal transmission; this led some publishers to look upon universities where scriptoria were still active as rather limited and unpromising markets.⁶ In spite of this, a good number of legal texts were printed at Bologna, but very few medical ones; only five of the eighty-six lecturers in medicine and surgery availed themselves of the new medium. There are no editions of standard authors such as Rhazes and Pietro d'Abano, or standard teaching texts such as the *Articella*; Avicenna's *Canon* was only printed once; the famous Bolognese writer on anatomy, Mondino de' Liuzzi, was also published only once, whereas his work enjoyed seven editions in other centres. This is not to say however that there were no cases of entrepreneurial collaboration between printers and lecturers to promote given texts; the case of Apuleius's *Golden Ass*, printed for Philippus Beroaldus by Benedictus Hectoris in 1499, reveals such collaboration in the field of humanistic study.⁷ But medicine does not seem to be a field where it was practised.

The very small number of medical publications in relation to those devoted to the law may be partly explained by the far greater numbers

⁵ Jon Arrizabalaga, *The Articella in the early press c. 1476–1534*, Cambridge: Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, and Barcelona: CSIC, 1998, p. 4.

⁶ See Severin Corsten, 'Universität und Buchdruck in Köln. Versuch eines Überblicks für das 15. Jahrhundert', in *Buch und Text im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and Helmar Härtel, Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981, pp. 189–99; id., 'Universities and early printing', in *Bibliography and the study of fifteenth-century civilisation*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and John Goldfinch, London: the British Library, 1987, pp. 83–123.

⁷ Curt F. Bühler, *The University and the press in fifteenth-century Bologna*, Notre Dame, Indiana: The Mediaeval Institute, University of Notre Dame, 1958. See also below, note 10, for other publications by Hectoris.

in the law faculty, and partly by the continued existence of scriptoria which could continue to satisfy the needs of the smaller faculty. It may be also that the medical profession's needs were rather different from those of their colleagues the lawyers, whose consultations occurred in the studies where, in order to impress their clients, they displayed their books—mainly fat tomes produced in impressive formats—as visible attestations of their learning.⁸ Physicians on the other hand were consulted not just in their houses but also at the bedside of their patients. If they wanted to transport a manual of practical medicine with them, it had to be in a small format. By the 1500s, such books began to be produced for them and for their students.⁹ Before that, it seems that their needs were mainly served in larger formats (called 'libri da banco' by Armando Petrucci)¹⁰ which would have stayed in their own houses or have been accommodated on university lecterns, just as they had been in the age of manuscript books; away from their libraries, doctors were thus required to hold in their memories much of the learning on which their clinical activity was based.

The average number of books owned by practitioners and teachers in universities at the beginning of the age of print does not seem to have been very great; Tiziana Pesenti is right to describe Giovanni Marcanova, the inventory of whose library of 521 books was drawn up in 1467, as a medical bibliophile rather than the possessor of a typical physician's collection.¹¹ As a consequence, the potential market was itself not as promising as others. One of the few studies on the composition of medical libraries before the age of print is that undertaken by Peter Murray Jones, using the evidence of institutional libraries in Oxford and Cambridge *inter alia*.¹² An example of such a library was

⁸ A late attestation of this practice of exhibition is found in Gerhard Meurschen's preface entitled 'de vana librorum pompa' to the second edition of Thomas Bardolinus, *De libris legendis dissertationes*, The Hague and Frankfurt: Nicolaus Wildt, 1711, *3ff.

⁹ Arrizabalaga, *The Articella in the early press*, p. 36. An example cited below is *Neotericorum aliquot medicorum, in medicinam practicam introductiones: iunioribus medicis et artificio mancipare sese volentibus, tum utiles, tum pernecessarias*, ed. Otto Brunfels, Strasbourg: Joannes Albertus, 1533.

¹⁰ Armando Petrucci, 'Alle origini del libro moderno. Libri da banco, libri da bisaccia, libretti da mano', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 12 (1969), 295–313 (297–8).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹² Peter Murray Jones, 'Medical libraries and medical Latin, 1400–1700', in *Medical Latin from the late Middle Ages to the eighteenth century*, ed. Wouter Bracke and Herwig Deumens, Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Geneeskunde van België, 2000, pp. 115–36.

bequeathed to All Souls College, Oxford in 1482 by William Goldwyn, a London practitioner who had been a Fellow of the College from 1455 to 1466. It consists of eleven manuscripts (all in large formats) containing more than thirty works, some of which are not medical. As well as the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates together with two commentaries, Avicenna's *Canon*, and a *Breviarium* attributed to Constantine the African, there are copies of John of Gaddesden's *Rosa medicinae*, Bartolommeo de Montagnana's *Consilia*, Gilbert the Englishman's *Compendium* and an abbreviated anatomy.¹³ One may detect a national bias in this list, but the presence of a manuscript copy of Montagnana's contemporary *Consilia* is noteworthy.

In the early years of printing, Lyon and Venice were the main centres where medical authors were published. Unlike Bologna and Pavia, where a number of such works were also produced, they were not university cities, even if there were nearby academic institutions whose needs they could serve. It seems that this led them to develop a wider perception of the market. Jon Arrizabalaga's study of the early editions of the *Articella*, the majority of which were produced at Venice and Lyon, demonstrates this clearly. His study also reveals the role of professional editors, through whose learning texts were adapted for specific groups of potential purchasers, such as the University of Montpellier.¹⁴ In another recent study, Tiziano Pesenti has looked at the choice of copy in Italy with respect to medical commentaries on Hippocrates's *Aphorisms*, a text which is associated with *practica*. She suggests that in the case of early speculative printing in this area, the broader Latinate reading public was targeted as well as the universities and the medical profession, and that the Italian trade was international in its outlook from a very early date.¹⁵ While the second suggestion has the support of a great deal of evidence, the first is less easy to substantiate. The only reference of which I know to such medical tomes being aimed at a wider public is in Girolamo Cardano's

¹³ N.R. Ker, *Records of All Souls Library 1437–1600*, Oxford: the Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1971, pp. 20–1; Andrew G. Watson, *A descriptive catalogue of the medieval manuscripts of All Souls College, Oxford*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. 136–171.

¹⁴ Jon Arrizabalaga, *The Articella in the early press*, pp. 15–21.

¹⁵ Tiziana Pesenti, 'How did early printers choose medical commentaries for the press?', in *Medical Latin from the late Middle Ages to the eighteenth century*, pp. 67–92.

De libris propriis of 1562.¹⁶ Medical doctors certainly possessed books in other disciplines (notably theology, natural philosophy and litterae humaniores), but there is not much evidence of a wide dissemination of specialist medical literature in Latin. If popularisation was taking place, it occurred in the vernacular.¹⁷

As to the location and extent of the market that any given publisher has in mind, such evidence as exists (which tends to be somewhat later in date) suggests that publishers were aware that it consisted in a number of zones. Lyon publishers, for example, could hope for a sale not only in southern and northern France, but also in Germany and Spain as well as in Italy; publishers in Venice initially targeted Northern Europe, although after 1520 they seem not to have had much success in Germany and France; as the Basle market developed, it attracted more attention from German lands, but does not seem to have done as well in Italy (a tendency reinforced by the Roman Index of 1559, which included the names of all the major Basle publishers except Pietro Perna).¹⁸ After 1564, when the composite catalogues began to be produced as advertisements of books available for purchase at the Frankfurt Fair, the market grew more efficient, and it became possible for printers who would not usually hope for a sale in a given market zone to solicit for one. This was certainly the case by 1585. The Basle edition of Arnau's *Opera* was advertised at the Frankfurt Book Fair in the spring of that year, but this did not deter a consortium of French publishers from reprinting a more selective group of texts in two volumes with more clearly defined titles

¹⁶ See Cardano, *De libris propriis*, ed. Ian Maclean, Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2004, p. 258: 'commentaria [...] in universam Hippocratis doctrinam [...] scribuntur eruditibus, nobilibus, divitibus.' He is speaking here of his own commentaries, published in Basle in folio by Heinrich Petri.

¹⁷ See Ian Maclean, *Logic, signs and nature in the Renaissance: the case of learned medicine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 39–41.

¹⁸ Henri-Louis Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise: recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle, publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier*, 12 vols., Paris: F. de Nobele, 1964–5 (on Lyon); Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, Milan: Franco Angeli, 2003; Frank Hieronymus, *Theophrast und Galen-Celsus und Paracelsus*, 4 vols, Basle: Universitätsbibliothek, 2005 (on Basle); Andrea Alciato, *Le Lettere*, ed. Luigi Barni, Florence: le Monnier, 1953, p. 121 (n. 66, 5 January 1531): 'mercatores Itali [...] frequentes Lugdunum conveniunt, Basileam non aequē': Giralt, *Arnau de Vilanova*, pp. 49–54; *Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564*, ed. Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: CER and Geneva: Droz, 1990, p. 786. See also Sachiko Kusukawa, *A Wittenberg University Library Catalogue of 1536*, Cambridge: LP Publications, 1995, xxviii–xxix, for evidence of zoning (the decline of Venice and the rise of Basle in Germany after 1520; the efficiency of Lyon and Strasbourg book distribution).

(*Praxis medicinalis* and *Praxis chymica*) and announcing them in the Frankfurt Fair catalogue of autumn 1585 with a title slightly different from the one which eventually found its way into print; this suggests that copies may not already have been available for sale in their final form at the fair.¹⁹ The 1580s were a difficult time for the Lyon book trade, which was suffering from the cheaper production costs of nearby Geneva; but that did not deter publishers such as Stratius and Tardif from aspiring, in this case, to a sale in Northern Europe as well as Spain and Italy, where the imprint Basle on the *Opera* of 1585 would make importation difficult.²⁰

Nearly all the medieval masters I listed above were printed by 1520. For this to occur, two necessary conditions had to be fulfilled: a publisher or consortium had to decide to print them on the basis of an assessment of the market informed by the considerations I have already set out; and someone trained in medicine had to suggest a candidate for publication and see his work through the press. Publishers specializing

¹⁹ The catalogue entry reads: 'Arnaldi Villanovani Philosophi et Medici excellentissimi Praxis Medicinalis, universorum morborum humani corporis methodum certa experientia praescribens: hac ultima editione a sua theoria disiuncta, et ab innumeris mendis passim vindicata. Cui accesserunt Tractatus aliquot eiusdem, tum Exoterici tum Chymici, nunc recens in eorum ornamentum expressi. Catena item aurea et Testamentum Philosophicum eiusdem. fol. Lugduni apud Ioannem Stratium.' There is the implication here of a publishing strategy different from the one that was eventually adopted. The volumes were advertised together in 1585, but in the preface to the printed *Praxis medicinalis*, Lyon: Jean Stratius and Antoine Tardif, 1586, a8'), it is stated that the second volume will only be published if there is demand for it. In the preface to the reader in printed version of the *Praxis medicinalis*, it is stated that the philosophical tracts will only be published 'si a te desiderati cognoverimus.' As Giralt points out (*Arnau de Vilanova*, p. 34), the *Praxis medicinalis* explicitly declares its text both to be superior to the Basle edition, and to be sensitive to the needs of Catholic purchasers (especially those in Spain) by omitting all material that had been subject to ecclesiastical censure: 'Caeterum philosophicos tractatus huius authoris omisimus, quemadmodum et chymicos non abs re iuste Theologorum virorum Ecclesiastica censura notatos seorsim abieciimus.' The prefaces to the two volumes are reproduced in Giralt, *Arnau de Vilanova*, pp. 156–8. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, ii.402–3, records a copy with the following sentence on the titlepage: 'verum etiam a censuris quibusdam Ecclesiasticis Sacra Sanctae Ecclesiae, quibus Basiliensis nova editio plena, repurgata.' The Spanish Index of 1584 specifies a number of tracts by name (*Remedia contra maleficia*, *Expositiones visionum quae fiunt in somniis*, *Liber de iudiciis astronomiae*, *Rosarius philosophorum*, *Novum lumen*, *Tractatus de sigillis*, *Flos florum*) all of which are in fact included in the *Praxis Chymica*: see *Index de l'Inquisition espagnol, 1583, 1584*, ed. Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: CER and Geneva: Droz, 1993, 787.

²⁰ On the situation in Lyon, see Ian Maclean, 'Murder, debt and retribution in the Italic-Franco-Spanish book trade: the Beraud-Michel-Ruiz affair, 1586–1591', below, pp. 227–30.

in natural philosophy and medicine soon emerged. I have already mentioned Hectoris of Bologna; another house of importance, located in Venice, was Ottaviano Scoto and his heirs, whose printer was a priest named Bonetto Locatelli; a third Italian publisher of importance was Lucantonio Giunti, also of Venice, whose house soon established links with Lyon, where there was already a large Italian expatriate community of merchants and bankers. An example of their speculation which involves both natural philosophy and medicine is provided by the editions of the Merton calculators, whose interest in proportion and the latitude of forms was relevant to *practica*.²¹ The first of these works to appear was that by Walter Burley, *De intensione et remissione formarum* [...] (Venice: Bonetto Locatelli for Ottaviano Scoto, 1496); this was followed by a commentary on another of Burley's works by the doctor Benedetto Vettori (1481–1561) entitled *Examinatio quaestionis de instanti Gualterii Burlei* [...] (Bologna: Benedictus Hectoris, 1505). Hectoris went on to publish Thomas Bradwardine's *Tractatus proportionis perutiles* in the following year. Somewhat later, the physician Vittore Trincavelli (1496–1563) edited Richard Swineshead's *Calculator* for Ottaviano Scoto's heirs in Venice. The same house's interest in medicine (and awareness of market zones) is shown by their editions of Arnau's works in 1505 and 1527, for which they used the 1504 and 1509 Lyon editions respectively; it is not known whether this was done with or without the consent of the Lyon publisher.²²

In Lyon, mention should be made of the Gabiano family, and Bartolommeo Trot, who were members of the Italian expatriate community. Both were publishers who became affiliated to the powerful trade association known as the Grande Compagnie des Libraires.²³ Balthasard de Gabiano, the first member of the family to operate in Lyon, had an uncle in the Venetian book trade, from which we may infer that he was aware of the zoning of the book market, and the nature of speculative publication. Balthasard de Gabiano published the *editio princeps* of Arnau's *Opera*, which appeared in 1504, with the help of two doctors, Thomas Murchius (to whom I shall return in a moment) and Michel de la Chapelle (d. c. 1545) from Tournai. La Chapelle did more than anyone else to see medieval authors of *practica* through the presses of

²¹ See Maclean, *Logic, signs and nature*, pp. 61, 171–3, 256–9.

²² See Giralt, *Arnau de Vilanova*, p. 28 and note 34. For some additional evidence of this, see above, note 15.

²³ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, vii.1.

de Gabiano and Trot: they include Arnau, Avicenna, Nicolaus Praepositus, Gilbert the Englishman, Bertrucci, Jean de Tournemire, Marsilio de Santasofia and Gianmatteo Ferrari de Gradi.²⁴ His is a very good example of a symbiotic relationship between professional editor and publisher.

The example of Arnau's *Opera*, which appeared in 1504 in gothic letter with a bland liminary poem by the humanist Petrus Salius of Vercelli is of interest for a different reason: its association with humanists, including Thomas Murchius (Morchì or Murchi).²⁵ Little is known about Murchius, who was born in Genoa in the second half of the fifteenth century, and, from the evidence of a surviving manuscript, was educated at Pavia; no doubt to help finance his studies, he copied Bessarion's translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* in a humanistic hand, to which he added the note: 'I Thomas Murchius wrote this with my own hand in the fifth year of my studies in arts and medicine [at Pavia] in September 1493.'²⁶ In his prefatory dedication (dated 28 February 1504) to the Genoese nobleman Gian Luigi dei Feschi, to whose son he had been tutor for four years, he mentions his attendance at the peripatetic court of Louis XII of France. In the short life of Arnau which preceded the third Lyon edition of the *Opera* published in 1520, the energetic humanist polymath physician Symphorien Champier (1471–1538) of Lyon described him as a friend.²⁷ Murchius's edition does not seem to be marked by a given ideological interest; but Champier's life of Arnau is an example of biased mediation in at least two ways. Champier was already well known for patriotic commitment to things French, and it is therefore not surprising that he claims Arnau for his own nation, and stresses his links with the medical faculties of Paris and Montpellier. He also compares him favourably to the two of the most famous Italian medieval physicians,

²⁴ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, viii.409ff. Giralt, *Arnau de Vilanova*, pp. 27–35. Trot also published Arnau's annotations on Mondino's *Anothomia* in 1528.

²⁵ Full details of this edition are given in Giralt, *Arnau de Vilanova*, pp. 117ff.

²⁶ Bodleian Library, MS Add. C 73, explicit: 'ego Thomas Murchius propria manu scripsi anno 5o meorum laborum 1493 [anno] Domini mense Sep. dum artibus et medicinae operam do.'

²⁷ Murchius's preface and Champier's life of Arnau are reproduced in Giralt, *Arnau de Vilanova*, pp. 136–40, 142–50; see also Giralt, *Arnau de Vilanova*, p. 146 (Champier, *Vita Arnaldi*, ch. 3). Champier also describes la Chapelle as a colleague. Murchius was responsible (as far as can be established) for editing only one other text, Sallust's works, also in 1504: an edition financed by de Gabiano which exploited the new format and italic typeface launched by Aldus Manutius of Venice in the Lyon market. The dedication is dated 2 June 1504, from Blois. See Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, vii.1ff.

Pietro d'Abano and Gentile da Forligno, especially in respect of practica: 'there isn't a physician who does not approve of, praise, and wonder at Arnau, especially in that part of medicine which is called practica.'²⁸ Champier's interest in neoplatonism, hermetic philosophy and Cabbala may also have led him to lay stress on Arnau's knowledge of Hebrew, and to discuss the iatromathematical and alchemical works attributed to him at that time. Champier committed himself in his own writings to treat medicine and theology as interdependent disciplines, which may account for his reference to Arnau's writings on the Antichrist.²⁹

The humanist credentials of Murchius and Champier indicate that the frontier between medieval scholarship and the new learning was not as sharply drawn at this date as is sometimes suggested. In fact, humanist doctors gave medieval writers of practica a good press. Both Champier and Otto Brunfels (1486–1534) of Strasbourg, another enthusiastic partisan of the new learning, provided lists of approved medieval writers which include figures from nations other than their own. Champier cites the following as approved medieval writers on practica: Arnau, Pietro d'Abano, Antonio Guainerio, Gerardus de Solo (d. c. 1360), Valescus de Taranta (fl. 1400), Bernard of Gordon, Serapio the Elder (fl. c. 875) or the Younger (fl. 1100–50), Syllanus de Nigris (fl. 1400) and Guglielmo de Saliceto (c. 1210–c. 1280).³⁰ In his preface to a portable handbook of practical medicine in 1533, containing texts by Bertrucci, Savonarola, and Montagnana, Brunfels avers that 'it is beyond all controversy that in the composition of pharmacological remedies, recent doctors—that is how I refer to Constantine the African, Montagnana, Bertrucci, Savonarola, Arcolani, Guainerio, Ferrari de Gradi, Arnau, Gatinaria and the rest—have in many ways surpassed the diligence of all the ancient doctors.'³¹ Other evidence of the esteem in which they were held comes from documents such as the Wittenberg University Library catalogue of 1536 (with additions to 1547); nearly all of the masters I have named

²⁸ Ibid., 148: 'nemo quippe inter medicos est qui Arnaldum non probet, laudet, admiretur, praesertim in ea parte medicinae quae practica appellatur.'

²⁹ Brian P. Copenhaver, *Symphorien Champier and the reception of the occultist tradition in Renaissance France*, The Hague, Paris, New York: Mouton, 1978, p. 46; *Arnaldi vita*, in Giralt, *Arnau de Vilanova*, p. 146.

³⁰ Brian P. Copenhaver, *Symphorien Champier*, p. 228. See also the comments of Arrizabalaga, *The Articella in the early press*, pp. 22ff., and below, note 22.

³¹ 'Extra omnem controversiam est, in Pharmiacorum compositione, neotericos (sic enim appello Constantinum, Bartholomeum de Montagnana, Betrutium, M. Savanorolam, Herculanum, Guanerium, Matthaeum de Grado, Arnoldum, N. [sic] Gatinariam, etc. multis partibus, veterum Medicorum omnium industriam vicisse.'

are represented.³² Moreover, the sections on practica in the works of Arabic writers such as Avicenna and Rhazes continued to be consulted, to judge by the frequency with which they were quoted.³³

From the 1530s, however, the prestige of medieval masters seems to decline, under pressure from the circulation of Latin translations of Galenic and Hippocratic texts and the new anatomy, and possibly also as a result of market saturation. In Arnau's case, the Lyon edition of his works, expanded in 1509 and again in 1520, was reprinted in 1532, and, according to Baudrier, reissued in 1537. A similar sequence of publication may be found in Strasbourg, where less than ten years after the appearance of Brunfels's portable edition of medieval masters, the Strasbourg edition of Arnau's *Opera* was abandoned after the publication of only one volume. For all that, medieval writers on practica did not pass into oblivion, thanks to the first publications to appear in the field of general bibliography. In the case of Arnau, the *Bibliotheca universalis* of Conrad Gessner which appeared in 1545 recorded the contents of the 1509 Lyon edition; later, in 1574, his continuator Josias Simler added the theological works whose manuscripts were in the possession of the French humanist Gilbert Cousin (Cognatus), as well as a manuscript commentary on part of Avicenna's *Canon* recorded to be in the possession of the arts professor Matthaeus Dresser of Leipzig.³⁴

After the coming of bibliographies, Book Fair catalogues, and the production by publishers of backlists, it became much easier for those engaging in printing to form their own judgements and take their own initiatives about gaps in the market or in given zones of the market.³⁵ This still might need the input of a scholar in cases where the initiative involved more than just the reproduction, whether authorised or not, of

³² Sachiko Kusukawa, *A Wittenberg University Library Catalogue of 1536*, pp. 135–45.

³³ See Nancy G. Siraisi, *Avicenna in sixteenth-century Italy: the Canon and the medical teaching in Italian universities after 1500*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

³⁴ Conrad Gessner, *Bibliotheca universalis*, Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1545, ff. 95–6 (the contents are those of the edition of 1509, but the date given is 1504); Josias Simler, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta a Conrado Gesnero [...] recognita* (Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1574, f. 69. Presumably on the basis of its medical-sounding title, Simler makes reference to one of Arnau's theological tracts, the *Antidotum contra venenum effusum per Fratrem Martinum de Athea* [...]. On the *Antidotum*, see Jaume Mensa i Valls, *Arnau de Vilanova espiritual: guia bibliogràfica*, Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1994, pp. 151, 160.

³⁵ One example of opportunistic exploitation of market zones is provided by the activities of Etienne Michel as a publisher: see Maclean, 'Murder, debt and retribution in the Italico-Franco-Spanish book trade'.

an existing book; collaboration between scholars (who were sometimes retained as correctors in the printing houses) and publishers continued in many cases. The edition of Arnau's works bearing the strongest marks of such collaboration is that undertaken by Konrad von Waldkirch in 1585. Giralt persuasively argues that it was the wrongly or dubiously attributed alchemical works which inspired Pietro Perna of Basle (von Waldkirch's predecessor, who died in 1582) to plan the republication of Arnau's works at least as early as 1578 (in his *Index librorum officinae typographicae* of that year, the *Opera* are said to be 'sub praelo').³⁶ Perna made an early investment in the writings of the German doctor Paracelsus; but even before the appearance of Latin translations by Michael Toxites (1515–81), Gerhard Dorn (fl. 1567–1584) and Adam von Bodenstein (1528–77), Basle publishing houses had been producing works on alchemy, church history and hermeticism, including texts attributed to Arnau.³⁷ Perna was also the publisher of Petrus Ramus,³⁸ whose preferred mode of presentation through dichotomies dictated an entirely novel ordering of Arnau's works. Perna turned to two local scholars to help him. According to Carlos Gilly, the Basle medical professor Theodor Zwinger (1533–88) rearranged the tracts in a systematic way, dictated by the traditional divisions of *theoria* and *practica*.³⁹ It must have been Perna, too, who enlisted the services of Nicolaus Taurellus (1547–1606), a medical graduate of Basle to establish the text and to add a commentary to some but not all of the medical works.⁴⁰ Taurellus, a pupil of Zwinger, was employed as a teacher of ethics in the University;

³⁶ See Hieronymus, *Theophrast und Galen*, i.E54, where the sale catalogue is reproduced; see also Giralt, *Arnau de Vilanova*, 33.

³⁷ Hieronymus, *Theophrast und Galen*; Giralt, *Arnau de Vilanova*, pp. 54–62.

³⁸ See Ian Maclean, 'Philosophical books in European markets, 1570–1630: the case of Ramus', in *New perspectives on Renaissance thought: essays in the history of science, education and philosophy in memory of Charles B. Schmitt*, ed. John Henry and Sarah Hutton, London: Duckworth, 1990, pp. 253–63.

³⁹ Carlos Gilly, 'Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation: Theodor Zwinger und die religiöse und kulturelle Krise seiner Zeit', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 77 (1979), 57–223 (134n).

⁴⁰ There are commentaries on various passages in the following works: *Speculum medicinae*; *De humido radicali*; *De dosibus theriacalibus*; *De graduationibus medicinarum aphorismi*; *De intentionibus medicorum*; *De regimine sanitatis*; *Parabola medicationis*; *Breviarium practicae*; *De febribus regulae generales*; *De amore heroico*; *Explicatio super canonem Vita brevis*; *Expositio super aphorismo in morbis minus*; *Quaestiones super textum Galeni de mala complexionem diversa*. For a range of comments on textual problems, see Arnau, *Opera*, ed. Nicolaus Taurellus, Basle: Konrad von Waldkirch, 1585, cols. 513, 534, 1474, 1854.

his editorial activity ceased in 1580, when he left to take up a chair of natural philosophy and medicine at Altdorf.⁴¹

The prefatory note of 1585 (written by Zwinger)⁴² regrets that Taurellus did not have time to complete a comprehensive commentary; but what he does append as notes has considerable interest. Perna's commitment to Arnau as an author of alchemical texts was not apparently shared by the person he asked to provide a commentary on Arnau's works. Like Champier, Taurellus manifests a very clear *parti pris*. He describes himself in his works both as a 'student of Christian philosophy' ('medicinae doctor et Christianae Philosophiae studiosus') and as a person wedded to the doctrine of 'free philosophizing'. He announces in his preface to his *Medicae praedictionis methodus* of 1581 that 'the God of philosophy and of theology is the same God. Nor do we owe our faith to Christ and our mind to Aristotle, so that we believe as Christians and do philosophy as pagans. Christ claims all of me for himself, nor is anything to be attributed to Aristotle except what Christ himself has conceded to him.'⁴³ This does not mean that he is in sympathy with the scholastics; he dislikes their uptake of Aristotle as much as he dislikes the non-Christian aspects of the Stagyrte. His guiding principle is that Christian doctrine (by Christian, he means an irenic version of Lutheranism) must represent the overriding truth and demonstrate the role of divine providence in the world.⁴⁴ This does not entail however that natural philosophy is determined by a literal understanding of the Bible, or that one should abstain from empirical observation and experiment: Taurellus is no 'Mosaic philosopher'.⁴⁵

His principle of free philosophizing was inspired by his tutor Theodor Zwinger, who in turn associated it with the Florentine Academy

⁴¹ See Xaver Schmid aus Schwarzenburg, *Nicolaus Taurellus*, Erlangen: Theodor Blaesing, 1860.

⁴² According to a letter from Taurellus to Zwinger dated 20 October 1585, cited by Gilly, 'Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation', 134n. The whole preface is reproduced in Giralt, *Arnau de Vilanova*, pp. 152–156 (154).

⁴³ *Medicinae praedictionis methodus*, Frankfurt: Bernhard Jobin for Johann Feyerabend, 1581, (4^r: 'Idem enim Philosophiae Deus et Theologiae. Nec fidem Christo debemus, et intellectum Aristoteli, ut Christiane credamus, Ethnice vero Philosophemus. Me sibi totum Christus vendicat: nec Aristoteli quicquam attribuetur, nisi quod Christus ipse concesserit, ne si quid obtulerit Aristotelis, id protinus excipiam, nisi quod Christo fuerit acceptissimum').

⁴⁴ See Sachiko Kusukawa, *The transformation of natural philosophy: the case of Philip Melancthon*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

⁴⁵ On Mosaic physics, see Ann Blair, 'Mosaic physics and the search for a pious natural philosophy in the late Renaissance', *Isis*, 91 (2000), 32–58.

of Marsilio Ficino.⁴⁶ It comprises the advice to ‘swear by no master’, and to be a friend of great philosophers, but a greater friend of truth; what should persuade are the reasons, not the authority, of a given thinker.⁴⁷ We may therefore expect his reading to be independent-minded; and indeed, rather than neutrally elucidate what his author sets out to say, he feels free both to declare his approval of Arnau’s opinions and the questions he asks and scornfully to reject them.⁴⁸ Because he is not seeking to conciliate authorities, he upbraids Arnau when he sets out to try to do this.⁴⁹ Taurellus is himself prepared to cite the work of others: he refers to his near-contemporaries Jean Fernel (1497–1558), Guillaume Rondelet (1507–66), Laurent Joubert (1529–83), Girolamo Cardano (1501–76), Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558) and his father-in-law Johann Jakob Wecker (1528–86); he even cites his own (apparently unpublished) commentary on Hippocrates’s *De natura hominis*.⁵⁰ But he is clear that the right way to philosophize is not to rely on authority but to investigate the truth; he never abandons the principle of ‘vere philosophari’, even though this may in some cases only lead to plausible judgements (‘magis veritate consentaneum’).⁵¹

The clearest sign of Taurellus’s commitment to Christian philosophy is found in his commentary on the text (here wrongly attributed to Arnau) of *De regimine sanitatis*. Human procreation in all its aspects (semen, sperm, coitus, impregnation: subjects belonging to *theoria*) is a topic

⁴⁶ Taurellus. *Alpes caesae, hoc est, Andreae Caesalpini Itali, monstrosa et superba dogmata, discussa et excussa*, Frankfurt: Palthenius, 1597, *4: ‘si vero magnum tueri licet Aristotel[em], nequaquam tamen haec nobis est iudicii libertas detrahenda. Libere philosophari, quid mali est? Dicat quisque quod volet: ipsa tamen vere ponderatis, probatisque rationibus tandem vincet veritas. Sed hac de re alius, et apud alios. Ne vero de meis laboribus iustis liberius sentire videar.’ On Zwinger, see Ian Maclean, ‘The “sceptical crisis” reconsidered: Galen, rational medicine and the *libertas philosophandi*’, *Early Science and Medicine*, 11 (2006), 247–74 (265–7).

⁴⁷ On these tags, see Ian Maclean, *Logic signs and nature*, pp. 191–3.

⁴⁸ E.g. Arnau, *Opera*, ed. Taurellus, cols. 1527, 314: ‘sententiam Arnaldi sum assecutus’; *ibid.*, col. 1527: ‘hoc ridiculum est Arnaldi commentum’; *ibid.*, cols. 535–6: ‘[quaestio] non inepta’; *ibid.*, col. 519: ‘[quaestio] intricatissima’; *ibid.*, col. 550: ‘[quaestio] difficillima’; *ibid.*, col. 297 ‘[quaestio] iucundissima et utilissima’ (also *ibid.*, cols. 314, 513, 1473); *ibid.*, col. 502 ‘[quaestio] barbara et obscura’; *ibid.*, col. 1342: ‘nihil hoc dici poterat absurdius’. Taurellus recognises that in some ways, Arnau’s failings arise from the age in which he lived; he is described for example as ‘minus peritum anatomiae’ (*ibid.*, col. 1281).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 646: ‘Conciliatorem agit noster Arnaldus ut Aristotelis et Galeni tueatur auctoritatem’: see also *ibid.*, cols. 308, 1327, where there are passages which touch on Arnau’s reliance on Galen and Aristotle.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, cols. 977, 1184–5, 1328, 297, 1855.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 646, 692, 1327, 1853.

which draws many substantial comments from Taurellus. His belief in the beneficence of the divine order leads him, for example, to be outraged that Arnau should have described the uterus as a 'sentina' where it is in fact one of the most noble of all bodily organs.⁵² The brief chapter in the *De regimine sanitatis* entitled 'De coitu' on which he comments refers to the necessity to expel the 'superfluitas tertiae digestivae' (i.e. sperm) for the maintenance of health. The dangers of excessive coitus and the risks to those of a dry complexion are next mentioned, and the chapter ends with two further claims: that if sperm is not ejaculated during coitus, this will cause the degradation of one testicle, and that the less coitus is enjoyed, the less debilitating are its effects.

Taurellus rejects the former of these claims on empirical grounds ('miror an experimentis comprobari possit'); his other comments relate to the various ways coitus and its accompanying pleasure may be seen. Coitus, he tells us, has been justified on grounds of a twofold necessity (the propagation of the species and the maintenance of health) as well as pleasure; theologians assert that it is divinely instituted to prevent fornication, and doctors, that it is a means of avoiding ill health. None of this however is the way 'truly to philosophize' about it. A Christian philosopher begins with God's plan for mankind, and his benevolence towards his creation. Taurellus notes that to propagate the species, only one act of coitus is required on each occasion, and indeed, that is the rule among animals. But God has given both the desire for frequent coitus to mankind, and the pleasure associated with it, just as he has provided foods of various kinds which give gustatory pleasure beyond their nutritive value.⁵³ We may compare these sentiments with those

⁵² Ibid., cols. 1339–42; see also cols. 314, 1328, 1754, 1851.

⁵³ Arnau, *Opera*, ed. Taurellus, col. 692: 'Duabus de causis coitus admittitur, tum ob necessitatem, tum ob voluptatem. Necessitas etiam videtur esse duplex, ut scilicet species propagentur, et valetudini consulatur. Hanc quidem experientia subinde satis attestatur: si tamen vere philosophemur, aliud animadvertemus [...] Hic modus est Christianae philosophiae quam excolimus, ut res omnes qua primum a Deo factae sunt, eadem ratione perscrutemur. Coitum matrimonii limitatum vinculis instituit Dominus ad evandandam scortationem inquit Theologi, ad morbos evidandos, inquit Medici. Verum nec peccatum, nec peccati poena Deum moverunt, ut res faceret aliter, quam alias futurus fuisset [...] Caeterum in re divina benignitas ut in aliis rebus omnibus admiranda conspicitur. Ad specierum propagationem uno concubitu satis erat, dum foemina post partum, alteri conceptui redderetur idonea. Quo fit ut ex brutis animalibus fere dum uterus gerunt foeminae marem non admittant. Idem in humana specie fieri poterat: noluit tamen Deus, sed homini concessit, quod aliis animalibus denegaverat, voluptatem scilicet ex frequenti coitu [...] Cibos dedit Deus ad necessitatem, varias ciborum delicias ad voluptatem.'

of a near-contemporary, the Paduan professor Giambattista da Monte (1498–1551), who claims that medicine and theology reach different, even contradictory, conclusions about the human condition, and that one should not ever attempt to mix them together.⁵⁴ To the question ‘Venus an omnibus necessaria et quibus legibus usurpanda?’, he replies equivocally that it is a ‘necessary cause *secundum quid*’ and makes no reference to theology.⁵⁵ This answer accords with that of the chapter of the *De regimine sanitatis*, and reflects the naturalistic approach of North Italian medical schools who embraced the Albertine doctrine ‘de naturalibus naturaliter’ and the humoral theory of human variability.⁵⁶ Taurellus’s combination of empiricism and ‘true philosophy’ is thus unashamedly out of sympathy with the text on which he is commenting.

The other texts on which Taurellus chooses to comment are all medical and philosophical. Although he makes reference to Arnau’s commitment to *practica* and Arnau’s *iatromathematics*,⁵⁷ his comments bear more on issues of *theoria*, natural philosophy, logic, and metaphysics. One of these is the question of computing degrees of heat and cold in *materia medica* for the purpose of prescribing correct dosages of complex remedies, on which Arnau writes with the benefit of knowing Al Kindi’s work on the subject.⁵⁸ Taurellus calls this a ‘questionem iucundissimam et utilissimam, simulque difficillimam’; its intricacies lead him to admit that he is not able to grasp how Arnau has made all the inferences to be found in his text.⁵⁹ But elsewhere he feels able to attack Arnau’s understanding of the distinctions *actio/passio* and

⁵⁴ *In nonum librum Rhasis ad Mansorem regem Arabum expositio*, Venice: Baldassare Constantini, 1554, p. 31, quoted by Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy*, p. 248: ‘In qua quidem generatione aliter respondent theologi, aliter philosophi, aliter medici. Ego brevissime de hac questione aliqua dicam, sed quaecunque dicam, dicam ut peripateticus, et ut medicus. Nam quando theologice de ea loqui voluero, totum forte oppositum dicam. Nihil autem existimo deterius in philosophia posse contingere quam cum ea theologiam commiscere.’

⁵⁵ *Medicina universa*, ed. Martin Weindrich, Frankfurt: Claude de Marne and Jean Aubry, 1587, p. 494: ‘Venus medio modo se habet inter causas necessarias, et causas alterantes. Estque, ut dixi, secundum quid necessaria, hoc est aliquibus non omnibus, quia frigidis et humidis, calidis et siccis non idem.’

⁵⁶ On this doctrine, see *Albertus Magnus and the sciences: commemorative essays*, ed. James A. Weisheipl, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1980.

⁵⁷ Arnau, *Opera*, ed. Taurellus, cols. 922 (‘rebus non verbis curantur morbi’), 236, 707.

⁵⁸ See Michael McVaugh’s edition of this text in Arnau, *Opera*, vol. 2, Barcelona: Pagès, 1975.

⁵⁹ Arnau, *Opera*, ed. Taurellus, cols. 550, 519, 534: ‘quid hisce verbis docere velit Arnaldus non intelligo.’

forma/materia, and accuses him of falsely alleging that a quality can be an *actio*. He criticises Arnau's grasp of the distinction *simile/dissimile* which is at the core of Hippocratic practice as set out in the *Officina medici* (but reserves his most scornful criticisms on this topic for his near-contemporary Cardano, who 'doesn't know the difference between similiar, the same, and one and the same').⁶⁰ Taurellus comments also on the distinction drawn by Arnau between soul and body, and between animals and humans.⁶¹ He refers at one point to Galen's recently edited *Quod animi mores temperamentis corporis sequantur*, which was not known to Arnau, and which raises the tricky questions of the soul's immortality and the relationship of temperament and complexion to the human character and soul.⁶²

Some of the most sustained passages of commentary are devoted to a text that was not even written by Arnau, but was an interpolation in the *Repetitio super canonem Vita brevis* occurring in the 1504 edition. In 2000, Michael McVaugh discovered that the manuscript of the *Repetitio* from which he was working contained 220 lines which were substituted in the 1504 edition by a much longer passage copied almost verbatim from Avicenna's *Metaphysics*; the passage was identified thanks to Alfonso Maierù.⁶³ It is slightly surprising that Murchius, who seems to have been a student of metaphysics, and who would have had a very recent edition of Avicenna's *Metaphysics* to hand,⁶⁴ did not detect the interpolation. Avicenna's work was not published after 1508 as a separate volume, but there is some evidence of uptake in the later part of the century.⁶⁵ The inserted passage (which the scribe has attempted to make relevant by the addition of a rubric 'argumentum quod medicina non probat principia') also contains a chapter heading 'capitulum stabiliendi huius scientie' which refers to the 'scientia' of metaphysics, not medicine; but this could be read as relevant to medicine insofar as it concerns its epistemological status. Taurellus correctly understands the passage in terms of metaphysics, but clearly does not know the identity of the

⁶⁰ Ibid., col. 1184: '[Cardanus] differentiam ignoravit inter simile, idem et unum.'

⁶¹ Ibid., cols. 1856, 703, 502.

⁶² Ibid., cols. 1103, 707, 1526.

⁶³ Avicenna, *Liber de philosophia prima*, ed. S. van Riet, Louvain: E. Peeters: Leiden: Brill, 1977, pp. 9–27.

⁶⁴ An edition appeared in Venice in 1495 from the presses of Bernardinus de Vitalibus.

⁶⁵ Cardano for example makes use of it: see his *De uno*, ed. José Manuel García Valverde, Florence: Olschki, 2007), xviii–xix.

author, whom, ironically, he congratulates on his 'Christian philosophy', which, as we have seen, derives all physics from (Christian) metaphysics. Where there is a problem with physical propositions (such as 'nihil ex nihilo fieri potest', from which the heretical Aristotelian doctrine of the eternity of the world is inferred), it is metaphysics which provides the true answer. Taurellus points out at the same time that acceptance of the primacy of metaphysics does not absolve philosophers from providing rational arguments for all their assertions.⁶⁶

It is of interest to compare here and elsewhere Taurellus's practice as commentator with the recommendations of Arnau himself in the opening words (on which Taurellus chooses not to comment) of the *Expositio super canonem vita brevis*:

The complete exposition of any aphorism or text consists in three things: the first is to explain the mind or intention of the author; the second is to show the truth of what he said; and the third is to reveal the usefulness of the text. [...] It is however useful to know that in expounding or dealing with an aphorism in these ways, the expositor is not permitted to exceed what is in the logic of any statement in the aphorism, or to interpret extensively its words; its terms have prescribed limits beyond which one should not extrapolate the text. The force and logic of the aphorism or text reveal these limits: the force of the text is known from its subject matter, the logic from its form or style. The expositor should extend his interpretation only as far as is sanctioned by these two elements [matter and form].⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Arnau, *Opera*, ed. Taurellus, col. 1691: 'Si barbarez, Christiane tamen hic philosophatur Arnaldus'; *ibid.*, 1690: 'Materiam primam, et infinitum ex Philosophorum scholis explodenda velim'; *ibid.*, col. 1692: 'Hac nostra est philosophia Christiana, ut in omnibus scientiis a metaphysicis sumatur initium, et quicquid tandem sci[v]erimus, id ad unius Dei laudem referatur'; *ibid.*, col. 1698: (on a doctrine concerning celestial bodies) 'illud commentitum est, et indignum Philosophis, quos nihil asserere decet absque rationibus.' The teaching of metaphysics in Lutheran schools and universities was to become a major point of contention in the last years of the century: see Markus Friedrich, *Die Grenzen der Vernunft: Theologie, Philosophie und gelehrte Konflikte am Beispiel des Helmstedter Hoffmannstreits und seine Wirkungen auf das Luthertum um 1600*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2004.

⁶⁷ Arnau, *Opera*, ed. Taurellus, col. 1677: 'Perfecta expositio cuiuslibet aphorismi, et cuiuslibet documenti consistit in tribus: quorum unum est mentem, vel intentionem auctoris explicare; secundum est dictorum eius veritatem ostendere; tertium est utilitatem documenti manifestare [...] Est tamen utile sciendum, quod in exponendo, vel tractando aphorismum praedictis modis, non licet expositori, quantum est de ratione declarationis aphorismi, quemlibet excedere, vel prolongare sermones suos; sed praefixi sunt ei termini, ultra quos procedere non oportet sua documenta. Illos autem terminos indicat vis et ratio aphorismi, vel documenti: vis documenti cognoscitur ex materia, de

Taurellus's exposition often appears as no more than an excuse for him to expound his own ideas, confirming Cardano's cynical remark that commentary is apt to reveal more about the views of the commentator than about those of the parent text.⁶⁸

* * *

It would be nice to finish these notes on the publication of medieval works of *practica* and the mediation of Arnau by Champier and Taurellus by some account of the ways in which the editions in which they participated were actually used. This would be a very considerable undertaking, with many inherent difficulties. I have looked in the indexes of subsequent works by respected writers in the domain of *practica*, many of whom are Italian; the results were negative, but that may have something to do with the apparent reluctance of professors in Northern Italian universities to cite recent non-Italian sources after the 1550s, either for reasons of censorship, or from a sense of the superiority of their tradition and their teaching. Some evidence of both of these motives may be found, although not enough to be conclusive.⁶⁹ It is certainly the case that at least one Italian—Girolamo Mercuriale (1530–1606)—possessed the 1585 *Opera* of Arnau, but I do not know whether he cites him by name. The evidence from Northern Europe is a little less sparse. It can be considered in the light of the three potential readerships of learned medicine in this period to which I have already alluded: the Latinate public in general; the university market; and medical practitioners. I have scant evidence that Arnau's works were read by scholars from other disciplines, although it is not implausible that those interested in natural philosophy might have dipped into them.⁷⁰ As regards universities, four Oxford Colleges as well as the Bodleian Library possessed copies of the 1585 *Opera*, as did the Library of the German Nation at Padua; and all of these libraries acquired the works

qua loquitur; ratio ex forma, vel modo docendi. Unde quanta ista duo tolerant, tantum debet extendi expositio.'

⁶⁸ Cardano, *Opera omnia*, viii.251: 'credendum esse magis expositoribus de opinione authoris qui exponitur quam authori de opinione expositoris.'

⁶⁹ See Candice Delisle, 'The letter: private text or public place? The Mattioli-Gesner Controversy about the *aconitum primum*', *Gesnerus*, 61 (2004), 161–76; and Ian Maclean, 'The medical republic of letters before the Thirty Years War', *Intellectual History Review*, 11 (2008), 15–30.

⁷⁰ The humanist bibliophile Konrad Peutinger of Augsburg (1465–1547) possessed a copy of a Lyon edition of Arnau's *Opera*: see Hans-Jörg Künast and Helmut Zäh, *Die Bibliothek Konrads Peutingers*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2003, p. 401 (no. 485).

of other medieval writers on *practica* as well.⁷¹ Moreover, the specialist medical bibliographies of Pascal Le Coq (Gallus) (1590) and Johann Georg Schenck (1609) continue to cite them with approval.⁷² Among the practitioners who possessed copies of Arnau's work and those of his medieval colleagues in *practica* may be cited Jeremias Martius of Augsburg and the Wittenberg professor Caspar Peucer.⁷³ The German doctor Gregor Horst (1578–1636) of Ulm includes Arnau together with a number of other medieval masters in his list of cited books; and Daniel Sennert (1572–1637) of Wittenberg refers at length to Arnau's views on epilepsy and on wound-dressing.⁷⁴ If nothing else, these references provide evidence of the use made of the Frankfurt Book Fair Catalogues and specialist bibliographies by scholars and collectors and testify to the attention given by the learned medical profession to new publications of all kinds.

⁷¹ See Ian Maclean, 'Medieval and early modern medicine in Oxford libraries', forthcoming.

⁷² Pascal le Coq (Gallus), *Bibliotheca medica*, Basle: Konrad von Waldkirch, 1590, pp. 36, 45; Johannes Georg Schenck, *Biblia iatrica*, Frankfurt: Johann Spiess for Anton Hummius, 1609, pp. 74–5.

⁷³ J.-M. Agasse, 'La bibliothèque d'un médecin humaniste: l'*Index librorum* de Girolamo Mercuriale', *Les Cahiers de l'humanisme*, 3–4 (2002–3) 201–53 (217); Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy*, p. 108; Martius, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, Augsburg; Michael Mangerus, 1572, A4^r; R. Kolb, *Caspar Peucer's Library*, St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1976, pp. 45–55.

⁷⁴ Gregor Horst, *Opera*, Nuremberg; Johann and Andreas Endter and the heirs of Wolfgang Endter, 1660.) (6^r; Daniel Sennert, *Opera*, 3 vols., Paris, apud Societatem, 1641, ii.239, iii.1641 (referring to *De epilepsia* and *Breviarium practicae*).

CHAPTER SIX

MELANCHTHON AT THE BOOK FAIRS, 1560–1601: EDITORS, MARKETS AND RELIGIOUS STRIFE

There are no doubt many stories one can tell about Melanchthon's posthumous publications; this one is a tissue of crude mercantile profiteering, religious polemic, and legal retribution, mainly concerning four works: the so-called *Opera omnia* (4 parts. 1562–4; parts. 1, 2 and 4, 1577–83; 5 parts, 1601); the *Locorum communium collectanea* (1563 and the following years); the various editions of the *Epistolae* (1565; 1570; 1574); and the *Chronicon Carionis* (1558; 1566; 1572; 1580). These works were all produced in the period of the so-called 'Second Reformation' in Germany after the Peace of Augsburg (1555), during which Philippism was broadly identified with an irenic version of Crypto-Calvinism, one specific test of this being the acceptance of the Augsburg confession in its 'variata' form of 1540.¹ Later in the period, the Formula of Concord of 1577 produced a broad agreement between Lutherans of the gnesiolutheran persuasion which was inimical to the Calvinist cause; but even thereafter that cause in Europe looked powerfully in the ascendant in the early 1590s (with sympathetic rulers in France, England, and a good number of German states). Yet by 1601, where my story ends, its outlook had become far less rosy.²

The works about which I shall speak all involve in some way the Philippists and Crypto-Calvinists closest to Melanchthon at the time of his death in 1560. The most important of these for my purposes is

¹ As opposed to 'invariata' form of 1530; in the 'confessio variata' the article on the real presence in the sacraments was reworded to accommodate the views of the South German Reformers.

² For a summary account of this history, see Robert Kolb, 'Dynamics of Party Conflict in the Saxon late Reformation; Genesiolutherans vs. Philippists,' in his *Luther's heirs define his legacy: studies in Lutheran confessionalisation*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1996; Henry J. Cohn, 'Germany, 1559–1622,' in *International Calvinism*, ed. Menna Prestwich, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985, pp. 135–65; Ernst Koch, 'Auseinandersetzungen um die Autorität von Philipp Melanchthon und Martin Luther in Kursachsen im Vorfeld der Konkordienformel von 1577,' *Lutherjahrbuch*, 59 (1992) 128–59; Irene Dingel, *Concordia controversa: die öffentlichen Diskussionen um das lutheranische Konkordienwerk am Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1996.

Caspar Peucer (Beutzer, Beuker, Peuker) (1525–1602) of Wittenberg, a distinguished academic doctor, Melanchthon's son-in-law and his collaborator in various publishing enterprises. He became very influential in the Saxon Court in the early 1570s but was arrested for alleged encouragement of the Calvinist cause on 1 April 1574 and was not released from imprisonment until nearly twelve years later, in February 1586, after the death first of the Electorin Anna and then her husband. Peucer then retired to Dessau where he remained until his own death in 1602, in the service of the Anhalt family who, after the marriage of Agnes Hedwig von Anhalt to the Elector of Saxony, had helped secure his release.³ From 1574 to 1586 he was therefore 'civilly dead'; that is to say, that no civil right such as a licence could be enforced in his name. Three other figures whom I shall mention are Christoph Pezel (1539–1604), a Pastor who like Peucer was imprisoned in Leipzig in 1574, but unlike him was released under bond and compelled to move from city to city in his search for refuge before settling in Calvinist Bremen in 1588; the eminent humanist scholar Joachim Camerarius (Kammermeister) (1500–74), a close friend of Melanchthon, and a co-participant (with Melanchthon and Peucer) in the Diet of Regensburg and Colloquy of Worms, both of which took place in 1557;⁴ and Johann Manlius (Menlein), a graduate of Wittenberg who was in the service of Melanchthon in the 1550s, and was involved in two unauthorized acts of publication of Melanchthoniana in the 1560s.⁵

My investigation into the posthumous publication of Melanchthon led me initially to look at the bibliographies of Strobel, Hartfelder, Beutenmüller and Hammer; then to survey the library holdings of my chosen works; and thereafter to consult the Catalogues of the Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fairs for the relevant period.⁶ The weightiest work to

³ See *The Oxford encyclopaedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillebrand, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, s.v. Peucer only ever spells his father-in-law's name Melanthon; this is a shibboleth which marks all the publications in which he was involved, and probably shows that he was not involved in the reprinting of the *Opera* between 1577 and 1583 (see below).

⁴ See *ibid.*, s.vv. and s.v. Philippists. Also, for Pezel, see Zedler, *Universalexikon*, s.v.

⁵ See Matthias Simon, 'Johann Manlius, der erste Herausgeber von Melanchthonbriefen', *Zeitschrift für bayerische Kirchengeschichte*, 24 (1955), 141–9.

⁶ Karl Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae*, Berlin: Hofmann, 1889; Georg Theodor Strobel, *Bibliotheca Melanchthoniana*, Nuremberg: Monath, 1782; Otto Beutenmüller, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Melanchthon-Drucke des 16 Jahrhunderts: zum 400. Todestag Philipp Melanchthons*, Halle: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 1960;

be considered was Melanchthon's *Opera omnia*, which was first printed in four volumes between 1562 and 1564, reprinted in large part between 1577–83, and reissued in 1601 in 5 volumes, although it is rare to find the fifth volume associated with the first four. The process of investigating this work led me in turn to investigate the other publications I have mentioned. The questions which have driven this study are the following: What marks are there in these books of the financial interests of printers, publishers, and markets? What was the effect on the various works of their mode of mediation (through editors, formats, paratextual material)? What does posthumous publication tell us about Melanchthon's influence and reception? And what do present day library holdings tell us about the diffusion of his works?

Before examining my two case studies in detail (the first involving the *Opera* and the *Chronicon Carionis*; the second, the *Locorum communium collectanea* and the various editions of the letters), I shall begin by recalling a few relevant facts about the economic, commercial and legal aspects of book production in the sixteenth century. All publication began with copy to be printed and published; to set production in train, the first thing to pay for was the paper, the cost of which represented about half the total cost of production, as against 14%–20% in the case of modern books. Only then did the labour costs of the printing workshop come into question; and these could be to some degree discounted by giving the printer a share in the eventual print run. In the case of learned books, many authors oversaw the proofs of their own works, although the larger printing houses had their own 'corrector', who was usually an eminent scholar. The choice of format reflected in large part the choice of market (folio was reserved for commemorative publication or large-scale reference works, aimed at the institutional market or rich collectors; smaller formats were aimed at a broader market). It has been estimated that printing houses of an average size, operating between two and five presses, produced print runs of about 100 for folios, and 1200 for octavos. The last part of the book to be printed were the preliminaries (the titlepage and first gathering). This contained what I shall call the 'paratext': that is, preliminary prefaces and poems, dedications, and references to licences or permissions. These materials,

Wilhelm Hammer, *Die Melanchthonforschung im Wandel der Jahrhunderte: ein beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, 4 vols., Gütersloh: Mohn, 1967–96; *Die Messkataloge Georg Willers 1564–1600*, ed. Bernhard Fabian, 5 vols., Hildesheim: Olms, 1972–2001.

as well as the information given on the titlepage, indicate all or some of the following: the targeted readership, the sources of financing, the genre of the book and its place in the market, and the relation of the work to previous works of the same kind.

When completed, books were usually kept in stock in an unbound state and sold in that form. The serial nature of work in the print shop makes it possible to distinguish between states (that is, versions of the eventual book which are different in certain details from other copies produced in the same print run and edition). It is also possible to distinguish between a reprint (when the book is reset completely) and a reissue (that is, the use of the sheets from a previous edition with a new title-page). The evidence of a reissue is usually to be found in the whole of the first gathering, or in the 'tipping' of a new title page on to the existing gathering by cutting off the old title-page and leaving a small stub on to which to glue its replacement. Cancels (pages which have been removed, of which the evidence is a residual stub in the bound copy) also indicate that a previously complete copy or gathering has been tampered with.

Once printed, the book entered the book market, usually by being presented in one of the great Book Fairs. International publishers usually not only had warehouses of books in the Book Fair cities, but also engaged widely in *Tauschhandel* (the practice of exchanging page for page of printed material in the same format with other publishers), which relieved their problems of cash flow and turned them into booksellers or at least book dealers. In some cases, the books they advertised would be protected from piracy by a licence or *privilège*. These were very expensive legal instruments, and were usually only obtained if it was thought both that the work or works in question would be commercially successful as a monopoly product, and that piracy was therefore likely. They could be held by the author, the producer (i.e. editor), or the printer-publisher. They were usually only issued for new works or 'improved' works; one effect of this in the late sixteenth century, as I have argued elsewhere, was to stimulate the production of new editions with tiny emendations or additions, all of which claim to be 'auctior', 'locupletior' or 'castigator', and so qualify for the protection of a licence. This protected the book in a given jurisdiction; for example the Holy Roman Empire, or the Kingdom of France, or the Duchy of Saxony; very grand publications, such as Vesalius's *Humani corporis fabrica* (1543), enjoyed the protection of several *privilèges*. If the holder of a licence

thought that his rights had been infringed, the legal procedure he had to adopt was to approach the issuer of licence, who in turn would approach the city fathers in the place of infringement, usually in Frankfurt (which fell under Imperial licensing controls) or Leipzig (under the Duchy of Saxony). They were then obliged to investigate the matter. Frankfurt also had by the end of the sixteenth century two Commissioners sent by the Imperial Chancery whose task it was to see that the provisions of the various Diets controlling the book trade were respected.⁷

It is in the light of these material conditions that my two case studies are to be seen. The first concerns the *Opera* and the *Chronicon Carionis*, and the cities of Wittenberg, Leipzig and Frankfurt. The posthumous *Opera* had a precursor: the *Operum tomi quinque* of 1541 (whose colophon states that the printing was completed in March 1541, but whose foreword by Melanchthon is dated 1542, showing that the first gathering was indeed the last to be printed).⁸ This was produced in folio by the Basle printer Johannes Herwagen; it is a grandiose publication, marking the fact that Melanchthon had by then achieved a considerable international reputation.⁹ The author's introduction is an autobiobibliography probably influenced by Boniface Amerbach's edition in 1536 of Erasmus's *Catalogus duo operum Erasmi ab ipso conscripti*; this fulfilled a function similar to the medieval 'accessus ad auctores' with which Melanchthon would also have been familiar.¹⁰ The *Opera* are

⁷ On the various points made here, see Ian Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books and conceptions of genre in northern Europe, 1570–1630', above, pp. 9–24; K. Schottenloher, 'Die Druckprivilegien des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 19 (1933), 89–111; Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before copyright: the French book-privilege system 1498–1526*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; R.J.W. Evans, *The Wechsel presses; humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627*, Past and Present Supplement 2, Oxford, 1975; Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, Leipzig: Verlag des Börsenvereins des deutschen Buchhandels, 1889, esp. pp. 448–521; Johann Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, 1648–1740*, Leipzig: Verlag des Börsenvereins des deutschen Buchhandels, 1908, pp. 89ff.; Ulrich Engelhardt, *Die kaiserliche Aufsicht über Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Presse im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation (1492–1806)*, Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1970.

⁸ *Melanchthons Briefwechsel*, ed. Heinz Scheible, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1977—[hereafter MBW], no. 2780 (ii.212). Melanchthon mentions that he is in the process of writing the preface in a letter dated 27 July 1541 (*ibid.*, no. 2779). It cannot have been completed before August 1 1541, the date of Simon Grynaeus's death, to which Melanchthon alludes.

⁹ Herwagen, who had been one of Melanchthon's publishers since the 1520s, is described by Melanchthon as his friend in the foreword addressed to the reader.

¹⁰ Erasmus's work first appeared as the *Lucubrationes* of 1524. On this and on its influence, see Ian Maclean 'Interpreting the *De libris propriis*', in *Girolamo Cardano: le opere, le fonti, la vita*, ed. Marialuisa Baldi and Guido Canziani, Milan: FrancoAngeli,

divided into five parts: the first three are devoted to theological works; the last two contain Aristotelian commentaries as well as humanist and pedagogical materials.

The *Omnium operum pars prima*, which in view of the *Opera* of 1541 is known as the ‘editio altera’, was produced in folio from the presses of Hans Krafft in Wittenberg in 1562.¹¹ Timothy J. Wengert has recently written a helpful article on the scope and contents of this edition;¹² I shall suggest here some modifications to his surmises about its printing history and reception (see below footnotes 27 and 50). The first part of the *Opera*, together with the next three to appear, bears the words ‘cum gratia et privilegio ad annos quindecim’ on the title-page: the licence is not reproduced in the body of the text, and must be presumed to be a licence provided by the Elector of Saxony. The first part of 1562 contains a preface by Melanchthon dated 16 February 1560, which is identical to that published as the preface to the *Corpus doctrinae Christianae* produced by Ernst Voegelin at Leipzig in 1560.¹³ Indeed, the contents of the *Corpus* are almost the same as this first volume: the only difference being the inclusion of two short works, the *Catachesis* and the *Enarratio symboli Niceni*.¹⁴ The first volume also contains an extract from Luther’s preface to his own *Opera*, acknowledging Melanchthon’s authority in

1999, pp. 17–8. There are textual similarities: compare Melanchthon’s comment ‘nullus enim libellus est integer aut absolutus’ to Erasmus’s ‘ita nullus liber tam est absolutus, quin reddi possit absolutior’. This introduction is reproduced in the *Opera, pars tertia* (A4^r–8^r) as ‘Epistola Melanchthonis de suis studiis consiliis et affectione erga Ecclesiam et Rempubicam’; and in the *Epistolae* of 1565 (pp. 141–54) and 1570 (pp. 350–64).

¹¹ There are earlier states of this edition in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (pressmark P614 2° Helmst.) and in the Badener Landesbibliothek. The former copy has a titlepage with the first three lines in a different setting (*Operum omnium [...]* rather than *Omnium operum*) and no portrait of Melanchthon on A6^v; the latter has the titlepage as in Wolfenbüttel and the portrait.

¹² Timothy J. Wengert, ‘The scope and contents of Philip Melanchthon’s *Opera omnia*, Wittenberg, 1562–4’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 88 (1997) 57–77.

¹³ See MBW, viii.447 (no. 3236).

¹⁴ The *Catachesis puerilis* appeared in 1543; thereafter it went through countless editions. According to Timothy J. Wengert, the *Enarratio Symboli Niceni* is the work of Caspar Cruciger: see ‘Caspar Cruciger (1504–1548): the case of the disappearing reformer’, *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 20 (1989), 417–41. The *Explicatio symboli Niceni* (with that title) was printed by Hans Krafft in 1561 at the expense of the bookseller Konrad Rühel with the title *Explicatio symboli Niceni sicut a reverendi viri D. Philippi Melanthonis pia memoriae in Academia Vitebergensi publice studiosae iuventutis proposita. Aedita a M. Iohanne Sturione Curiense Diacono Ecclesiae Vitebergensis*: see VD 16, M 3335. The first part of the *Opera* is remarkable in that it contains both the ‘invariata’ and the ‘variata versions’ of the Augsburg confession.

theology (in which, however, he had no degree).¹⁵ This extract also crucially establishes Melanchthon's authority in Lutheran doctrine, a significant gesture in the polemical atmosphere of the late 1550s.

Operum pars secunda was published in same year, with a commemorative poem by Joachim Camerarius (A8^r); The third part appeared in 1563, with errors of pagination;¹⁶ the fourth part bears the date 1564. The four volumes consist in total of more than 3600 pages, and contain only the theological writings (whereas the 1541 *Opera* contained humanist and pedagogical works as well). All are lavishly produced, with typeface of a high point, wide margins, fairly scrupulous proof-reading, and an engraving executed in 1561 in the form of a full-length portrait of Melanchthon, adapted from the portrait of Melanchthon as St Basil by Cranach the Younger of 1559;¹⁷ this is surmounted in all the editions of the parts up to 1583 by a appropriate superscript which records the various dates of its printing; this seems to be offered as a visual token of Melanchthon's piety, kindness and irenic disposition. There is no indication of how the four volumes were financed, but the strong presumption must be that Peucer himself produced the money at least for the paper if not also for the labour in the printing house; it remains however possible that Krafft had a stake in the edition.

All four volumes begin with dedicatory letters (or rather essays) written by Peucer to territorial rulers in Germany, all of whom he describes as 'dominus suus', although strictly speaking only August of Saxony stood in that relationship to him as Landesherr. The first letter is to Maximilian King of Bohemia and Archduke of Austria, who was to become Holy Roman Emperor in 1564. It consists of a pugnacious narrative account of contemporary politics and religion up to the Diet of Regensburg, and discusses the twin threats to pure doctrine posed by idolatry and Epicureanism, and Christendom's present need for rulers of the stamp of Constantine and Theodosius who would purge the Church of error and heresy. The second volume begins with a letter to August Elector of Saxony on the issue of tradition and of not changing laws unless absolutely necessary (Peucer however arguing that it was

¹⁵ Robert Stupperich, *Melanchthon*, London: Lutterworth Press, 1966, p. 151, claims that he was too modest to supplicate for a doctorate in theology.

¹⁶ There are two pages numbered 323 and no pages numbered 924–933.

¹⁷ See Sachiko Kusukawa, *The transformation of natural philosophy: the case of Philip Melanchthon*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 192–4. In the half-length seated portrait as St Basil, the book is open in Melanchthon's hands; in the engraving of 1561, the book is closed, perhaps as a sign of death.

absolutely necessary to purge the Roman Church of error). Some theological issues are raised, notably that of adiaphora. August is described by Peucer as his 'benefactor et patronus', which may indicate that he played some part in the financing of the volume; he is compared in wisdom and statecraft to David and Solomon. In the third volume, it is the turn of Elector Frederick III, Count Palatinate, a correspondent and follower of Melanchthon,¹⁸ to be addressed, this time on the question of right judgement in religious matters (what Peucer calls the 'norma iudicii'). The fourth volume Peucer dedicates to Joachim II, Elector of Brandenburg, giving him a history of the Reformation from before the Augsburg Confession up to the 1557 Colloquy in Worms. Joachim is portrayed as an avid reader of pious works (including those of Melanchthon), a skilled mediator with the Empire, and a loyal adherent of the Augsburg Confession (but whether in its 'invariata' or 'variata' form is not clear).¹⁹ What is noteworthy about these epistles is Peucer's direct, uncompromising, and relatively unflattering manner of address to territorial rulers, and his partisan accounts both of religious positions and religious history: this suggests strongly to me that he expected and even courted a committed readership principally of German extraction.

Before I can talk about subsequent editions of the *Opera*, I must deal with the tortured history of the *Chronicon Carionis*; and in this I shall be relying in great part on the article of Hansjörg Pohlmann which appeared in 1966.²⁰ As I indicated above, Peucer seems to have possessed a fifteen-year Saxon licence for the *Opera* he published in 1562–4; on 18 April 1566, he addressed himself to the Imperial Chancery to solicit a general licence for all his and Melanchthon's works produced at his own expense, whether already printed or not yet written or published.²¹

¹⁸ The Count Palatinate took Melanchthon's advice to declare his allegiance to the 'variata' form of the Augsburg Confession in 1559: see Cohn, 'Germany', p. 148; MBW viii.408 (no. 9119); *Melanchthons Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Robert Stupperich, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1951–75, vi.482–6, and Wengert, 'Scope and contents', 61, who refers to this as a 'widely published opinion'.

¹⁹ On the figures mentioned in these dedications, see R.J.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his world*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973, pp. 52–4; Cohn, 'Germany'; Kolb, 'Dynamics of party conflict'; Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People and confession: the second Reformation in Brandenburg*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994, pp. 29ff.

²⁰ Hansjörg Pohlmann, 'Die Urheberrechtsstreit des Wittenberger Professors Dr. med. Kaspar Peucers mit dem Frankfurter Verleger Sigismund Feyerabend', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 6 (1966), 594–639.

²¹ 'Omnes tam ipsius Caspari Peuceri quam Philippi etiam Melanchthonis lucubrationes tam Theologicas quam Politicas, Medicas, Physicas, historicas, aut alias quascunque, [...] quas praedictus Peucer[us] typis procudi curarit': quoted by Pohlmann, 'Urheberrechtsstreit', 620.

The idea of applying for this may have been stimulated by the Manlius affair, of which I shall give an account below (pp. 121–4); but the first titlepage on which it is advertised is that of the 1566 edition of the *Chronicon Carionis*. Johann Carion's Chronicle, which he began in the 1530s, was a history of ecclesiastical events, beginning in the ancient world and culminating eventually in a specifically protestant account of the post-Reformation era; it was a spectacularly successful publication in commercial terms. Carion had entrusted its continuation to Melanchthon, who revised and added to the first two parts, which were published in 1558 and 1560 respectively. Peucer contributed an entirely new supplement at about the same time. In keeping with the modesty he displayed in all aspects of his life, Melanchthon insisted that the title continue to refer to its first author.²²

In the same year as the new, imperially protected, edition of Carion with Melanchthon's and Peucer's additions appeared, a pirated version was published without Peucer's consent by the powerful Frankfurt publisher Sigismund Feyerabend in consort with Simon Hüter, in which was interpolated some material of a politically sensitive sort about the Elector of Brandenburg which had not been authorised by Peucer.²³ Once apprised of the act of piracy, Peucer took vigorous action, as did other holders of copyright at the time whose monopoly was threatened.²⁴ He appealed to the Elector of Saxony, who by the authority of the Saxon licence was able to order the confiscation of all copies of the pirated edition on offer at the Leipzig New Year Fair of 1568, with the impounding of all of Feyerabend's and Hüter's stock (an immense quantity of books) stored in Leipzig, together with a fine of 10 marks and 100 gilders.²⁵ Next Peucer had the ban on sales extended to Frankfurt through the Imperial licence. This was a more difficult legal battle to fight, as Feyerabend was a very powerful local merchant and the Frankfurt city fathers (his Lutheran cosectaries and colleagues as merchants) were probably loath to act against him, but were obliged at

²² *Chronicon Carionis*, Wittenberg: Krafft, 1572, a7v: 'nomen Chronici Carionis retinui, quod mutare illud autor primus sanctae beataeque memoriae Philippus Melanthon socer meus noluit.'

²³ On Feyerabend see Heinrich Pallmann, *Sigismund Feyerabend: sein Leben und seine geschäftlichen Verbindungen aus archivalischen Quellen*, Frankfurt: Völcker, 1881.

²⁴ For another example (that of Wechsel) see Ian Maclean, 'Philosophical books in European markets 1570–1630: the case of Ramus', in *New perspectives on Renaissance thought*, ed. John Henry and Sarah Hutton, London: Duckworth, 1990, pp. 253–63.

²⁵ It was usual for the licence to stipulate that half of any fine levied would go to its grantor.

least to investigate the matter. They received from Feyerabend a long document in his defence, making the following points: that no precise details of the licence were given in Peucer's edition; that the offending book was produced before the effective date of the privilege, but printed with a post-dated title-page; that the *Chronicon Carionis* was in the public domain (his most plausible defence, as the work had no protection in Basle, or Geneva, where it was certainly treated as though in the public domain by printers, one of whom, Petrus Sanctandreas, did not scruple to publish under a Lyon and Heidelberg imprint as well).²⁶ He finally claimed that all those involved in the modification to the text concerning Brandenburg and hence responsible legally for the consequences of including it in the *Chronicon* had died, and were therefore beyond legal prosecution. Feyerabend's submission ends with a desperate plea for the release of his books in Leipzig and the restitution of the Frankfurt copies of the *Chronicon*. There can be no doubt as to the commercial damage suffered by him and by his partner Hüter, who was bankrupted by the affair.²⁷

Peucer wrote again to the Imperial Chancery on 7 February 1570 to renew the five-year licence of 1566. In the same year, there was another incident with Feyerabend over two texts: the *Chronicon Carionis* and the *Corpus doctrinae Philippi* (published by Peucer probably in partnership with Anton Schöne and Clemens Schleich in 1570); again confiscation of stock ensued. This time Feyerabend blamed his Leipzig factor for the affair, and begged his 'dominus', the Count Palatinate, to intervene on his behalf with the Elector of Saxony, who in turn approached Peucer. The outcome is not known, but it is probable that Feyerabend's stock was released after payment of a hefty fine.

One effect of the imprisonment of Peucer in 1574 may have been to change the policy of the Imperial Chancery towards grants of open privilege to protestants; whereas, in 1568, the Basle protestant printer

²⁶ 'Dieweihl berürte Cronica längst hiervor, und vor vielen Jahren lateinisch und deutsch an vielen Orthen, ohne einigen verweis öffentlich in truck ausgegangen. Vnd dadurch so gemein worden, das woll ein Jeder Buchtrucker dieselbe hett nachtrucken mögen, wie dann auch etliche ausserhalb Wittenberg ohne einige nachrede vnd Intrag zu offermals dieselbe nachgetruckt haben': quoted by Pohlmann, 'Urheberrechtsstreit', 623. For the bibliography of the Latin versions of the *Chronicon*, which is highly complex, see VD16, M 2697–2722.

²⁷ There are comparable cases of similar prosecution: for that involving the rich Spanish merchant Simon Ruiz and the Lyon publisher Etienne Michel: see Ian Maclean, 'Murder, debt, and retribution in the Italico-Hispanico-French book trade', below, pp. 227–50.

Pietro Perna had been granted a general privilege for all 'Opera juridica, medica, philosophica, historica, mathematica, poetica,' his cosectary André Wechel's general privilege of 17 June 1574 specifically excludes historical and theological works.²⁸ Peucer's civil death between 1574–1586 also meant that his rivals could, and did, publish the *Chronicon Carionis* without fear of reprisal.

I can now return to the subsequent editions of the *Opera* (all printed in exactly the same form, type and typesetting as in 1562–4, but with the date of the Melanchthon portrait's superscript amended). The first of these to appear was the fourth part, reprinted by Krafft in 1577, with mention of licence. Although it is clear that Peucer could not have invoked this, it was in fact still in force as a fifteen-year licence granted at the latest in 1562, when the *Opera* began to be published. Three years later, Krafft's heirs reprinted the first part, again with mention of licence (which, on this occasion, could not be that granted in 1562, unless it was a universal licence in the name of the printer). Even though the Court of Saxony was at this time opposed to Philippism, the Augsburg Peace of 1555 had established the general right to publish protestant (Lutheran) theology, and the Court could not have intervened to stop its appearance. The second part was reprinted by Krafft's heirs in 1583. None of these books was advertised in the catalogues of the Frankfurt Book Fair. It is to be surmised that Krafft's heirs believed that the *Opera* could still have a sufficient market to generate a profit, although it is noteworthy that it took nine years to produce the three volumes, suggesting a policy of spreading the financial risk. It is possible that Peucer's emergence from prison in 1584 inhibited any further reprinting, for the third part appears not to have been reprinted, or at least, if printed, not marketed, along with the rest.²⁹

²⁸ Vienna, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Impressoria, FZ 2, fols. 251–4: 'ad historicorum et Theologicorum librorum vero editionem privilegio meo absque peculiari consensu uti non debet'; cf. FZ 56, fol. 243 (Perna).

²⁹ Wengert, 'Scope and contents', 70, speculates 'that perhaps the printer reproduced [the 1563 edition of the third part] without changing the date'; this seems to be to be highly implausible. For evidence of sets made up with either the 1563 edition of the third part, or that of 1601, see VD16, M 2330–8, and the sets in English Cathedral libraries and Oxford and Cambridge Colleges (referred to in the appendix). One of the sets in Trinity College, Dublin (pressmark F c 3–5) consists in the three reprinted parts (1, 2 and 4) of the 1577–83 period, suggesting that it was acquired at the time of printing (even though this edition was not advertised in the Book Fairs); another set (F a 17–20) consists of parts 1, 3 and 4 of the 1562–4 edition, with the 1583 part 2. This was owned by John Worth, who gave many of his books to the College; it seems to indicate that in

All four volumes appeared in 1601; a fifth volume was added to them, and this, like the others, bears a mention of the licence. The title-pages carry the imprint 'typis Simonis Gronenbergij, sumptum impendente Zacharia Schürerio et eius socijs'.³⁰ Now it is true that the title-pages are new printings, and the third part is a total reprint with respect to the 1563 edition, with the errors in pagination corrected; but parts one, two and four are reissues of the text of 1580, 1583 and 1577 respectively; and the fifth part is a reissue of the 1580 edition of the folio printing of the 'Chronicon Carionis', which was in turn a reprint of the lavish folio edition produced by the Krafft presses in 1572. Some signs of these reissues were not been obliterated by Gronenberg: the colophon of fifth part, which reads 'Witebergae, excudebant Haeredes Johannis Cratonis anno M.D.LXXX', survives, as do the dates on the Melanchthon portraits in the other parts, although these are not to be found in all copies. In some copies, the poem of Camerarius is lacking, suggesting that the sheets preserved by the Krafft family had not all survived intact as sets.³¹ In some copies the title-page has been tipped; in others, the sheet A1–A6 or A1–A8 (title and end of the preliminaries) has been reprinted, but nothing else. The imprint 'typis Simonis Gronenbergii' is therefore only partially true.³² It is not even certain that Gronenberg was responsible for the reprinting of the third volume: it has the same typeface, initial letters and ornaments as the other volumes which were printed by Krafft's heirs, and employs the same practices with regard to signatures, marginalia, catchwords, and running heads. I do not wish to suggest however, that Gronenberg, who was involved from

some places at least, sets of the four parts were being made up from a mixture of the first two printings. A similar conclusion can be drawn from the holdings in various English Cathedral libraries and Oxford and Cambridge Colleges.

³⁰ See Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982, s.v.

³¹ For copies which have been inspected, see below, appendix.

³² Zedler, *Universallexikon*, s.v. Melanchthon, makes no reference to the 1601 edition: '[die] Wittenbergischen Theilen [der Werke], welche 1562 gedruckt und 1580 und folgende Jahre in 4 Folianten wieder aufgelegt worden, enthalten allein die Theologischen Schrifften'; Georgi's *Bücherlexikon* of 1734 also only refers to the 1580 edition. Brunet's *Manuel du bibliophile* records Melanchthon's *Opera*, Wittenberg: Krafft, 1562–4; and says of it: 'cette collection ne renferme que les ouvrages théologiques dont le nombre même n'est pas complet. Elle a été réimprimée Witteb. 1580, 1583, et 1601, et à Hambourg, en 1617, également en 4 vol. in fol.' I believe that this Hamburg edition (to which Graesse also refers) may well be not the *Opera* of Melanchthon but those of Philipp Nicolai, which appeared there in two folio volumes in 1617, and were advertised in the book fairs.

the beginning of his days as a Wittenberg printer (1579–80) with the printing of Melanchthon's and Peucer's works, was in any way acting improperly. He may even have begun his printing career by acquiring some of the type of Hans Krafft, who died in 1579; and he continued to print Peucer's works after his release from prison.³³

What are we to make of this? First, even the 1562–4 edition shows an over-optimistic assessment of the market; although announced as *Opera omnia*, it is in fact far from complete, and the plan to include all of the pedagogical and humanistic material seems never to have been carried out. Second, the passage from the edition of 1562–1564 to that of 1577–1583 offers a number of points for speculation. The plausible reading of the evidence suggests that more copies of parts one to three than of part four were produced, as part four is the first to be reprinted; this may indicate that the print run of parts one to three turned out to be too high, and resulted in the commercial decision to produce fewer copies of part four. By 1577–1583, the stock of copies held by Krafft and his heirs of parts one, two and four must have run out, and so a reprint was undertaken, although probably not on the scale of the first edition. Part three poses a more difficult problem. It may well have been reprinted but not released by Krafft's heirs; or perhaps the 1563 edition did not need to be replaced, either because it was the longest print run of all the volumes of the first Peucer edition (indicating a degree of optimism about sales in 1563 which was lost by 1564), or because demand collapsed again before it needed to be reprinted,³⁴ or because Peucer emerged from prison and prevented it happening.

³³ See Benzing, *Buchdrucker*, and VD 16, M 2442–3 (*De dimensione terrae*, Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1579; Wittenberg: Simon Gronenberg, 1587). The earliest Gronenberg printing I have found (not recorded in Benzing) is a pair of anatomical fugitive sheets produced for student use in Wittenberg: see Andrea Carlino, 'Corpi di carta. Fogli volanti e diffusione delle conoscenze anatomiche nell'Europa moderna', *Physis*, 31 (1994) 731–69 (fig. 17). Gronenberg also reprinted from Krafft editions Melanchthon's *Liber de anima* in 1580 (VD16, M 2780–1) and his *Initia doctrinae physicae* in 1587 (VD16, M 3480–6). These were student textbooks with a guaranteed local market, the printing of which was undertaken by a number of printers on behalf of the Rühel bookshop.

³⁴ The reissue of sheets of folio editions of theologians with new titlepages is not uncommon; another example is afforded by the *Opera* of Andreas Musculus, which first appeared in Erfurt in 1563, and was reissued in 1568 and 1573 in Erfurt, and 1590 in Frankfurt an der Oder: see Ulrich Kopp, 'Buchdruck ohne Folianten: was in Erfurt im 16. Jahrhundert nicht gedruckt wurde', unpublished paper given at the conference 'Erfurt: Geschichte und Gegenwart' (June 1992), to whom I am grateful for a copy of this paper.

The reissue of the 1577–83 edition in 1601, and the addition of the *Quinta pars operum* suggest different conclusions, of a more crudely commercial nature. Schürer was an entrepreneurial Wittenberg bookseller and publisher³⁵ who must have bought up the unsold stock of Krafft's heirs, 'refreshed' it, created a spurious 'fifth part' out of the unsold sheets of the 1580 edition of the *Chronicon Carionis*, and marketed it at the book fairs, probably for foreign customers who were still faithful to the memory of Melanchthon.³⁶ It was advertised at both the Leipzig and Frankfurt book fairs: but it may be that Schürer disposed of most of the copies through *Tauschhandel*. Two facts about distribution support this hypothesis: first, the high number of incomplete sets (parts 1, 2, 4) of the 1577–1583 edition, which, it will be remembered, was not advertised at the book fairs, but may have been exchanged there in those years which were particularly sensitive for Lutheran theology; second, the exceptionally high number of 1601 editions in British libraries, and the small number so far located in German libraries.³⁷ The presence of booksellers' marks on the title-page of a number of the surviving copies in Britain and Ireland is a further indication of *Tauschhandel*,

³⁵ Schürer bought the bookshop of Andreas Hoffmann (for whom Gronenberg also printed) in 1600: see Josef Benzing, 'Die deutschen Verleger des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 18 (1977), 1078–1322. Schürer's involvement in publications as their financier include works by the Lutheran theologians Leonhard Hutter and Martin Chemnitz (the *Loci theologici reverendi et clarissimi viri D. Martinii Chemnitii... quibus et loci communes D. Phil. Melanchthonis perspicue explicantur, et quasi integrum Christianae doctrinae corpus, Ecclesiae Dei sincere proponitur*, which was reprinted in 1610 and 1615).

³⁶ The mixed reactions of the Saxons and other North Germans to Melanchthon's theology is set out in Dingel, *Concordia controversa*. In the 1580s, Chemnitz tried to translate it into gnesiolutheran terms in the work referred to in note 32, above; in 1610 his works were to be removed from the approved list of orthodox books in Saxony: see Clyde L. Manschreck, *Melanchthon the quiet reformer*, New York: Abingdon Press 1958, introduction.

³⁷ Complete or incomplete sets are recorded in Hereford, Lincoln, Saint Paul's, Lichfield, Gloucester, Exeter, Salisbury, York, Canterbury and Carlisle Cathedrals; Canterbury, Winchester, Wells and Worcester Cathedral Libraries all lack volume 5 of the 1601 edition. In Oxford, Magdalen and St John's Colleges have incomplete sets; in all, nineteen colleges have complete or incomplete sets, and there are three sets in Bodley. Trinity College, Dublin has all three editions, two incomplete. In Cambridge, Trinity, Emmanuel and St John's Colleges have one or more sets of the 1601 edition. The Deutsches Staatsbibliothek, Berlin has a copy of the 1601 edition; others will no doubt be located as VD 17 progresses.

suggesting as it does that stocks were priced up and disposed of by local booksellers.³⁸

My second case study is set in the cities of Wittenberg and Basle, and concerns the *Locorum communium collectanea* of 1562–3 and the *Epistolae* of 1565 and 1570. After Melanchthon's death in 1560, not only Peucer and Camerarius were active in plans for posthumous publication: so was Johannes Manlius (Menlein), who was at one time, according to Simon, in the service of Melanchthon;³⁹ a 'doctus et honestus vir' (according to his sponsor, Simon Sulzer, the rector of the University of Basle), who had a special gift which allowed him to make excerpts from an author's work and represent his 'spirit and genius' with particular clarity.⁴⁰ His *Locorum communium collectanea* [...] *per multos annos tum ex lectionibus Philippi Melanchthonis tum ex aliorum doctissimorum virorum relationibus excerpta* (to which he attached his own collection of medical recipes entitled the *Libellus medicus variorum experimentorum*) appeared in octavo in 1562 or 1563 in Basle, where Manlius was living at the time; it was dedicated to Maximilian, King of Bohemia and Archduke of Austria, and its printers were Joannes Oporinus and (in some editions) Polycarp Gemusaeus. Evidence of Manlius's debts in 1565 suggest that he may himself have paid for the initial printing.⁴¹ This work, which is not to be confused with Melanchthon's *Loci theologici*, is the work of a compiler whose motive for publication may not have been direct financial profit, but rather the pursuit of patronage through dedicatory letters and through the promise of future publications which would honour a potential sponsor. His collection turned out in fact to be a very considerable commercial success, although not, apparently, for its compiler: it was reprinted in Latin in Basle in 1563 and 1565, and at Frankfurt (printed by Peter Schmidt at the expense of Sigismund Feyerabend and Simon Hüter) in 1565, 1566, and 1568. Indeed, it appeared as late as 1594 (when the entrepreneurial Frankfurt

³⁸ Evidence of rather more sophisticated booksellers' marks of this period may be found in John Blatchly, *The Town Library of Ipswich provided for the use of the Town Preachers in 1599: a history and catalogue*, Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989, pp. 16–24. I am grateful to Scott Mandelbrote for providing me with this reference.

³⁹ See Simon, 'Johann Manlius'; however Heinz Scheible does not mention this detail about his life in Manlius's entry in the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, ed. Rolf Wilhelm Brednich et al., Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1975–, ix.141–4.

⁴⁰ *Locorum communium collectanea*, Basle: Joannes Oporinus, 1563, a8v: 'non autem vulgaris est artificis, ex lectione varia animadvertere spiritum et genium authorum.'

⁴¹ See Simon, 'Johann Manlius', 149.

bookseller Peter Kopf⁴² paid for a new edition). It was also translated into German and printed in four states in 1565, in two states in 1566 and again in 1574 (all funded by Feyerabend and Hüter).⁴³

The *Locorum communium collectanea* was immediately attacked by the inner circle of Philippists such as Joachim Camerarius, who published a scathing account of its shortcomings in his life of Melanchthon published in 1566.⁴⁴ It was also attacked by Peucer as an irresponsible exploitation of Melanchthon's name, and for all its plausibility as being a 'farrago mutila, depravata, aberrans, hians, falsa etiam.'⁴⁵ These attacks were known to Manlius and his circle, because they are referred to by one of them in the paratextual material of Manlius's edition of the letters of 1565. The problem for Camerarius and for Peucer was that Manlius was clearly serving the cause of Philippism by keeping Melanchthon in the public eye; for that reason they were very unwilling to engage in apparently internecine struggles, but felt none the less obliged so to do in defence of the reformer's memory.

Yet more injury to the *manes* of Melanchthon was to come from the opportunist editorial talents of Manlius. In 1565 he published an *Epistolarum D. Philippi Melanchthonis farrago*, also in octavo, also in Basle (printed by Paul Queck). In his dedicatory epistle written in Leipzig (to two Counsellors of the Elector of Brandenburg, possibly the financial backers of the edition, as he describes them as his 'fautores et patroni'), he admitted that he did not possess complete texts and sometimes even lacked the name of the addressee of the letters he published, unauthorised copies of which he had presumably made himself while in the service of Melanchthon. This time Peucer reacted immediately by producing in 1565 a rival volume, the *Epistolae selectiores*, in Wittenberg, also in octavo, whose undated dedicatory epistle was addressed to the Elector of Brandenburg. The title-page bears mention of a presumably Saxon privilege without term (simply 'cum gratia et privilegio'). The dedicatory

⁴² On whom see Benzing, 'Die deutsche Verleger', s.v.

⁴³ For the many editions of the *Locorum communium collectanea* in Latin and German, see VD 16, M 593–620, ZV 10345, 13024.

⁴⁴ *De Melanchthonis ortu, totius vitae curriculo et morte narratio*, Leipzig: Ernst Voegelin, 1566, pp. 83–4; note also Voegelin's advertisement in this book of his rights through licence (e7^r–e8^r), which may be a further echo of the Feyerabend-Peucer affair.

⁴⁵ *Epistolae selectiores*, Wittenberg: Krafft, 1565, A2–4: VD 16 M 3222; also M 3221 (Manlius's *Farrago*). On Melanchthon's letters in the sixteenth century, see Heinz Scheible, 'Überlieferung und Editionen der Briefe Melanchthons', *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 12 (1968), 135–61.

letter is predictably polemical: while recognizing the great benefit to mankind that printing represented, Peucer deplored its use to spread defamatory and misleading information (prophetically anticipating Feyerabend's defamatory emendation of the *Chronicon Carionis* which concerned none other than the Elector of Brandenburg, his dedicatee). He then refers to Manlius's detested *Loci* and his *Epistolae*, of which he says that 'nihil pene integrum inest, nil congruum, nil cohaerens, sed lacerum, imperfectum, a latinitate alienum est in ijs praecipue quae continent res maximi momenti, ut impossibile sit cuiquam mentem auctoris assequi.' Peucer goes on to ask all 'viri docti et boni' to send him the letters of Melanchthon which they would like to see published; and ends with praise of Brandenburg's father, whose conscientious stand against the Emperor at Augsburg in 1530 is evoked, and with thanks to the present Elector, who on the instigation of Peucer and the Wittenberg theologian Paul Eber had acted against Manlius: 'accepimus enim nuper auctoritate et mandato Celsitudinis Tuae, Manlio severissime interdictum esse ne quod tale posthac tentet.' Quite what form this interdict took is not clear; Simon surmises that for it to be enforceable, Manlius must have been living in the Elector's territory; it seems to have been effective, for no other editions of Manlius's *Farrago* appeared.⁴⁶

Camerarius also responded to Manlius (and perhaps also to Peucer) by publishing a *Liber continens continua series epistolas Philippi Melanchthonis scriptas annis xxxviii ad Ioannem Camerarium*, which were edited and published by his own Leipzig publisher Ernst Voegelin in octavo in 1569.⁴⁷ The book was protected by a five-year imperial licence, which, if Peucer were involved in the financing of the edition, could be that procured by Peucer for all Melanchthon's writings in 1566; but no reference is made here to Peucer. The theme of the dedication is Camerarius's remarkable friendship with Melanchthon, and it is reminiscent of the record of that other remarkable contemporary friendship between Montaigne and La Boétie;⁴⁸ it may suggest that Camerarius is claiming a closer relationship to Melanchthon than Peucer as son-in-law. But there is no explicit reference to such rivalry, and as Camerarius

⁴⁶ Simon, 'Johann Manlius', mentions however a German translation of the *Farrago*, which is not recorded in VD 16. Ironically, Eber was a theologian against whom the Elector had taken a strong doctrinal dislike: see Nischan, *Prince, people and confession*, p. 37.

⁴⁷ This was dedicated to his patron Augustus of Saxony, which again may indicate that Augustus helped pay for the printing.

⁴⁸ See Montaigne, *Essais*, i.28 ('De l'amitié').

had contributed a poem to the second part of the *Opera* in 1562, no good reason for supposing that the two scholars were on bad terms. This publication may not have been a great commercial success; indeed, the refusal of Wechel in 1578 to publish an Aristotle commentary by Camerarius may indicate that his own reputation was not strong enough to sustain publication of a commercially speculative kind.⁴⁹

In 1570 Peucer went on to produce two volumes of letters (*Epistolarum liber primus; alter libellus epistolarum*) with two printers he had used before (Schleich and Schöne); they may have taken a share in the financing of the 1566 *Chronicon Carionis*, but seem not to have had a part in this venture, as they were not involved in the reprinting of the second book in 1574, which was undertaken by Krafft.⁵⁰ In the first book, which is only protected by the presumed Saxon licence 'cum gratia et privilegio', Peucer unaccountably reproduced the preface of 1565; the second book he dedicated to an Imperial Counsellor, Georg Mehl von Strolitz, described as his 'dominus et patronus reverenter colendus'. The title-page proclaims that it is published 'cum gratia et privilegio Caesareae Maiestatis et Ducis Saxoniae Electoris'; presumably because the renewal of the 1566 licence had been achieved by then. The *Alter libellus* was reprinted in 1574, and all the errata of the 1570 volume incorporated into the text, betokening the scholarly care of its producer. But there is no indication that the *Liber primus* was reprinted. It seems plausible to deduce from this that as in the case of the *Opera*, a greater number of copies of the *Liber primus* were produced than of the *Alter libellus*; this could be a shrewd commercial tactic to limit the speculative risk of publication by ending up with fewer unsold copies in stock.⁵¹

I am now able to venture a few conclusions from the rehearsal of these bibliographical facts. First, there is evidence of an over-estimation in the market for commemorative (as opposed to pedagogical or polemical) publication of Melanchthon after 1560, except in the form of the *Locorum communium collectanea*; and evidence also of poor penetration into the German market, especially after 1580. The over-estimation of the market is a feature of much learned publication in this period, as I

⁴⁹ See Ian Maclean 'André Wechel at Frankfurt, 1572–81', below, p. 179.

⁵⁰ See VD 16, M 3223–4.

⁵¹ To complete the publishing history of *Epistolae* in the sixteenth century, I should add that in 1589, Pezel published the letters of Melanchthon to Albert Hardenberg, and a year later a *Libellus tertius [epistolarum]*, in Bremen, with a preface by Peucer asking those having other letters by Melanchthon to send them to Pezel, as he, Peucer, was now living remote from printers and the University.

have tried to show elsewhere, which was partly stimulated by the formal-rational aspects of book publication, and partly driven by protectionism, commercial greed and sharp practice.⁵² I hope to have shown evidence of the last, both among Basle printer-publishers who exploit Melanchthon's name, and in the predatory operations of Sigismund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, and the speculative publisher Zacharias Schürer. Second, it seems that Peucer's imprisonment might well (with other factors) have had an effect on the policy of the Imperial Chancery towards unfettered publication by protestants which had been guaranteed under the terms of Peace of Augsburg of 1555. Third, I hope to have shown that repeated editions (which are actually reissues) are false indicators of influence or importance in the contemporary religious or academic scene;⁵³ and that the reissue of any commemorative publication, whether in folio or in octavo, needs particularly careful assessment. Finally, although it is a very risky business to set out to determine sixteenth-century distribution patterns from present-day holdings, the crude statistics of the present locations of the *Opera omnia* seem to me on the one hand to indicate the degree to which the Philippist cause had been damaged in Germany by 1601 (damage which is evinced also by the eclipse of Melanchthon's star in his adoptive Saxony), and on the other to show that Melanchthon's theology continued to be purchased and read in England.⁵⁴

⁵² Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books'.

⁵³ Cf. Wengert, 'Scope and contents', 77: 'die Ausgabe gibt uns einen Einblick in die Rezeption Melanchthons und seine Rolle in der theologischen Konfessionalisierung in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts.'

⁵⁴ I have to confess however that of the 24 copies inspected, very few show any signs of underlining and none of manuscript annotations to the text.

APPENDIX:
ASPECTS OF THE MATERIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE *OPERA OMNIA*

Listed below are (1) (marked with an asterisk) the copies I have inspected in various locations, or which have been inspected Dr Helga Robinson-Hammerstein of Trinity College, Dublin and by Dr Sachiko Kusukawa of Trinity College, Cambridge (who also located copies for me); I should like to thank them here for their kind efforts on my behalf; (2) the copies recorded in the intercollegiate catalogue of pre-1641 continental imprints in Oxford College Libraries and in *The cathedral libraries catalogue: books printed before 1700 in the libraries of the Anglican cathedrals of England and Wales*, ed. Margaret S.G. McLeod and others, London: British Library, 1984–98. Pressmarks or shelfmarks are given where known under the name of the Library; and additional information concerning the various states of the 1601 edition, indications of price, and the presence of booksellers' marks is recorded at the end of the list. VD16 gives the following full list of editions and states up to 1583:

- M 2331 *Omnium operum pars prima*, Wittenberg: Johannes Krafft, 1562
- M 2332 *Operum omnium pars prima*, Wittenberg: Johannes Krafft, 1562
- M 2333 *Pars secunda*, Wittenberg: Johannes Krafft, 1562
- M 2334 *Pars tertia*, Wittenberg: Johannes Krafft, 1563
- M 2335 *Pars quarta*, Wittenberg: Johannes Krafft, 1564
- M 2336 *Pars quarta*, Wittenberg: Johannes Krafft, 1577
- M 2337 *Pars prima*, Wittenberg: heirs of Johannes Krafft, 1580
- M 2338 *Pars secunda*, Wittenberg: heirs of Johannes Krafft, 1583

Where not specified in a catalogue, I have taken the *Pars prima* of 1562 to be the second state (M 2332). For the sake of convenience, I have listed the 1601 edition with the reference given in: *Catalogue of books printed in the German-speaking countries and of German books printed in other countries from 1601 to 1700 now in the British Library*, London 1994

- M 776 (1) *Operum omnium pars prima*, Wittenberg: Simon Gronenberg, 1601 (reissue of M 2332)
- M 776 (2) *Pars secunda*, Wittenberg: Simon Gronenberg, 1601 (reissue of M 2337)
- M 776 (3) *Pars tertia*, Wittenberg: Simon Gronenberg, 1601 (reissue of M 2338)
- M 776 (4) *Pars quarta*, Wittenberg: Simon Gronenberg, 1601 (reissue of M 2336)
- M 776 (5) *Pars quinta*, Wittenberg: Simon Gronenberg 1601 (reissue of *Chronicon Carionis*, Wittenberg: heirs of Johannes Krafft, 1580)

*Baden, Landesbibliothek

1. 61.B.321,1–4

M 2331, M 2333, M 2334, M 2336

*Bodleian Library, Oxford

2. T.2 23–6 Th *M 776 (1–4)*
 3. C.2 1–2 Th *M 2337 M 776 (2)*
 4. M.61.4 Th *M 2232–5*

*All Souls College, Oxford

5. SR 80 g 1–4 *M 776 (1–4)*

*Balliol College, Oxford

6. 0565 h 4–7 *M 2337 M 776 (2–4)*

*Brasenose College, Oxford

7. Lath. S 5–9 *M 776 (1–4)*

*Christ Church, Oxford

8. Z s 2.2 a–e *M 776 (1–5)*

Corpus Christi College, Oxford

9. G 22.1–4 *M 2332–5*

*Exeter College, Oxford

10. 9 K 1601 *M 776 (1) M 2338 M 776 (3) M 2336*

*Harris Manchester College, Oxford

11. F 1561/1–2 *M 2332–3*

Magdalen College, Oxford

12. 1.15.09–12 *M 2337, M 2338, M 2334, M 2336*

Mansfield College, Oxford

13. not known *M 776 (1–5)*

*Merton College, Oxford

14. 86 K 11–15 *M 776 (1–5)*

New College, Oxford

15. not known *M 776 (1–4)*

*Oriental College, Oxford

16. E g 1–5 *M 776 (1–5)*

*Queen's College, Oxford

17. 63 D 7–10 *M 2337 or M776(1) (lacking titlepage), M 2338, M 2334, M 2336*

St John's College, Oxford

18. not known *M 2336–8*

Trinity College, Oxford

19. not known M 2337, M 2338, M 2334, M 2336

Wadham College, Oxford

20. i 27 3–6 M 2337, M 2338, M 2334, M 2336

*Worcester College, Oxford

21. K o 4–7 *M 776 (1–4)*

*Christ's College, Cambridge

22. D 15.1–4 M 2337, M 2338, *M 776 (3)*, M 2336

*Emmanuel College, Cambridge

23. 309.3.26–30 *M 776 (1–5)*

24. 313.2.15–17 M 2337, M 2338, M 2336

*Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

25. not known M 2337, M2338, M 2334, M 2336

*King's College, Cambridge

26. D 5 13–15 M 2337, M2333, M 2334

*St John's College, Cambridge

27. Nn 521–4 M 2332, M2333, M 2334, M 2335

*Trinity College, Cambridge

28. Grylls 21.229–33 *M 776 (1–5)* (spine of (5) marked 'Chronicon Carionis tom.v')

29. I 17 1–4 *M 776 (1–4)*

*Trinity College, Dublin

30. CC a 15–18 *M776 (1–4)*

31. Fc 3–5 M 2336, M2337, M 2338

32. Fa 17 1–4 M 2332, M2333, M 2334, M 2335

33. Fag. z 4 26–9 *M 776 (1–4)*

British Library, London

34. 478.g.2 *M 776 (1–5)*

35. 11.c.3–6 *M 776 (1–4)*

36. 13.d.6–9 M 2332, M 2333, M 2334, M 2335

*Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel

37. Li 2° 118 M 2331, M 2333–5

38. P 614 2° Helmst. M 2332–5

Bury St Edmunds Cathedral Library

39. not known M 2332, M 2334, M 2335

Canterbury Cathedral Library

40. not known M 2337, M 2333, M 2334, M 2336
 41. not known M 776 (1-4)

Carlisle Cathedral Library

42. not known M 2337, M 2338, M 776 (3), M 2336

Chester Cathedral Library

43. not known M 2332, M 2333, M 2334

Exeter Cathedral Library

44. not known M 2332, M 2338, M 2334

Gloucester Cathedral Library

45. not known M 2337, M 2333, M 2334, M 2335

Lincoln Cathedral Library

46. not known M 2338

Peterborough Cathedral Library

47. not known M 2332, M 2333, M 2334, M 2335

Saint Paul's, London, Cathedral Library

48. not known M 2332, M 2333, M 2334, M 2335

Salisbury Cathedral Library

49. not known M 2333, M 2335

Wells Cathedral Library

50. not known M 776 (1-4)

Winchester Cathedral Library

51. not known M 776 (1-4)

Worcester Cathedral Library

52. not known M 776 (1-4)

York Cathedral Library

53. not known M 2332, M 2333, M 2334, M 2336

States of the 1601 Edition ('pars prima', 'pars secunda', 'pars quarta')

The states of these edition vary, depending on whether the title-page has been tipped (*pars prima*: 5, 8, 10, 29; *pars secunda*: 5, 8, 10; *pars quarta*: 5, 6, 8, 10, 16, 21, 29), or whether the title-page and A6 (A8 in *pars quarta*) alone have been reprinted by Gronenberg (*pars prima*: 2, 28; *pars secunda*: 2, 21; *pars quarta*: ?28). In some cases the sheet A1-A6 has been left blank (*pars secunda*: 5, 30:

pars quarta: 30). In many cases, the portrait of Melanchthon in *pars prima*, A6^v and *pars secunda*, A5^v is missing; it is missing in all the copies of the *pars quarta* I have seen; in one case the poem of Camerarius in *pars secunda* A7^r is missing (10); in others it has been recomposed (5, 28, 29, 30).

Booksellers' Marks

The following editions listed above have on at least one of their title-pages (usually above the address, or below the date) ink marks ('x'; 'T'; '25'; some more complicated sigilla) which suggest that they may have been marked up for price by booksellers (1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 16, 17, 27, 29, 31). Some of these marks appear to be identical (1, 6, 7, 17, 27).

Prices

A number of the copies of the 1562–4 edition have very early (probably contemporary) Wittenberg bindings with portraits of Melanchthon and Luther blind-stamped on them (1, 4, 11, 27). The fact that they were sold bound would have affected the price. In one case (27), extra flysheets have been inserted to accommodate an album amicorum of prominent Wittenberg Lutherans, who inscribed their pieces in 1564. The majority of copies I have seen in England have English contemporary bindings. The following English prices are recorded on title-pages:

- 27 (date of record not known) 4s.4d per volume (i.e. 17s 4d a set, almost certainly sold bound).
- 14 1605: 13s.
- 22 (date of record not known) £2 2s 6d.
- 21 carries a variety of prices, some recent (£1 4s (coded); £2 10s; £10 10s).

I am grateful to Dr Sachiko Kusakawa for the following information about owners and prices, taken from, E.S. Leedham Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-lists from Vice-Chancellor's court probate inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, vol. 1 *The Inventories*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986:

453, no. 1374: Andrew Perne, d. 1589 *Opera* [Philippi Melanchthonis] in tribus fol. 15s. This entry may refer to three volumes of the 1562–4 or 1577–83 editions; it may also refer to the *Opera* of 1541, a copy of which is in the Perne Library in Peterhouse, Cambridge.

570, no. 51: Humphrey Tyndal, d. 1614 Melanchthon: 4 volumina, £1. There is some evidence here (through a comparison of the St John's Cambridge, Perne and Merton prices) of a decline in value in the *Opera* between the 1562 and 1601.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CARDANO AND HIS PUBLISHERS, 1534–1663

One might be forgiven for believing that there is not one, but many, Cardanos. There is the historical figure, the polymath and moralist admired (with some qualifications) by Naudé, Bayle and Leibniz; there is Cardano the Renaissance scholar, one of a group of humanists and natural philosophers whose intellectual enquiries and discoveries characterize their brilliant generation in the sixteenth century—Copernicus, Paracelsus, Vesalius, Bruno, Agrippa; there is the practising doctor, the autobiographer, the mathematician, the astrologer. To all of these must be added another set of Cardanos, the product of his readers: sometimes rationalistic, even atheistic, sometimes superstitious; sometimes a lofty theorist and systematizer of the ideas of others, sometimes a producer of heterogeneous and scarcely related insights in a variety of fields; sometimes a genius, sometimes an eccentric, if not a madman. Such divergence in the assessment of Cardano is not fortuitous, for he himself invited divergent accounts of himself precisely by giving divergent accounts of himself, and by claiming to expound a coherent system of nature at the same time as producing endless *parerga*, *paralipomena* and supplements to his works which demonstrated its provisional nature. He is the man who sought immortality through his publications, yet espoused at times a totally unhistorical view of the mental processes by which succeeding generations were to grasp them; a person in whom reason and thought were at once universal and historical.¹

The Cardano who is the subject of this paper is both the historical figure and the Cardano created by his readers. I wish to examine the material facts of the publication of Cardano's books during his lifetime, and the fortunes of these and his manuscripts after his death. Nearly every book I have read about Cardano claims that he was at the height

¹ On Cardano's different accounts of mental processes and reason, see *De immortalitate animorum*, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. Charles Spon (hereafter *OO*), Lyon, 1663, ii.456–536; *Theonoston*, iii, *OO*, ii.403–33; *De subtilitate* (1554), xiv, *OO*, iii.586; *De libris propriis* (1562), *OO*, i.130–1 (on the immortal image of himself in his books). See also Kristian Jensen, 'Protestant rivalry, metaphysics and rhetoric in Germany 1590–1620', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xli (1990), 24–43.

of his fame in the decade between 1550 and 1560, but few have looked closely into the process by which his fame was acquired. My questions shall be: how, and for what, and in what circles, was he known at various stages during his lifetime and after his death? How did it come about that he was published at all? How did it come about that he was published outside Italy? Who financed the publication and who saw to the distribution of his books? By what means was he, almost alone of his generation, granted a total commemorative publication in ten folio volumes in a foreign land nearly ninety years after his death? To address these questions, I shall have first to give a brief account of the economic and sociological features of publishing in the sixteenth century; I shall have then to consider Cardano's own (plentiful) comments about his entry into the republic of letters, and to align these with evidence from the world of books and its denizens: printers, publishers, distributors, dedicatees, censors, licensing agencies, purchasers. I shall have also in passing to consider whether Cardano is more an encyclopedist than an unsystematic thinker, whether his later reputation in some circles of irreligiosity is justified, and what prompted him to develop the autobiographical strand in his writing. Others have addressed these questions through patient examination of Cardano's reception by his contemporaries and successors: my own focus will be through evidence culled from the publication of his works.²

As I have indicated, being published is not a self-evident or automatic event in the sixteenth century; it involves money, organization and sanctioning at all levels. An author may have prepared a manuscript copy of his work, but he needed to find a printer to print it and a means of financing the labour and materials; this was Cardano's predicament

² See Alfonso Ingegno, *Saggio sulla filosofia di Cardano*, Florence: La nuova Italia, 1980, and Eugenio di Rienzo, *L'aquila e lo scarabeo: culture e conflitti nella Francia del Rinascimento e del Barocco*, Rome: Bulzoni, 1988, pp. 195–258; also the now classical studies of J. Roger Charbonnel, *La pensée italienne au XVI^e siècle et le courant libertin*, Paris: Champion, 1919, and René Pintard, *Le libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle*, Paris: Boivin, 1943. See also Cecilia Rizza, *Peiresc e l'Italia*, Torino: Grappochelli, 1965 pp. 245, 258, 301. Cardano himself gives a citation index up to 1560: see *De propria vita*, xlviii, OO, i.45–7; *De libris propriis*, OO, i.121. An inaccurate and inadequate bibliography is that of A.J.J. van de Velde, *Hieronymus Cardanus (1501–1576)*, Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie voor Wetenschappen Letteren en schone Kunsten van België, 1951. A comprehensive review of his writings and publication is to be found in Cardano, *De libris propriis*, ed. and introd. Ian Maclean, Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2004, pp. 43–111 and Ian Maclean, 'Girolamo Cardano: the last years of a polymath', *Renaissance Studies*, 21 (2007), 587–607.

in the early 1530s, as he bleakly records: 'deerat occasio edendi'.³ Even when he was financed and printed, the author's problems were not at an end, for the book needed legal protection against illicit reproduction, and, more especially, distribution to markets in which potential purchasers might be found. Even with successful distribution, a sale was not assured unless some form of successful advertisement could be devised (in its minimal form, this was a title-page); and unless the book was assured sufficient prestige by association with the names of influential or prestigious figures. Among these, the dedicatee (who in many cases also financed the printing and distribution of the book) was the most prominent; the authors of preliminary verses, prefaces and other incidental material came next; but the imprint of a celebrated humanist publisher was also of considerable importance. As Cardano himself records, authors did not receive royalties, but either sold their manuscripts outright, or gave them away, or paid to have them printed. Sometimes more than one of these modes of publication obtained: Montaigne, for example, wryly observes that he bought printers in his own province (Guyenne), but elsewhere they bought him.⁴ In these cases, either the author or his publisher usually held a licence or *privilège* for the book, which ensured its copyright in a given jurisdiction. Cardano, as we will see, purchased these for his own early books; but influential humanist publishers often held 'universal licences' which protected all of their publications in a given jurisdiction (France, perhaps, or more commonly, the Holy Roman Empire). These licences were extremely expensive; to obtain one was a sign of high anticipated profits.⁵ There was, therefore, a pronounced degree of financial speculation involved in the world of learning in the sixteenth century; but it was usually disguised. Learning was a gift of God and not to be sold, as the proverb had it; thus the economic facts of erudition were occulted and disguised in a rhetoric of service to scholarship which is well known.⁶ Cardano,

³ *De libris propriis*, OO, i.102.

⁴ *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. A. Thibaudet and M. Rat, Paris: Gallimard, 1967, iii.3, p. 786.

⁵ On the high cost of *Impressoria generalia*, see Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, ed. P.S. and H.M. Allen, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924 [1344], pp. 232f.; K. Schottenloher, 'Die Druckprivilegien des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, (1933), 89–110. The texts and drafts of the impressoria granted by succeeding Holy Roman Emperors are preserved in Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Impressoria, Series FZ.

⁶ See Ian Maclean, 'L'Economie du livre érudit: le cas Wechel (1572–1627)', in *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, ed. Pierre Aquilon, Henri-Jean Martin and François Dupuigrenet-Desrousilles, Paris: Promodis, 1988, pp. 230–9; also G. Post. K. Giocarnis

as we shall see, uses this rhetoric; but he is also more honest than most about the financial facts of his scholarly and professional career. He is moreover relatively explicit about the censorship to which his books are subjected. In the sixteenth century, in most jurisdictions, little distinction was made between authors, printers, publishers, distributors and possessors of undesirable, heretical or seditious material: the law might punish all or any of these figures, and authorities such as the Church cast as much suspicion on a publisher as on his author. Books therefore were more than just means of circulating information; their possession and promotion point to wider economic, sociological and anthropological functions in given societies, invoking not only private (possibly heterodox) convictions but also social standing and professional identity.⁷

In his autobiographical writings, Cardano insists again and again that he was not impelled by the desire for wealth or prestige; there is ample evidence of his detestation of avarice and ambition in the account he gives of his actions and opinions.⁸ He is not exempt, however, from feelings of pleasure and pride in the way in which his books have been received, recalling that the *De malo medendi usu* was greeted with 'incredible applause' and that 'an infinite number of tributes' to him had been written.⁹ He admits also that grinding poverty (one cause of which might have been his extensive purchasing of books) made him seek means of making money; and that one of these means was speculative publication.¹⁰ He confesses, furthermore, to nurturing a great desire to

and R. Kay, 'The medieval heritage of a humanist ideal: "scientia donum Dei est, unde vendi non potest"', *Traditio*, 9 (1955), 195–234. For an alternative view see N.Z. Davis, 'Beyond the market; books as gifts in sixteenth-century France', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, v.33 (1983), 69–88.

⁷ See *Les usages de l'imprimé*, ed. Roger Chartier, Paris: Fayard, 1987. On the pursuit of printers, sellers, distributors and possessors of seditious or heretical books as well as their authors, see Henricus Bocerius, *Commentarius in l. vn.c. de famosis libellis*, Tübingen: Alexander Cellius, 1611, pp. 100ff. (evoking *Constitutio criminalis Carolina*, §110).

⁸ *De libris propriis*, OO, i.103, 130f.

⁹ *Ibid.*, OO, i.134, 114; cf. also his citation index (i.121). But he also showed modesty in the estimation of his writings in 1536 ('nihil editione dignum', i.102) and furthermore destroyed the letters of famous men who paid tribute to him (i.130). He also destroyed nine manuscript works in 1536, and 120 manuscripts in 1573, the latter probably as a reaction to his imprisonment by the Inquisition at Bologna (*De propria vita*, xlv, OO, i.41). Two other books (the *De pituita* and the *De re venerea*) were lost in a more incongruous way: 'hi libri corrupti sunt urina felis' (*De libris propriis*, OO, i.97).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, OO, i.79 ('ut emptis libris ne obolus superesset'); *De propria vita*, xxv, OO, i.16; *De utilitate ex adversis capienda*, iii.2, OO, iii.116.

immortalize his name, and to being prompted by a dream to seek to do this by writing.¹¹ There is a hint here of the rhetoric of occultation of financial and personal motives in scholarship to which I have referred; and other signs of this may also be detected. Cardano produces, for example, the stock justification for publication ('ut lectores et studiosos iuvarem'),¹² and the characteristic double gesture of those revealing 'the secrets of nature': such secrets are for initiates alone, but they may be explained for the benefit of the curious in books which claim for the first time to expound them without obscurity, of which the highly successful *De subtilitate* is one.¹³ I do not make these points to throw doubt on Cardano's claim to scorn wealth and fame, but rather to point to the necessarily practical underpinning of his publishing career.

This began in 1534 with the self-financed publication in Venice of a slim volume of prognostication; a common enough activity for a humanist doctor (Rabelais, for example, does the same on the other side of the Alps),¹⁴ and one which Cardano shrewdly protects with a local *privilège* or licence, to prevent pirating. By his own account, he reaped meagre rewards from this speculative enterprise.¹⁵ It seems to have been reissued in 1535 in Milan by a specialist in the publication of Prognostications, Gotardo da Ponte.¹⁶ This publication does not merit a mention in the *De libris propriis*. His next publication was financed by

¹¹ *De propria vita* ix, xlv, OO, i.7, 41; *De libris propriis*, OO, i.101.

¹² *Ibid.*, OO, i.102.

¹³ *De propria vita*, xlv, OO, i.42; see also Ian Maclean, 'The interpretation of natural signs: Cardano's *De subtilitate* versus Scaliger's *Exercitationes*', in *Occult and scientific mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 231–52, esp. 235–8; and *De subtilitate*, i, OO, iii.357.

¹⁴ See his *Almanach pour l'an MDXLI*, published in Lyon, and the pseudonymously published *Pronostication nouvelle pour l'an 1544*, reproduced in his *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. G. Demerson, Paris: Seuil, 1973, pp. 972–8. See also Dr Joseph Gruenpeck, *Prognosticum ab anno 1532 ad annum 1550*, Ratisbon and Milan: Kohl, 1532; on the extramedical functions of doctors, see Marcel Bataillon, 'Humanisme, médecine et politique', in *Culture et politique en France à l'époque de la Renaissance*, ed. Franco Simone, Turin: Accademia delle Scienze, 1974, pp. 439–51. Cardano's Venice printer, Bernardo de Bindonis, specialized in Italian language publications.

¹⁵ See above, note 10, and Jean Dayre, 'Jérôme Cardan (1501–76), esquisse biographique', in *Annales de l'Université de Grenoble* (nouvelle série) (Lettres-Droit), 4 (1927), 245–355 (266).

¹⁶ See Ingegno, *Saggi*, p. 23; the licence, printed both on the title-page and in the colophon, covers both 1534 and 1535. On this edition, see G.W. Panzer, *Annales typographici*, Nuremberg: Zeh, 1793–1803, ix.536–7. There are other prognostications published at Milan by da Ponte; by Constanzo de Bologna, Ascanio de Ferrara and Ludovico Vitali, all in 1535. See also Ermio Saudal, *L'Arte della stampa a Milano nell'età di Carlo V*, Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1988 (Bibliotheca Bibliographica aureliensis, cxiv),

his university friend the Venetian publisher Ottaviano Scoto. This 'act of friendship' coincided with Scoto's inheritance of his father's publishing business, and can be interpreted as one of his early speculative ventures. The *De malo recentiorum medendi usu*, together with the *De simplicium medicinarum noxa* appeared in 1536, and created a stir in medical circles and a good profit for Scoto.¹⁷ The forthrightness of Cardano's attack on local medical institutions shows him to be as uncalculating as he himself claims in his account of his life: he reverses the usual practice of defending his own school (or rather, the one he aspired to join) and attacking the competence of others.¹⁸ Scoto may have also had in his possession at this time a commentary by Cardano on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, written while Rector of Padua, which was lost at some point, although probably intended for publication. Cardano was not satisfied with the quality of reproduction of his manuscript, but for all this he did not abandon Scoto as a publisher: he entrusted his *De consolatione* to him in 1542, which, according to the *De libris propriis*, lost for Scoto all the money he had made from the *De malo medendi usu*, and was particularly shoddily proof-read; and the first version of the *Contradicentia medica* appeared at Venice in 1545 (together with a reprinting of the *De malo medendi usu*).¹⁹ There is evidence here of Cardano's tolerance and loyalty to his publishers, which we will find confirmed elsewhere.

nos. 20, 37, 42–4, 88. Cardano's pupil, Ludovico Ferrari, also produced *Ephemerides* in 1549 (*ibid.*, no. 212).

¹⁷ *De libris propriis*, OO, i.101f. Both here and in the autobiography (xlv, OO, i.40), Cardano claims this to be his first publication, although as we have seen, he acknowledges elsewhere the printing of the *Prognostico* of 1534–5. Scoto's activity as a publisher extends from 1535 to 1555. The *De libris propriis*, from its earliest edition, represents Scoto's act as one of friendship and altruism, but Jean Dayre calls him a 'prudent commerçant' (*art. cit.*, 278).

¹⁸ On his struggle to join the Milan College of Doctors, see *De propria vita*, iv, OO, i.4 and *De libris propriis*, OO, i.97; on the practice of supporting local institutions, see, for example, Paschalis Gallus, *Bibliotheca medica*, Basle: Konrad von Waldkirch, 1590: 'Spectabili domino decano medico totique gratioso medicorum Basiliensum Collegio'; Hieremias Thiverus, *Universae medicinae brevissima absolutissime methodus*, Leiden: Franciscus Raphelengius, 1592, *4^r.; and Rodolfo Silvestri, 'Sanctissimo domini nostro Gregoris XIII Pontifici Opt. Max.', in Cardano, *De sanitate tuenda ac vita producenda*, Rome: Franciscus Zanettus, 1580, a2^r.

¹⁹ *De libris propriis*, OO, i.97; i.103–4: 'neque enim, ut dixi, Octavianus spontè libros meos, neque libenter imprimebat, iacturam veritus impensae: nam tametsi lucrum fecisset in librorum De malo medendi usu impressione, id tamen in libris De consolatione postea compensavit, non solum quod titulus, et forsitan etiam stylus non arrideret: sed quod Typographus suos innumeros atque turpissimos errores imprimendo commisset.' On Cardano's sensitivity to incorrect printing, see *ibid.*, i.127–8.

His next foray into publication occurred in the years 1537–9, and was decisive for his career. Two works appeared at this time, both printed in Milan by Giovanni Antonio Castellione: the *Practica arithmetice*, which is dated 1539, was published by Bernardo Calusco, who employed Castellione as a printer and paid Cardano ten crowns for the manuscript (less than one month's wages, according to the figures given by Cardano of a 'stipendium satis amplum'); this seems to have been Calusco's début in the field of speculative publication.²⁰ The other work, a compilation of several astrological and horoscopical pieces, usually referred to as the *Libelli duo*, although Cardano also confusingly refers to it as the *De astrorum iudiciis*, was published at Cardano's expense and dedicated to his patron Filippo Archinto.²¹ The second treatise was written, according to the dedicatory letter, to refute a 'Sermo de errore motus astrorum' of the mid 1530s delivered in the presence of Pope Paul III, almost certainly by his favoured astrologer Lucas Gaurico.²² The letter referred also to the advanced state of printing of the *Practica arithmetice*; and the whole publication was protected by the general licence in Cardano's own name which appeared in print a year later, but was dated 25 June 1538. The colophon of the compilation is itself dated 2 October of that year. The confusion of dates is compounded by that appended to the dedication (to Gianfrancesco Gadio) of the *Practica arithmetice* (January 1537). It seems reasonable to infer from these facts that Cardano used the money from the speculative publisher Calusco to finance the printing of his astrological works and the provision of a protective licence from the Holy Roman Emperor for

²⁰ Ibid., OO, i.106; Sandal, *L'arte della stampa*, no. 89.

²¹ *Supplementum Almanach. De restitutione temporum et motuum coelestium*; described as *De astrorum iudiciis* in *De libris propriis*, OO, i.103–4. On Filippo Archinto, archbishop of Milan, (1500–58), see François Secret, 'Filippo Archinto, Girolamo Cardano et Guillaume Postel', *Studi francesi*, 13 (1969), 73–6. Dayre misidentifies this work (art. cit., 278), and incorrectly claims that it was dedicated to Alfonso d'Avalos. It is noteworthy that Cardano describes himself on the title-page as 'medicus mediolanensis' before his election to the College of Physicians (see note 19). In 1544, Cardano was to claim that this work was 'fortunae iniuria a me extortum potius quam impresum' (*De sapientia*, Nuremberg: Johannes Petreius, 1544, A3^v); he also admits in the *De libris propriis* published at the same time that the *Libelli duo* were written to attract the attention of the Pope (ibid., p. 425).

²² This 'sermo de errore motus astrorum', which must have been delivered after Paul III's election (i.e. between 1534 and 1538) may form part either of Lucas Gaurico's *Praedictiones* or of his *Tractatus astrologiae*, both published in Rome in 1539. Ironically, when Cardano's Basle publisher, Heinrich Petri, desists in the publication of Cardano, he produces Gaurico's *Opera omnia* (1575).

the state of Milan only (for ten years). This licence also acted as an advertisement for thirty-four works which Cardano had completed or planned to complete.²³ Several further inferences may be made from this list: first, that Cardano at this stage had only local ambitions, and did not envisage publication outside Italy; second, that he was aware of the need to advertise his writings, especially as Scoto's early generosity seems to have cooled by this date; thirdly, that there was a need to invest in a licence to protect his works, which suggests a quite sophisticated awareness of the book market.²⁴

As he himself records, the licence worked as a very effective advertisement. The agent for the prestigious alchemical, mathematical and Lutheran publisher Johannes Petreius, Andreas Osiander, a theologian and humanist mathematician in his own right, noticed the list of works in the licence and got in touch with Cardano, offering him the possibility of publication in Nuremberg.²⁵ He may also have been intrigued by the caution expressed in the licence about four works advertised there—a life of Christ, the *De misteriis (later arcanis) aeternitatis*, the *De fato*, and the *De morte*. Petreius, like Osiander, was committed to reformed religion and may have (wrongly, I believe) sensed a sympathiser in Cardano.²⁶ The first work produced by the Nuremberg publisher was

²³ See Appendix for a transcription of this licence.

²⁴ See above, note 19; Cardano's knowledge of the book market is not easy to gauge; he speaks and acts at times in ways which suggest a grasp of its workings, and at other times (see below, note 29) as though he was unaware of them. Cf. also his possibly shrewd, possibly naïve, division of books into three classes ('utiles', 'inutiles', 'solis doctoribus legendis') in *De propria vita*, xiv, OO, i.42, which approximates to publishers' perceptions of market sectors at this time (on which see Ian Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books and conceptions of genre in northern Europe, 1570–1630', above, pp. 9–24).

²⁵ *De libris propriis*, OO, i.104: 'Nam adieceram Catalogum qualemcumque librorum nostrorum, quos vel scripseram, vel coeperam scribere: et liber is distrahi coepit in Galliis atque Germaniis. Itaque cum tunc esset Andreas Osiander Norimbergae, vir Latinae, Graecae, Hebraicaeque Linguae peritus, tum Typographus Ioannes Petreius, bonis literis, si quis alius, favens, inito consilio totis viribus mecum agere coeperunt, ut aliquod opus illis traderem ut imprimerent. Atque ita initium gloriae nostrae, si qua deinceps fuit, hinc ortum habuit.' On Osiander, see *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, s.v., and James Eckman, *Jerome Cardan*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946, p. 23, who describes him as a 'vehement, crass and arrogant German reformer and convert to Lutheranism', without citing evidence for this judgement. On Petreius, see Joseph Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982, s.v. Nürnberg.

²⁶ For a different view, see Eugenio di Rienzo, 'Cardaniana: su alcuni manoscritti inediti di Cardano conservati alla Biblioteca Vaticana', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 25 (1989), 102–10.

an expanded reprint of the astrological and horological pieces of 1538, and appeared in 1543. In the following year, the *De sapientia* and a reprint of the *De consolatione* appeared, together with the first version of the *De libris propriis*. I believe this to be, like the licence of 1538, an advertisement, which expands the information given in the licence to include accounts not only of the contents of books but also of Cardano's motives for writing them. Interestingly, Cardano came to describe this embryonic work of intellectual autobiography as a 'tabula' rather than a book, linking it thus to the 1538 list.²⁷ He was to rewrite it in 1550²⁸ and again in 1554 (to be published three years later, by the Lyonnais Guillaume Rouillé) and 1560. The manner in which the accretions and recomposition develop suggests that it was conceived as a primitive version of the *De propria vita*; this can also be sensed by the scope of the 1562 (last) revision of the *De libris propriis* and the emphasis placed there on Cardano's consciousness of himself as a writer.²⁹ It could thus be argued that the seminal exercise in Renaissance autobiography has its distant origins in an act of speculative advertisement.

Petreius continued to print Cardano until his death in 1550; he was responsible for the publication of the *Ars magna*, the *Libelli quinque* (which he protected with a six-year imperial licence) and the first edition

²⁷ *De libris propriis*, OO, i.106: 'conscripseram iam aetatis anno xxxvij librum, de libris Propriis: imo non librum, sed potius tabulam: deinde auxi, iterumque mutavi, donec ad hunc ordinem redigeretur [...] iconem ergo quendam mihi in eo proposui, non solum ad memoriam confirmandam, eligendosque mihi libros, quo prius absoluerem et castigare: sed ut doceam, quibus causis, temporibus, quoque ordine talia conscripserim, et vim numinis suo loco testaret. Imitatus sum in hoc scribendi genere Galenum et Erasmus qui ambo Catalogum librorum suorum scripserunt.' See Galen, 'De libris propriis' and 'De ordine librorum suorum', trans. Johannes Fichardus, in *Opera selecta*, trans. J. Guinterus et al., Basle: Andreas Cratander, 1531, ff. 160–6; Erasmus, *Catalogus omnium lucubrationum*, Basle: Johannes Froben, 1523 and *Catalogi duo operum ab ipso conscripti et digesti*, Basle and Antwerp: Johannes Froben and Nicolaus Episcopus, 1537. The coincidence of date suggests that Cardano might have had a fresh copy of Erasmus's catalogue to hand. It is important to note that at the time of its writing, Cardano's *De libris propriis* was the work of an entirely obscure writer, whereas Erasmus's European reputation was firmly established by 1523. The 1543 version of Cardano's *De libris propriis*, addressed to his son, begins with a reference to Galen and Erasmus, followed appropriately by a passage inspired by the rhetoric of modesty.

²⁸ A manuscript version of the *De libris propriis* was discovered in Basle by Marialuisa Baldi and Guido Canziani, and published in *Rivista di storia della filosofia*, 4 (1998), 767–98; see also *De libris propriis*, ed. Maclean, pp. 137–66.

²⁹ Naudé himself seems to have noted this: see the proposed disposition of the Catalogue and the various editions of the *De libris propriis* in *Vita*, Paris: Jacques Villery, 1643, U7^r. See also *De libris propriis*, OO, i.106, 138, 147.

of the *De subtilitate*. There is no indication that Cardano abandoned him (indeed, he includes a moving tribute to him in the 1554 edition of the *De subtilitate*),³⁰ but he did send a work to be printed by another humanist publisher Sebastian Gryphius, whose workshop was in Lyon. The *De immortalitate animorum* appeared in 1545. Cardano does not say how it came about that Gryphius published him; but he avers that the *Practica arithmetice* was distributed in France as well as Germany,³¹ and his Milanese humanist friend Marcantonio Maioragio was in contact with the Lyonnais publisher.³² Petreius or Osiander, given their strong association with Lutheran theology, may well have declined to publish a book with so controversial a subject. As in the case of Petreius and Scoto, Cardano seems to have remained loyal to Gryphius until his death in 1556, entrusting him with the expanded version of the *Contradicentia medica* of 1548, and using Gryphius's Paris printer and agent, Robert Granjon, for the printing of the *De subtilitate* in 1550–1.³³ It is clear that this was an expensive undertaking because of the many figures in the text. The costs were shared between a number of publishers, some of whom (notably Jacques Dupuys) were known for their protestant sympathies. Without there being any indication of a desire for such

³⁰ [dedicatory letter to Ferrando Gonzaga, dated 9 Cal. Maij 1553 'Lutetiae in itinere'] 'Nam cum Ioannes Petreius, Norimbergensis typographus, vir ad provehendas disciplinas natus atque ob id immortalitate dignus, post editionem horum librorum obiisset, curavi ut his quorum vix umbram expressissem, quosque octo mensium spacio absolueram, perpetuo triennio emendati atque aucti in publicum sub nomine tuo prodierent': *De subtilitate*, Basle: Ludovicus Lucius, 1554, 2^v. Petreius supplied eulogistic preliminary verses in the 1547 edition of the *Libelli quinque* (from the Nuremberg mathematician and astrologer Joachim Heller von Weissenfels) and in the 1550 edition of the *De subtilitate*, from his wife's relation Laurentius Dürnhöfer. The admiration seems to have been mutual: Cardano expresses his high opinion of Petreius in the *De sapientia* of 1544 (A3^v). The licence of the 1547 *Libelli quinque* was made legally possible by the true claim on the title-page that the material of the *Libelli duo* of 1543 had been amended and expanded.

³¹ *De libris propriis*, OO, i.106. Henry Morley misreads this passage by attributing to Petreius an earlier edition of the *De immortalitate animorum* (Cardan, London: Chapman and Hall, 1854, i.203). On Gryphius, see *Histoire de l'édition française*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and Jean-Pierre Vivet, Paris: Promodis, 1983–6, i.270ff.

³² On Maioragio's connections with Gryphius, see Cardano, *De libris propriis*, ed. Maclean p. 74.

³³ See H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Robert Granjon à Rome 1578–89', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge à Rome*, 38 (1967), 117–331, esp. 182–3. Granjon's address at Paris was 'in taberna Gryphiana': Vervliet (following Renouard) interprets this as being the house Granjon bought from Franciscus Gryphius, but the address is not the same, and the normal understanding of 'taberna' is shop. Granjon produced the *De subtilitate* in association with Michel Fézendat.

association on the part of Cardano (or, indeed, any awareness of these reformist affiliations), his works by 1550 had come to be linked with at least two humanist publishers—Petreius and Dupuys—whose activities were regarded with suspicion by the Empire and the Church.³⁴

While in France *en route* for Scotland in 1552, Cardano wrote and entrusted a manuscript of his commentary on Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* (the *De astrorum judiciis*) to a French publisher (probably Thibaud Payen); but he was so dilatory in producing it (it eventually was published in 1555) that Cardano was provoked into describing French printers as 'egregios procrastinatores'.³⁵ An amended and expanded version was given to the Basle printer, Heinrich Petri, in 1554, while Cardano was in that city. Cardano was there as the guest of the Italian protestant expatriate and doctor Guigliemo Gratarolo; it was his host's publisher, Ludwig Lucius, who was entrusted with the revised version of the *De subtilitate* in 1554. It is not clear what motivated the switch from Lucius to Petri, who was to publish most of Cardano's works after 1554. Gratarolo also moved to Petri in 1555, having had a work printed by Lucius in 1554; it may simply be that Lucius printed on commission for Petri, although there is no evidence of this in the text. Lucius's folio edition of the *De subtilitate* is in fact reissued by Petri in 1560, Lucius having left Basle in 1557 for Heidelberg, which he left in turn for Frankfurt in 1562 under obscure but controversial circumstances. A more straightforward reason for Cardano's preference may be the close association between Petreius and the Petri firm; in the early 1520s, Adam Petri, the father of Heinrich, had employed Petreius as a proof-reader, and after Petreius had set up in Nuremberg on his own, they continued to keep in contact, sharing several authors, notably Copernicus.³⁶

³⁴ On Dupuys, see Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens*, ed. Jeanne Veyrin-Forrier and Brigitte Moreau, Paris: Minard, 1965. Evidence of imperial reaction to Dupuys is to be found in Vienna, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv (R.H.R. Moratorien, Bücherkommission, Privilegien) I/28 (Catalogue of Impressoria).

³⁵ OO, i.110.

³⁶ On Cardano's visit to France, see François Secret, 'Cardan en France', *Studi francesi*, 10 (1961), 480–5; on Thibaud Payen, see Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, iv.263–4; on Cardano in Basle, see Peter Bietenholz, *Der italienischer Humanismus und die Blütezeit des Buchdrucks in Basel: die Baseler Drucker italienischer Autoren von 1530 bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Basle and Stuttgart: Helbing and Lichtenhahn, 1954, p. 140f. (as well as Gratarolo, Cardano's friend Andrea Alciati, 'unermüdlicher Textlieferant der Baseler' is suggested as an intermediary between Cardano and his Basle publishers; but in this case he could not have been, as he died in 1550). On Lucius, see Benzing,

Heinrich Petri was a highly learned, shrewd and productive publisher. Unlike his father, who had nailed the Lutheran colours firmly to the mast, Heinrich developed a discreet and even-handed approach in religious matters; although he consented in the publication of controversial religious material in the 1530s, by 1545 we find him issuing first a Lutheran psalter, then the same text a little later with a dedication to 'sanctissimae matris Ecclesiae'.³⁷ He even managed to obtain ennoblement by Charles V through the good offices of Andreas Vesalius (and a large sum of ready money), on the grounds of his soundness on the Lutheran question; and he seems to have held a universal licence for the publication of his books in the Empire. During his lifetime, he is said to have visited the Frankfurt Book Fair more than 100 times, and was clearly an adept in the control and manipulation of the book market.³⁸ For the second book he published for Cardano, his *De rerum varietate*, he obtained a licence from the French crown as well, showing his desire to secure a monopoly in the by now highly lucrative publication of

op. cit.; on Petri see *ibid.*, Heinrich Grimm, 'Geadelte deutsche Buchdruckerfamilie im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 37 (1961), pp. 265f.; and Jeanne Verrin-Forrer, 'Une copie utilisée par l'imprimeur Heinrich Petri', *La lettre et le texte: trente années de recherches sur l'histoire du livre*, Paris: Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1987, pp. 321–37. On Gratarolo, see Zedler, *Universallexikon*. A letter from Cardano to Celio Secondo Curione suggests that Cardano was on good terms with his Basle publishers (see Markus Kutter, *Celio Secondo Curione*, Basle: Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 1955, p. 227); but the errata pages of some of his later works betray a certain impatience on the printer's part, even if the title-page is eloquent in Cardano's praise (see *In septem Aphorismorum Hippocratis particulos commentaria*, Basle: Heinrich Petri, 1564, 3^r; *Commentarii in Hippocrates de aere, aquis et locis opus*, Basle: Heinrich Petri, 1570, 4^r. The reissue of the Lucius 1554 sheets had some odd effects on the 1560 publication of the *De subtilitate*, which was issued in both folio and octavo. The two formats have different dedicatees (Ferrando Gonzaga; Consalvo Ferrando de Corduba, prince of Suessa); the errata page of the 1554 Lucius was used to correct the octavo edition, but not the folio. Both editions have the reply to Scaliger's *Exercitationes*, the *Actio prima*, which first appeared in 1559; in the folio, this gives rise to a cancel (Aaa6) which for inexplicable reasons is slavishly retained in later editions by the Henricpetri. Hieronymus Curio, Heinrich Petri's son-in-law, also printed a Cardano book (the 1559 *Quaedam opuscula*), but at Petri's expense.

³⁷ On Petri, see *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, ed. Alfred Hartmann and Beat Rudolf Jenny, vol. vii, Basle: Universitätsbibliothek, 1973, pp. 177–82 (correcting the very erroneous entry in Benzing). I am most grateful to Dr. Frank Hieronymus of the Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel for this reference.

³⁸ See T.H. Darlow and H.P. Moule, *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, London: the Bible Society, 1903–11, nos. 1416, 1418, 5088; See Grimm, *art. cit.*; Arturo Castiglione, 'Geronamo Cardano e Andrea Vesalio', *Rassegna clinico-scientifica dell'Istituto biochemico Italiano*, 13 (1935), 1–16; *De propria vita*, xv, OO, i.12.

Cardano,³⁹ most of whose works he and his heirs published up to 1583, or reprinted if first published outside the area of their control.⁴⁰ The existence of this French *privilège* (owned not by Cardano, but by Petri) explains the publication in Avignon (not then under French jurisdiction) of the *De rerum varietate* in 1558. Cardano himself surmises that this is a false imprint, and that the book was in fact produced in Lyon; this may be true, but the printer-publisher, Matthieu Vincent, probably a member of the famous protestant printing family of Lyon, is attested as having published other books with the Avignon imprint, no doubt to avoid prosecution under the copyright laws.⁴¹ Henrich Petri was responsible also for the advertisement of Cardano's books at the Frankfurt Book Fairs. He seems to have published all the manuscripts submitted to him, but to have declined to issue a second, enlarged edition of the *De utilitate ex adversis capienda* which Cardano sent to him.⁴² This, together with the reprinting of the works of Cardano first published at Lyon, Bologna and Rome after 1569 suggests that Petri judged Cardano to be worthy of one edition in his area of market domination (often in the prestigious folio format), but no more; the exceptions he makes are, as one might expect, the popular works (the *De subtilitate* and the *De rerum varietate*), which he publishes in octavo as well as in folio. A similar judgement seems to have been made by Guillaume Rouillé, who took over as Cardano's principal French publisher after Gryphius's death in 1556.⁴³

³⁹ Cardano claims that he could have earned 8000 sesterces from his books in the period 1556–60 (*De utilitate ex adversis capienda*, iii.2, in *OO*, iii.112: see below note 49).

⁴⁰ See Ingegno, *Saggi*, pp. 23–6, 209 for the bibliographical details. On the practice of establishing a monopoly in the writings of an author, see Ian Maclean 'André Wechel at Frankfurt 1572–81', below, pp. 173–8. It is noteworthy that the Basle printers claim mendaciously to have been the first to have printed the *De causis, signis et locis morborum* (1583; previously published by Alessandro Benaccio in Bologna in 1569), and imply also that the same is true of the commentary on Hippocrates's *De alimento* (1582; previously published by the heirs of Antonio Blado in Rome in 1574).

⁴¹ See *Bibliotheca aureliensis: répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au XVI^e siècle*, Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1968, 6e livraison; Avignon (by Jacques Betz), p. 39f.; and *De libris propriis*, *OO*, i.112.

⁴² See Bietenholz, *Der italienische Humanismus*, p. 143; the Cardano autograph preserved in the Universitätsbibliothek, Basel, has a manuscript title page with the addition 'editio secunda, cum in prima vix umbra pulcherrimi argumenti reluceret'. The text may be seen on <http://www.filosofia.unimi.it/cardano/testi>.

⁴³ On book formats and the market, see Maclean, 'André Wechel'; on Rouillé, see Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Publisher Guillaume Rouillé, businessman and humanist', in *Editing sixteenth-century texts*, ed. R.J. Schoeck, Toronto: University of Toronto Press,

This brief account of Cardano's path to international publication shows him to have been promoted, and lent prestige, by a number of great humanist publishers with sound financial judgement and reformist leanings. He was also translated into French and German; and some account of this needs to be given. Before, however, the fortunes of the *De subtilitate* and the *De rerum varietate* are pursued into Northern vernaculars, a word needs to be said about Cardano's relations with Italy and with Rome. If one looks at the names of his dedicatees—even those to whom books published in France, Germany and Switzerland are dedicated—one is struck by Cardano's Italocentrism, even Mediolanocentrism: Filippo Archinto, Gianfrancesco Gadio, Alfonso d'Avalos, Giacomo Filippo Sacco, Fernando Gonzaga all have strong connections with Milan. It seems that his international fame, which clearly gave him great pleasure, did not tempt him to seek protection outside his relatively narrow circle of patrons. Some of these—Filippo Archinto, Giovanni Morone, eventually Gregory XIII—were prominent Churchmen; their protection was not sufficient to prevent Cardano's incarceration on suspicions of heterodoxy in Bologna in 1570.⁴⁴ As I have indicated, his association with presumed protestant publishers cannot have helped his reputation; but other features of his work also attracted suspicion. As well as the incautious titles advertised in the 1538 licence—the *De arcanis aeternitatis*, the *De morte*, the *De fato* and the *Vita Christi*—some of Cardano's works contain uninhibited religious comment. The famous clause apparently expressing indifference as to which of the world religions would emerge as the eventual victor in the eleventh book of the *De subtilitate*—'his fortunae arbitrio relictis'—was quietly removed by Cardano himself, and replaced by an appropriate disclaimer of authority in theological matters, but not before it had been noticed and denounced;⁴⁵ the horoscope of Christ in the 1554 and 1555 printings of the *De astrorum judiciis* was equally discreetly expunged from a later edition; Cardano claims in the *De libris propriis* that the criticism of the Dominican order for their venal motives in

1966, pp. 72–77. Philibert Rollet, who printed one Lyon text (the *De subtilitate* of 1554) was employed by both Payen and Rouillé; see Baudrier, *Bibliothèque lyonnaise*, iv.255–7, ii.37.

⁴⁴ On this, see Eugenio di Rienzo, *Culture e conflitti*, pp. 195ff.; id., 'Cardaniana'. It is plausible to suppose that Cardano's destruction of 120 manuscripts in 1573 was connected with the Bologna incarceration (see *De propria vita*, xlv, OO, i.41).

⁴⁵ According to Renouard, the *De subtilitate* was placed on the list of censored books in France in 1552: on this list see *Histoire de l'édition française*, i.316.

the interrogation and indictment of witches was an interpolation in his manuscript of the *De rerum varietate* by the hand of someone wishing to take vengeance on the author. According to Cardano, Heinrich Petri was uncharacteristically unhelpful in this matter, dismissing the interpolation as nugatory; but for all that, Petri remained his publisher, a fact which testifies again to Cardano's tolerance as an author.⁴⁶ There are other signs of his desire to submit to established ecclesiastical authority: in the *De libris propriis* he declares that the *De arcanis aeternitatis* is not a theological work, that the *Vita Christi* is not a real book at all, and that he himself never spoke as a theologian and never wavered from orthodoxy.⁴⁷ There seems to be little reason to doubt the sincerity and veracity of these claims. It cannot be denied that Cardano wrote freely and incautiously, even impolitically and naively, on controversial religious topics—casting the horoscopes of popes, reformers and Turkish princes in the same work (the *Libelli duo*) is but one example of this—but his later reputation for indifference in religious matters or even atheism cannot be conclusively derived from his works, at least in the last state in which he authorized them.

⁴⁶ See *De subtilitate*, Paris, 1557, xi, f. 214r: *versus* OO, iii.552: 'sed haec parum Philosophi attinent, pro quibus institutus est sermo'; also *De libris propriis*, OO, i.112: 'Verum libri de Varietate rerum dum imprimuntur Basileae, quidam ulturus propriam quam acceperat iacturam, ipse iniuriam appellabat, verbaquaedam addidit in capite de lamiis seu strigis, quae Phratríos Dominicanos lacessabant: cū nihil minus mihi expediret, aut esset in animo: ita non sufficere videbantur atroci fortunae tela invidia adversum me comparata, ni etiam alieno crimine nocens fierem. Expostulavi statim a Typographo Henrico Petri, alioqui probo viro, qui (ut erat ingenuus) de illius adiectione quaestus est mēcum: at qui rem peregerat; cum ad illum etiam scripsissem, tantum abfuit ut se excusaret, ut etiam me irriserit, decens: Quid tua interest, quòd quatuor verba adiecerim? [viz: the marginalium and the index entry: 'Dominicani inquisitores lupi rapaces': *De rerum varietate*, Basle: Heinrich Petri, 1557, p. 572] an hoc tantum crimen est? quid facerem absens absenti? Impressus est etiam cum hac labe Avenioni, sed existimo supposito nomine id factum esse, quod Lugduni potius sit impressus. Caeterum, cum non ignorem maculatos fuisse Codices B. Hieronymi, atque aliorum patrum nostrorum, ab his qui aliter sentiebat, erroremque suum auctoritate viri tegere voluerunt: ut ne quis in nostris operibus hallucinetur, vel ab aliis decipiatur, sciant omnes, me nullibi Theologam agere, nec velle in alienam messem falcem ponere.' It seems likely that the proof-reader of Petri was the 'quidam ulturus'; I have not been able to identify this figure. The horoscope of Christ is found in *In Cl. Ptolemaei de astrorum iudiciis* [...], Lyon: Thibaud Payen, 1555, i.110.

⁴⁷ On the life of Christ, see *De libris propriis* (1557), OO, i.75 (but the 1543 edition gives more details: see OO, i.59); on the *De arcanis aeternitatis*, see *ibid.*, OO, i.128. See also di Rienzo, 'Cardaniana', who shows that Cardano's reaction to his Bologna imprisonment—the *De mendis ac castigationibus*—reflects his desire to remain within the bounds of orthodoxy.

Cardano's most published work in his lifetime was the *De subtilitate*.⁴⁸ it enjoyed a number of editions in Latin (Nuremberg 1550; Paris 1550–1; Basle 1554 and 1560; Lyon 1554 and 1559) and was translated (partially) into German (in 1559) and into French. The French translation was undertaken by Richard Le Blanc on behalf of his patron Marguerite de France, duchesse de Berry, the sister of Henri II, to whom it is dedicated. But she did not, as one might have expected, finance the venture, which came to fruition in 1556 and was reprinted or reissued in 1566, 1578 and 1584. The first edition seems rather to have been financed by four speculative publishers, who shared the high printing costs of this densely illustrated volume. It was probably produced in what then was the standard print run (1,200), and protected by a ten-year *privilège*. The expiry of this explains the renewed publication in 1566, which used the same plates, and the further interval of ten or so years until the next reprinting (1578). This reprinting seems not to have been as successful, for sheets from the 1578 edition were reissued with a title-page dated 1584; it seems plausible to conclude that the sales of the 1578 edition had not come up to the speculation of its backers, and that as few as 100 a year were being sold in the intervening period.⁴⁹ This confirms Cardano's claim that his publishers enjoyed excellent returns from his books in the period 1556–60.⁵⁰ It also suggests that in spite of the active market for philosophical books in translation in France, interest in Cardano had waned by the 1570s. We can obtain some measure of varying success of the different areas of the scholarly book market by comparing the fortunes of the *De subtilitate* with those of Julius Caesar Scaliger's refutation of it, the *Exotericae exercitationes* of 1557. This was republished in 1576 for pedagogical use in German High Schools and Universities by the expatriate French humanist publisher André Wechel; it enjoyed repeated republication (there were at least ten editions) until the 1630s, and was clearly used as a (near-)

⁴⁸ Cardano claims that it was published eight times by 1562: *De libris propriis*, i.120.

⁴⁹ On the publication of this translation, see Maclean, 'The readership of philosophical fictions: the bibliographical evidence', above, p. 34; and *Imprimeurs et libraires du XVI^e siècle: ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard, fascicule Cavellat*, by Isabelle Pantin, Paris: Paris-Musées, 1986, pp. 10–11.

⁵⁰ *De utilitate ex adversis capienda*, iii.2, OO, ii.116: 'Scribendo etiam ansam lucri alterius arripui. Cui si soli intendissem, poterat lucrum ad octo millia sestertium in quatuor vel quinque postremis annis edendo accedere.'

orthodox handbook of peripatetic natural philosophy.⁵¹ The *De subtilitate* was reprinted in 1580 by a speculative publisher, who seems to have prompted the Henricpetri presses to restate their claim to be the European dispensers of Cardano by producing an edition in two formats two years later; thereafter, only two more editions appeared before the *Opera omnia* of 1663, the appearance of which provoked the Henricpetri Presses to publish the *De subtilitate* for a final time, in 1664. But Le Blanc's translation enjoyed a rather surprising revival in 1642; a Rouen publisher specializing in translation, who had obtained the plates of the 1556 edition, and may have heard of Naudé's impending publication of Cardano's *De propria vita* or taken note of the growing interest in Cardano's works in France, reprinted the text in spite of its now antiquated syntax, lexicon and spelling.⁵²

The fortunes of the *De subtilitate* in France reflect interestingly also on the question of genre. In broad terms, one may distinguish three ways of categorizing learning in the Renaissance: that imposed by the disciplinary map adopted by most universities; that prevalent in the book market itself; that proposed by individual innovative scholars such as Cardano himself or Ramus. The *De subtilitate* is off the university map (although many of Cardano's other works can be easily located on it: for example, his commentaries on Hippocrates and his mathematical works); it falls in the dynamic part of the publishers' categorization of genre, as it is implicitly not only a work of popularization, even in Latin, but also a work of philosophy and an exposition of the secrets of nature;⁵³ for Cardano, it is both part of a grand design and a *farrago* or

⁵¹ On Scaliger's *Exercitationes*, see Maclean, 'The interpretation of natural signs'; Kristian Jensen, *Rhetorical philosophy and philosophical grammar: Julius Caesar Scaliger's theory of language*, Munich: Fink, 1990, pp. 45–8. But by 1645 Scaliger's reputation had declined, as is clear from the formulation of one German doctoral student: 'primum Cardanus videndus; post Scaliger; deinde veritas': Gottfridus Kronbigell, *Disputatio e I.C. Scaligeris Exercitatione IV de raritate et densitate*, Wittenberg: Wendt, 1645, A2^r. On the early French reception of the debate between Cardano and Scaliger, see Etienne Wolff, 'Les lecteurs de Jérôme Cardan: quelques éléments pour servir à l'histoire de la réception de son œuvre', *Nouvelle revue du XVI^e siècle*, 9 (1991), 91–107, esp. 103–4 (citing de Thou).

⁵² The printer-publisher, Veuve Du Bosc, also issued translations of Angelinus Gazaeus's *Pia hilaria* (1629), Ovid, and Lancelot's *Novelas*.

⁵³ The claim that the book expounds the secrets of nature is made by the publisher in his letter to the reader in the Paris edition of 1550–1 and the Lyon edition of 1554; Lucius places this letter on the title-page itself in his edition of the latter year. The claim that each succeeding edition has yet more revelations is characteristic of the genre: see Maclean, 'L'Économie du livre érudit'.

hotchpotch of scarcely related topics. An alternative to traditional scholastic physics is proposed: five principles, three elements, a new concept of logical opposition; but there are also sections on intellectual games and demons, and Cardano implicitly recognises the fluidity of ‘subtlety’ as a unifying concept by publishing a supplement—the *De rerum varietate*, announced, however, in 1538 before the ‘dream’ revealing the *De subtilitate* to Cardano had occurred, according to him—and making reference to yet other (unobtainable) texts which, he claims, need to be consulted if the grand design is to be grasped. When he writes about the book in the *De libris propriis*, he seems to suggest both that the grand design was revealed to him in a dream, and that this work (like others) is the product of feverish mental activity which resulted not in systems but in *farragines*.⁵⁴ The French translation is clearly aimed at a developing section of the book-buying public, probably not university-educated or even Latinate, but eager to penetrate the mysteries of the world about them; Cardano was neither the first nor the only exponent of popular science in his day, and it was inevitable that his book should both enjoy and suffer the fate of such works; usurping the market of other, similar, existing enterprises (Agrippa’s *De occulta philosophia*, for example), and succumbing to subsequent productions more closely in tune with the development of consumers’ taste. The edition of 1642 is surprising in this respect, being out of touch in a number of ways with current publishing and popularizing trends. Its appearance may indicate that it was aimed at a different place in the market: the nascent vogue for antiquarianism.⁵⁵

With the exception of his popularizing works and one or two medical and astrological texts—the *De malo medendi usu*, the *Contradicentia medica* and the *De astrorum judiciis*—Cardano’s books enjoyed single editions in his lifetime. This may in part be attributed to Heinrich Petri’s decision to publish Cardano’s books in folio rather than in a smaller format with the exception of the *De subtilitate* and the *De rerum varietate*; the larger size suggests that he targeted a library sale, not an

⁵⁴ Id., ‘The interpretation of natural signs’. Also, on the coherence (or otherwise) of the methods and results of human intellectual enquiry, see *De libris propriis*, OO, i.102, 104, 106, 108, 119, 133, 142.

⁵⁵ See N. Edelman, *Attitudes of France towards the Middle Ages*, Morningside Heights, New York: King’s Crown Press, 1946; Joseph Alsop, *The rare art traditions*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1982, pp. 147f., 451ff. Already by 1581, authors are appealing to ‘amantes vetustatis’ as their potential purchasers: see Joannes Sambucus (ed.) *Rerum ungaricarum decades*, Frankfurt: Andreas Wechel, 1581, ii, aa2’.

undergraduate one. Cardano's Bologna and Rome publishers, on the other hand, chose a smaller format, and did not advertize the books in Northern Europe: this may suggest a more modest assessment of Cardano's profitability.⁵⁶

Cardano envisaged, like many scholars of his generation, lavish posthumous publication as early as 1562; he named in a later will first Cardinals Amulio, Crivelli, Morone and Alciati, and later his ex-pupil Rodolfo Silvestri as literary executors, and recorded both in the autobiography and the *De libris propriis* the works he had already published and the manuscripts he thought, after revision, worthy of publication.⁵⁷ After his death, Heinrich Petri's heirs published some of his works which had appeared only in Italy (the commentary on Hippocrates's *De alimentis* and the *De causis, signis ac locis morborum* in 1582 and 1583 respectively), and reissued editions of his popularizing works in response to unauthorized publication by speculative Lonnais printers.⁵⁸ His literary executor Silvestri dutifully edited a manuscript (the *De sanitate tuenda ac vita producenda*), which he dedicated to Cardano's erstwhile patron, Gregory XIII, who paid for its publication, expressing his hope that the publication of other Cardano manuscripts might also be financed by the same maecenas. This hope was not to be fulfilled; the manuscripts passed to another Italian doctor, Fabrizio Coccanario, who in 1617 published another manuscript (the second book of the *Theonoston*) dedicated to another pope, Paul V, and made public his

⁵⁶ Cardano's Italian publishers and printers are less well documented than those in Northern Europe. In Rome, he was published by the heirs of Antonio Blado (*In Hippocratis De alimento commentarius* (1574) and the *Examen xxii aegrorum Hippocratis* (1575)); in Bologna, his books are produced by Alessandro Benaccio, the longest established printer of the town. Unlike the Basle editions, all these books are now very rare; this may indicate short print runs. On these printers, see Emerenziana Vaccaro Sofia, *Catalogo delle edizioni romane di Antonio Blado Asolano ed Eredi (1516-93)*, fasci. iv, Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1961, no. 2163; Fernanda Ascarelli, *Le cinquecentine romane: censimento delle edizioni romane del XVI secolo possedute dalle biblioteche di Roma*, Milan: Etimar, 1972, p. 50; Francesco Barberi, *Tipografi romani del cinquecento*, Florence: Olschki, 1986, pp. 101-46 (on Valerio Dorico); Gedeon Borsa, *Clavis typographorum librariorumque Italiae 1465-1600*, Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1980, i.64 (on Alessandro Benacci).

⁵⁷ See Eckman, *Cardano*, p. 31; di Rienzo, 'Cardaniana' (who points out that Silvestri was not to receive all the manuscripts under the will of 21 August 1576). See also Dayre, art. cit., 342.

⁵⁸ The Lyon pirates are Barthélemy Honorat and Etienne Michel; other printers who had also been pirated by these reacted in the same way (see Maclean, 'André Wechel at Frankfurt', below, pp. 173-8).

desire to sell the remainder.⁵⁹ By the 1620s, manuscripts from this and other sources were to be found in the libraries of senior churchmen; a few others found their way to Urbino. This diaspora did not however deter a number of interested parties from forming the project of the publication of Cardano's complete works. Most prominent among these was Gabriel Naudé, as is well known: but Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc and his Italian correspondent Girolamo Aleandro, the secretary of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, were also in pursuit of Cardano's Nachlass (especially the *De fato* and the *De arcanis aeternitatis*). At the beginning of 1629, Aleandro sent to Peiresc a catalogue of surviving manuscripts to be found in Rome; this has been located in the Dupuy papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and published by Thomas Cerbu.⁶⁰ They were said to be holographs, and were priced at 40 livres.⁶¹ Naudé saw them in February 1632, and tried to negotiate their purchase. The negotiations came to nothing, perhaps because the collection did not contain the works in which special interest had been shown.⁶²

Before this, in 1624, Naudé attempted to persuade the Geneva publishers Pierre and Jacques Chouet to publish the complete works in four volumes.⁶³ This plan fell through because of delays in the recovery of the manuscripts. The Chouëts did in fact reprint the *De sapientia*, and at the same time circulated a prospectus for the new edition to

⁵⁹ Dr di Rienzo kindly informed me that a letter from Coccanario survives in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan, in which he sets out the prices of individual manuscripts, and suggests that he would seek a North European (Swiss or German) purchaser if no Italian buyer came forward. This has now been published by Marialuisa Baldi and Guido Canziani, 'La circolazione dei manoscritti Cardaniani. Alcuni documenti', in *Gerolamo Cardano. le opere, le fonti, la vita*, ed. Baldi and Canziani, Milan: Franc-Angeli, 1999, pp. 481–97.

⁶⁰ Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Dupuy 691, ff. 146^v–147^v; see Cerbu, 'Naudé as editor of Cardano', in *ibid.*, pp. 376–8.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 372–3, citing *Lettres de Peiresc aux frères Dupuy*, Paris, 1888, i.751 (Peiresc to Dupuy, 22 November 1628), ii.62 (30 March 1629), ii.167 (23 August 1629).

⁶² See *Les correspondants de Peiresc: xiii Naudé*, ed. Philippe Tamizey de Larroque, Paris, 1887, p. 14 (1 February 1632) and pp. 71–2 (26 May 1636).

⁶³ The most complete single account of stemmata and locations remains that of Naudé, *Vita Cardani*, *iij–iv; this is confirmed by the letters cited in note 59. The Italian friends and correspondents of Naudé—Alsario della Croce, who gave him the manuscript of the *De propria vita*, Leone Allacci, Aleandro, Giambattista Doni, Marcantonio de Paliano, Fernando Ughelli, Giovanni Argoli, Giacomo Filippo Tomasini and Cardinals Biscia, Bevilacqua and Pio de Savoia—are all in some way connected with the discovery and preservation of existing manuscripts: see Pintard, *Libertinage érudit*, p. 263; Rizzi, *Peiresc*, p. 258 and *Naudeana et Patiniana*, Paris: Florentin and Pierre Deaulne, 1701, pp. 13–15 (on the pursuit of the manuscript of the *De arcanis aeternitatis*).

which Georg Draut, Naudé, and later Gui Patin refer; but nothing came of the project.⁶⁴ There are other traces of French interest in the manuscripts: at some point before 1663, the librarian of the bibliophile Gaston d'Orléans, brother of Louis XIII, inscribed a list of Cardano's unpublished works to which the author makes reference in Gaston's copy of the *Contradidentia medica*, and Gaston himself seems to have collected Cardano's published books.⁶⁵ The French publisher Laurent Durand obtained permission for the publication of a number of late medical works reposing in the library of Cardinal Lelio Biscia in 1638, and records other manuscripts in Biscia's possession.⁶⁶ Naudé attempted (unsuccessfully) to persuade Durand to publish a further manuscript of the *De propria vita* now in Naudé's own possession, presented to him by Alsario della Croce;⁶⁷ this appeared at Paris in 1643, preceded (in 1635) by another manuscript recuperated by Naudé, the *De praeceptis ad filios*.⁶⁸ The *Proxenetæ* had meanwhile found their way from

⁶⁴ Draut, *Bibliotheca classica*, Frankfurt: Balthasar Oster, 1625, col. 960 (the dispersed references to Cardano's published works in this bibliography are remarkably complete); Naudé, *Vita Cardani*, *ii, 7*; Patin, *Nouvelles lettres tirées du cabinet de M. Charles Spon*, Amsterdam: Steenhouwer and Uytwerf, 1718, ii.87 (9 April 1655). There are two issues of the *De sapientia*, with imprints 'Genevae' and 'Aureopoli': the latter, presumably, to ensure a sale in Catholic countries.

⁶⁵ Gaston d'Orléans's collection is now preserved in the Réserve of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; his librarian is thought by Antoine Adam (*Histoire de la littérature française au XVII^e siècle*, Paris: del Duca, 1949–54, i.156n) to have been the playwright André Mareschal, but Louis Jacob in his *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, Paris: Rolet le Duc, 1644, Ddd2^r (correcting p. 478) records that his name was Bruneau. Georges Dethan, *Gaston d'Orléans*, Paris: Fayard, 1959, pp. 309–25, deals with Gaston's library, and mentions his penchant for Cardano, but does not name his librarian. The collection passed into the Bibliothèque Royale in 1666 (see Claude Jolly (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises, ii 1530–1789*, Paris: Promodis, 1988, p. 82); the librarian was then Jérôme II Bignon, son of Patin's and Naudé's friend Jérôme Bignon, and tutor of Lamoignon (ibid. p. 209; Pintard, *Libertinage érudit*, pp. 161, 432). The books of Cardano in Peiresc's possession are listed in Rizza, *Peiresc*, p. 30).

⁶⁶ Durand thanks Cardinal Biscia for permitting him to copy his manuscript, and lists the cardinal's other holdings. Leone Allacci and Giovanni Argoli are also acknowledged (*Opuscula medica senilia*, Lyon: Laurent Durand, 1638, *2–5). See also Naudé, *Lettres à Jacques Dupuy (1632–1652)*, ed. Philip Wolfe, Alberta: Lealta/Alta Press, 1982, p. 3 (iv: dated 23 May 1636). See also Cerbu, 'Naudé as editor', pp. 368–70.

⁶⁷ See *Les Correspondants de Peiresc: Naudé*, pp. 71–2 (viii: Naudé to Peiresc, 26 May 1636). Croce seems to have acquired the manuscript from Cardinal Bevilacqua.

⁶⁸ In his edition, Naudé does not give a provenance, but Pintard records that he obtained the manuscript in Urbino (*Libertinage érudit*, p. 263). Naudé also refers in his letter to Peiresc of 26 May 1636 to the fragmentary *De prudentia eximia* as though he had read it, although it appears later on the list of missing works. This has now been located (see Ian Maclean, 'Girolamo Cardano: the last years of a polymath').

the Coccanario collection to Holland,⁶⁹ to be published in 1627 by the Elzevier presses; and a manuscript of disputed authenticity, the *Metoposcopia*, was eventually published simultaneously in Latin and French translation by Claude-Martin de Laurendière in 1658.⁷⁰ The *Proxeneta* were also translated into French by an advocate called Augustin Choppin in 1645; four editions of this translation or rather paraphrase had appeared by 1661.⁷¹

In 1595, all of Cardano's non-medical works were placed 'nisi corrigantur' on the Index, in most cases with specific recommendations for revision;⁷² but this did not seem to deter churchmen from possession of his manuscripts. Indeed, three Cardinal signatories of the Index either hold, or show interest in, Cardano's works: Bevilacqua (signatory in 1621–2), Barberini (1622–3) and Pio di Savoia (1627–36). Further manuscripts were found their way to the Vatican library.⁷³ In spite of Cardano's apparently scrupulous attempts to remain within the fold of orthodoxy in his lifetime, he seems doomed to be tarred with a heretical brush; and the fact that a notorious Genevan publisher should contemplate a full edition of his works would have seemed to confirm this. What remains to be shown, however, is how the publication of the Lyon *Opera omnia* came about, and whether the religious issue played any part in it.

The answers to these questions lie partly in the involvement of two men in the fortunes of Cardano—Naudé and Charles Spon; partly in the curious twists of Cardano's posthumous reputation; and partly in the sociology and economics of publication in the 1660s. The material events which made possible such a grandiose scheme were first the bibliography

Other *introuvables* which are mentioned in the *Opera omnia* are the *Liber de origine ventorum* and the *Experimenta*.

⁶⁹ The publishers record that the manuscript was in poor condition: *Proxeneta*, Leyden: Elzevier, 1627, x6–7; Naudé discloses its provenance (*Vita Cardani*, *iij).

⁷⁰ For the disputed authenticity of this work, and its attribution to Giovanni Antonio Magini, see *ibid.*, *(vi)*.

⁷¹ The *Metoposcopia* was dedicated to the French patron of art and letters Nicolas Foucquet; Choppin dedicated his reworking of *La science du monde* (in which the usefulness of flattery in political life is particularly emphasized) to Nicolas Bailleul, a French magistrate of apparently fluid allegiances during the period of the Fronde. The editions appear in 1645, 1652 (two issues), 1655 and 1661.

⁷² *Index librorum prohibitorum gedrückt zu Parma 1580*, Bonn: Cohen, p. 9, cited by Wolff, 'Les lecteurs de Jérôme Cardan', 94; also *Index librorum prohibitorum* (Clement VIII), Rome: Impressores camerales, 1596, p. 28; Eckman, *Cardan*, pp. 32–5; di Rienzo, 'Cardaniana', 105–7.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 102–5.

of published material established by Naudé in 1643, all of which was almost certainly available in various libraries in Paris—notably those of Mazarin (whose librarian was Naudé himself) and Gaston d'Orléans; and second the purchase by a French bookseller, Pierre Billaine, of the remnants of Cardano's manuscripts (the Silvestri-Coccanario collection), which he advertised for sale in 1654.⁷⁴ Charles Spon, a Lyon doctor who had already had a hand in editing other foreign doctors in France (notably Schenck and Sennert) and who was a friend and admirer of Naudé, was encouraged by another of his friends, the Paris physician Gui Patin, to consider arranging the publication of the *Opera omnia*.⁷⁵ He was particularly well placed to do this, as he was related by marriage to a rich entrepreneurial Lyon publisher, Jean-Antoine Huguetan who, with his associate Marc-Antoine Ravaud, had already published other editions by Spon of foreign doctors. The enterprise took seven years to come to fruition, and in their preface, the publishers claim to have rummaged in libraries throughout Europe and laid out considerable sums to procure manuscripts which, they aver, were often in a bad condition. There would seem to be more than a little poetic licence in this claim; the *Opera omnia* consist in a conflation of the Billaine manuscripts (bought by Ravaud in 1655) with already published texts mainly available in the capital.⁷⁶ The complete works are in fact selective: works of dubious authenticity and incomplete or corrupt manuscripts were excluded by the publishers and editor.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ This *Operum H. Cardani catalogus* 'L[ibrarius] B[ibliopolaque] P[etrus] B[illaine] ex Italia attulit ann[o] 1654' is to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

⁷⁵ See Johann Schenck, *Observationes medicae*, Lyon, 1643 (published by Huguetan); Daniel Sennert, *Opera omnia*, 5 vols., Lyon, 1666 (published by Huguetan and Ravaud); Patin, *Lettres à Spon*, xciii, ii.87 (9 April 1655) and cxi, ii.307 (19 September 1657). Patin was not entirely disinterested in promoting this venture: he was an unofficial (and occasionally prosecuted) dealer in controversial and scholarly books: see Pierre Pic, *Guy Patin*, Paris: G. Steinheil, 1911, Introduction, liv–v.

⁷⁶ See *Lettres inédites de Charles Spon à Guy Patin*, in Pierre Pic, *Guy Patin*, p. 206 (21 November 1656): 'M. Ravaud a acheté à Paris les manuscrits de Cardan pour la somme de 2000 livres. Je ne sçay si cela vaudra la peine d'estre mis au jour. Il faudra maintenant qu'ils ramassent aussi toutes les pièces du même auteur qui ont été imprimées. Je crois que le tout ensemble fera autant de volumes que le *Theatrum vitae humanae* [by Theodor Zwinger: a folio work of 29 volumes and 4373 pages published in 1586–7].' The causes for the delay of seven years between purchase of manuscripts and printing are given in Spon's letters to Patin of 10 July 1657 and 9 September 1657: *ibid.*, pp. 236–7, 254.

⁷⁷ OO, i e. 4^v.

The ten folio volumes, which bear the marks of somewhat shoddy and hasty production,⁷⁸ were dedicated to the senior magistrate of the capital, Guillaume Lamoignon: a patron of learning, a staunch Catholic, an opponent of irreligiosity, reputedly a member of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, through whose influence Molière's *Tartuffe* is said to have been banned.⁷⁹ It seems that Cardano could not even escape equivocality in religious matters after his death, for Huguetan, Ravaud and Spon, unlike the Catholic Lamoignon, were prominent members of the protestant community of Lyon, many of whom were soon to suffer exile as a result of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.⁸⁰ Furthermore, both Naudé and Patin were, by the end of the seventeenth century, characterized as indifferent in matters of religion, if not atheists,⁸¹ and were energetic during their lifetime in their public opposition of superstition, intolerance and religious persecution. As is well known, René Pintard identified these two, together with La Mothe le Vayer, Gassendi, Diodati and others, as representatives of what he terms 'libertinage érudit'; and suggested furthermore that Naudé's interest in Cardano arose because he saw the Italian polymath as a sort of spiritual father of free thought.⁸²

Others have opposed Pintard's thesis in recent years;⁸³ I wish simply to add my voice to theirs. It is true that Naudé's initial interest in Cardano is expressed in his defence of great men of the past who had been accused of practising magic; but it is important to place this defence in its proper context. Naudé was responding to the Jesuit François Garasse's polemical work *La doctrine curieuse des [prétendus] beaux-exprits de ce temps*; this in turn was a virulent attack on the *libertin*

⁷⁸ On Huguetan as a shoddy printer see Patin, *Lettres à Spon*, clxi, ii. 415 (6 September 1658).

⁷⁹ On Lamoignon, see Antoine Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française*, iii.15f, 297, 307; Pintard, *Libertinage érudit*, pp. 161, 432; Marc Fumaroli, *L'âge d'éloquence*, Geneva: Droz, 1980, pp. 430–2; and Jacques Lebrun, 'Le père Lalemant et les débuts de L'Académie Lamoignon', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 69 (1961) 153–76.

⁸⁰ See Haag, *La France protestante*, s.v. Huguetan, Ravaud, Spon; Odile Martin, *La conversion protestante à Lyon (1659–1687)*, Geneva and Paris: Droz, 1986, esp. pp. 35–6, 51, 69.

⁸¹ Cf. the letter of Patin to Spon of 16 February 1657 (*Lettres à Spon*, cxxii, ii.227), and the *libertin* motto 'intus ut libet, foris ut mos est.'

⁸² *Libertinage érudit*, pp. 128ff., 250ff.

⁸³ See esp. P.O. Kristeller, 'The myth of Renaissance atheism and French tradition of free thought', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 6 (1968) 233–43; *Etica e religione nella critica libertina*, ed. Tullio Gregory, Naples: Guida, 1986; di Rienzo, *Culture e conflitti*, pp. 103ff.

Giulio Cesare (or Lucilio) Vanini, who had been executed in 1619. Because Vanini had cited Cardano's *De immortalitate animorum* in his *De admirandis Naturae arcanis*, Garasse in turn attacks Cardano,⁸⁴ and Naudé was moved to defend him, while confessing that his reference to a personal demon in the dialogue entitled *Tetim* was indefensible.⁸⁵ Naudé's particular concern for Cardano was able to be furthered when he accompanied Cardinal Guido di Bagno to Italy in 1630; while there, he pursued his interest almost to the point of obsession (copying out, for example, the whole text of the *De sapientia*), but never to the point of infatuation. Patin claims, no doubt correctly, that Naudé 'aimoit [Cardan] d'une affection très particulière': but the *Judicium* which he published with Cardano's Autobiography in 1643 is balanced and critical; moreover, it offers no evidence whatsoever that Naudé saw in Cardano a sort of spiritual father of atheism. If any such figure existed for him, it was Cremonini, whom he had known at Padua in 1626; his avowed interest in Cardano is in his ethical works.⁸⁶ Cardano had (perhaps prophetically) recorded in the *De libris propriis* that his French readers were particularly attracted to his writings on moral issues; this seems to be borne out by his posthumous reputation in France, where from the 1580s onwards there was a considerable vogue for neo-stoic writing; even the translation of the *Proxeneta* (*La science du monde*) in 1645 falls into this category.⁸⁷ I do not wish to suggest that Naudé

⁸⁴ *La doctrine curieuse des [prétendus] beaux-esprits de ce temps*, Paris: Chapillet, 1624, pp. 24–6, 435–44.

⁸⁵ *Apologie pour tous les grands personnages qui ont esté faussement soupçonnez de magie*, Paris: François Targa, 1625, pp. 348–9. See also Pintard, *Libertinage érudit*, pp. 263f. and di Rienzo, *Culture e Conflitti*, pp. 103ff.

⁸⁶ On Naudé, see Pintard, *Libertinage érudit*, pp. 250ff.; James V. Rice, *Gabriel Naudé 1600–53*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1939; Jack A. Clarke, *Gabriel Naudé 1600–53*, Hamden: Archon Books, 1970. Naudé at first planned to edit Cremonini rather than Cardano for his friend Diodati (see dedicatory letter dated 4 October 1642, *Vita Cardani*, aii). On Naudé as editor, see the article of P.O. Kristeller, 'Between the Italian Renaissance and the French Enlightenment: Gabriel Naudé as Editor', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 32 (1979), 41–72. There are several errors in this article: Naudé possessed his own copy of the *De propria vita* before the publication of the *Opera medica senilia* of 1638 and the disclosure that Biscia possessed another copy; Spon's disposition of the *Opera omnia* differs markedly from Naudé's proposal in *Vita Cardani*, u6ff; the *Proxeneta* was published in Leiden not Lyon.

⁸⁷ There has not been a recent survey of neo-stoicism in Europe: but see Julien-Eymard d'Angers, 'Le stoïcisme en France dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle', *Etudes franciscaines*, 2 (1951), 287–89, 389–410; 3 (1952), 5–19, 133–57, and Mark Morford, *Stoics and neo-stoics: Rubens and the circle of Lipsius*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991. Not only Cardano, but also Justus Lipsius and Guillaume du

did not admire Cardano for the freedom of his judgement, the audacity of his speculations, his explicitly anti-establishment views and his polymathy; but rather that he tempered this admiration with critical judgement, and did not associate it directly with the issue of personal belief in a Christian God. This is a fortiori true of Spon, a committed Christian, and Lamoignon, who cannot be plausibly imagined as lending his name to a subversive rationalist's commemorative republication.⁸⁸ It is, finally, emphatically not true of Peiresc, whose zealous Catholicism is frequently expressed in his correspondence. What the erudite circles identified by Pintard—Peiresc, Mersenne, Naudé, La Mothe Le Vayer, Gassendi, Diodati—share is not, it seems, covert irreligion, but rather an undisputed interest in preserving monuments of the remote and more recent past: coins, medallions, manuscripts, statues, the writings of the ancients and those of humanist scholars, including Cardano.

What, then, did the ten-volume edition of Cardano represent to its producers and receivers? First, and not unimportantly, a financial profit. Huguetan and Ravaud were publishing just as gentlemen's and institutional libraries all over Europe were avidly seeking to establish their holdings and to complete their coverage for a variety of motives: social standing, investment in collectable items, intellectual curiosity, pedagogical zeal.⁸⁹ Well-advertised and well-supported prestigious publication had done well since the production of such monuments as the Plantin polyglot Bible of the 1570s; the decline of the German book fairs had left a vacuum in the book market which Dutch, Genevan and French publishers were able to exploit. A mark of the confidence felt by Huguetan and Ravaud in this market is their purchase of an expensive twenty-year privilege for the Cardano edition of 1663.⁹⁰ Second, the commemoration of great minds accorded well with the ideology of the day, with its post-Renaissance optimism in the possibilities of the human

Vair benefited from this vogue for neostoicism by being republished in the 1620s. See also *Naudeana et Patiniana*, p. 15.

⁸⁸ On the pleasure with which Lamoignon received his presentation copy of Cardano, see Patin, *Lettres*, ed. J.H. Reveillé-Parise, Paris: J.-B. Baillière, 1846, ii.487 (ccclii, to Spon, dated 5 June 1663).

⁸⁹ See *Histoire de l'édition française*, i.543ff.

⁹⁰ It should be pointed out that although the Plantin Polyglot Bible set the trend for prestigious and lavish publication, it was not a success for Plantin himself, as Philip II of Spain failed to pay him in full the promised subsidy. On the cost and administration of French *privileges* in the seventeenth century, see *ibid.*, i.369–77.

subject,⁹¹ and the promotion of notions of individuality and intellectual property which later historians of thought would come to characterize as 'bourgeois'.⁹² Third (and more speculatively), the republication of Cardano might have been seen as a contribution to a new canon of 'modern' classical authorities. The decline of neo-Aristotelianism in the course of the seventeenth century, and the failure of the encyclopedic aspirations of scholars such as Alsted and Comenius, seems to accompany a rise in the value ascribed to free or anti-authoritarian intellectual enquiry.⁹³ The Counter-Reformation had produced the need for large-scale republication of approved theologians and philosophers to supply the needs for the many newly founded conventual establishments throughout Catholic Europe;⁹⁴ Cardano's ten volume *Opera* constitute a sort of secular equivalent, however temporarily. Yet again, and without his consent or knowledge, Cardano's work became enmeshed in religious controversy, and was transformed into the emblem (by the end of the century) of a certain sort of anti-Catholicism. Ironically, it seems that this occurs without the contents of the *Opera omnia* being

⁹¹ There is an implicit inconsistency in the activities of those working in the *Respublica litteraria* in the middle and at the end of the seventeenth century which merits elucidation. On the one hand, the recovery of past monuments of human achievement is undertaken in the name of a belief in the universality of reason and of its products in the form of theory and practical application; a universality which does not require an origin to be assigned to a given invention or discovery or scientific step forward. On the other hand, there is a strong desire to identify and characterize particular geniuses to whom a given discovery or discoveries are to be attributed historically. Naudé's account of Cardano as a polymath celebrates him as the embodiment of universal reasoning working in a broad field of human enquiry; whereas his description of Cardano the person dwells upon his lapses and intellectual weaknesses. This implicit inconsistency (which may be sensed also in Bayle and others) may be connected both with the institutions of commemoration—publication and authorship—and with the notion of human progress, and may be linked furthermore to the decline of authority as a mode of argumentation.

⁹² On the history of literary property (not necessarily from a marxist perspective), see Lyman Ray Patterson, *Copyright in historical perspective*, Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1958, and *Les usages de l'imprimé*, ed. Roger Chartier; on bourgeois individualism, see Michael McKeon, *The origins of the English novel 1660–1740*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

⁹³ Some evidence for these speculations is to be found in Patin's letters (see above, note 61).

⁹⁴ No systematic study has been made of this phenomenon: but symptomatic of it is the thirteen-volume republication in folio of the *Opera omnia* of Alphonsus Tostatus in Venice in 1596, reprinted in Cologne in twenty-three volumes in 1613, and the two folio reprintings of Duns Scotus in the early seventeenth century (the *Quaestiones in sententias* and *Quodlibetales* (5 vols. Venice, 1617); and the *Opera omnia*, 12 vols, Lyon, 1639).

read; the commemorative posthumous publication so desired by Cardano marks also the point at which the majority of his works enter temporary oblivion in many scholarly circles, although not those in which the history of philosophy was studied.⁹⁵

The fortunes of an author are necessarily unstable; Cardano's can be measured in money, albeit of different denominations. Ten crowns were sufficient to secure the manuscript of his *Practica arithmetice* in 1539; 8000 sesterces were the potential profits he records from his published work in the period 1556–60; 50 crowns would have been sufficient to purchase the majority of his manuscripts from Coccanario in 1617. This price had become 40 livres by 1632, according to a letter from Naudé to Peiresc; and in 1656 Billaine, who had recovered manuscripts from other sources as well, was paid 2000 livres for his collection by Ravaut.⁹⁶ It is clear that the Spon edition, given its lavish scale, was horrendously expensive.⁹⁷ The Italian doctor with local aspirations in 1538 became the celebrated popularizer of science and astrology in the 1550s, the heterodox thinker of the 1590s, the neostoic moralist of the 1620s and 1630s, and the icon of untrammelled human enquiry after 1663: indeed even one candidate for the authorship of the notorious *Traité des trois imposteurs*.⁹⁸

At the beginning of his publishing career, Cardano commissioned a portrait of himself which appeared on the title-pages of 1538 and 1539 with the device; 'no man is a prophet in his own country'. This New Testament text⁹⁹ is, of course, particularly appropriate to an astrologer;

⁹⁵ See Constance Blackwell, 'Cardano's reputation among historians of philosophy in the eighteenth century', in *Cardano*, ed. Eckhard Kessler, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994, pp. 339–69.

⁹⁶ Naudé, *Vita Cardani*, *iij*; *Les correspondants de Peiresc*, xiii, p. 14 (1 February 1632); Pic, *Patin*, p. 206.

⁹⁷ In Theophilus Georgi's *Allgemeines europäisches Bücherlexicon*, Leipzig: Georgi, 1742, (i.253), the *Opera omnia* are among the very few works to be valued at 30 thalers; cf. Zwinger's *Theatrum humanae vitae* (8 thalers), the folio *De rerum varietate* of 1557 (1 thaler), the complete works of Aquinas of 1621 (20 thalers), etc.

⁹⁸ See di Rienzo, *Culture e conflitti*, p. 220ff.

⁹⁹ Cardano's device adapts slightly Luke 4:24 and reads 'nullus propheta acceptus in patria': cf. Matth. 13:57 and John 4:44. Montaigne also invokes this device, with a characteristically ironic intertextual twist: 'Nul a esté prophete non seulement en sa maison mais en son païs, dict l'experience des histoires'; *Oeuvres*, iii.2, p. 786 (cf. Matth. 13:57 'non est propheta sine honore nisi in patria sua et in domo sua'). The same portrait was copied by Petreius (and hence reversed) for the imprints of 1543, 1544, 1547 and 1550, with a different motto: 'εἰς το φερτερον τιθει το μελλον ο τι γηνησεται' (Euripides, *Helen*, 346f.). I am very grateful to Angus Bowie for identify-

its appropriateness is also borne out by the history of Cardano's publications, both during his lifetime and after his death. What is shown by a close investigation of the processes by which he came to be known is, I believe, the infiltration into his writings of meanings which derive as much from his publishers and editors as from their author; meanings which can render problematic the project of recovering the 'real' opinions and thoughts of Cardano himself.

ing this quotation for me, and for helping me make sense of some corruptly printed passages of the *De libris propriis*.

APPENDIX:

THE 1538 PRIVILEGE (PRINTED IN *PRACTICA ARITHMETICE*, MILAN:
GIOVANNI ANTONIO CASTELLIONE FOR BERNARD[IN]O CALUSCO,
1539, SIII^{R-V})

CAROLUS QUINTUS R[oman]orum Imperator Semper Augustus [et caetera]
Quoniam Existimamus opera contenta in precibus Hieronymi Castellionei
Cardani Physici Mediolanensis tenoris huius modi [videlicet] Invictissime
Caesar: cum sit quod fidei[ssi]mus M[aiestatis] V[estrae] servitor Hierony-
mus Castellioneus Cardanus Medicus habeat infrascripta opera propria in
diversis facultatibus imprimenda suc[c]essive s[ecundum] eius commodum:
ex q[ui]bus t[ame]n duo opuscula in lucem venerunt: ne totiens cogatur ad
M[aiestatem] V[estram] recurrere quotiens aliquod opus edendum erit: Ideo
pro infrascriptis libris apud ipsum existentibus: quorum aliqui etiam nunc
imprimuntur: universale privilegium obtinere desiderans: ad ipsa[m] recurrit
eidem humiliter supplicando ut ipsa dignetur per ne[c]cessaria et o[p]portuna
auxilia providere mandando per litteras. M[aiestatis] V[estrae] ne quis audeat
aliquod infrascriptorum operum imprimere: aut alibi impressum deferre super
totum domin[i]um Ducatus Mediolani: nec fraudem aliquam committere in
eis usque ad decennium a die impressionis uniuscuiusque sub penis solitis:
secundum quod magis placebit. M[aiestati] V[estrae]. quorum quidem operum
series et nomina hic describuntur.

1. Practica Arithmetice.
2. De varietate rerum.
3. De simplicibus.
4. De misteriis eternitatis.
5. De supernis.
6. De ludis.
7. Epistolarum.
8. De morte libri tres.
9. Astronomicorum iudiciorum libri decem.
10. De re venerea.
11. De Circulis.
12. De pituita.
13. Super spheram.
14. Super Ptolomei Geographiam.
15. Super Euclidem libri tres.
16. Contradictiones logice.
17. De morbo gallico.
18. De peste.
19. De purgationibus.
20. Floridorum: sive Medicarum disputationum.
21. Generalium morborum libri tres.
22. De Chiromanticis.
23. De fato.

24. De Urinis.
25. Contradictiones medicorum.
26. De somniis libri decem.
27. De vita [Christi] libri tres.
28. Canonum Medicine libri quattuor.
29. Liber qui dicitur accusator.
30. Super quartum colliget libri septem.
31. Parafrasis super vitruuium.
32. De instrumentis zeland[in]is.
33. Supplementum Ephemeridum.
34. De emendatione temporum et motuum celestium.

Ultra ea duo: que iam impressa: sunt una de malo medendi usu: et quod nullum simplex.

Professoribus earum scientiarum: de quibus in eis tractat[ur] utilitatem et oblectamentum allatura: Ideo concedimus ut ea tam coniunctim: quam divisim imprimere facere possit: preter illud: quod de mysteriis eternitatis: secundum de morte: quod tres libros continere dicitur: tertium de fato: et quartum de vita D[omini] N[ostri] Jesu Christi tribus pariter libris contentum: qu[ae] prius Senatui nostro exhiberi volumus ut videri possint: an digna editioni sint. Insuper interdiciamus ne quis in hoc nostro Mediolanensi statu intra decem annos illa: seu eorum aliquod imprimere: vel imprimi facere: aut alibi impressa in eundem statum portare: vel portari facere: aut venalia habere possit: contra voluntatem ipsius auctoris. Pena huic nostro Decreto contrafacienti e[st] scutorum decem pro unoquoque volumine dictorum operum: quorum medietas ipsi auctori applicetur: dimidium vero quod super est dividatur inter fiscam nostrum et accusatorem. In quorum fidem presentes fieri: et sigilli nostri. Iussimus Impressione muniri. Data Mediolani die 25 Jun[ii] M.D. 38.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ANDRÉ WECHEL AT FRANKFURT, 1572–1581

In 1597, at the height of Frankfurt am Main's prestige as a centre of the European book trade, there appeared a poem celebrating both the book fair and the local printers and publishers, which unequivocally gives the preeminence to the *typi Wecheliani*, identified by their famous device:

Hast hie acht Truckereyen, merck
Darinn truckt wirdt manch stattlich Werk.
Damit nicht zweiffeln mochst daraus
Sieh die Zeichen und Signet an:
Und sonderlich den Pegasus,
Das recht Postross der Musarum.
Da findst den Kern der Authorn,
Mit schöner Schrifft, dessgleich hiervorn
Hast gesehen nie, und sonderlich
Im Griechischen, also dass ich
Sage, dass dieser Pegasus
Zum hochsten hat gesetzt sein Fuss.¹

Yet a mere twenty-five years before the appearance of these flattering lines, the founder of the firm, André Wechel, had arrived in the city as a refugee from the St. Bartholomew's day massacre, that most notorious instance of religious intolerance of its age in France, apparently without resources, having left behind his presses and no doubt much else. How did he manage to rise like a Phoenix from such an unpromising situation? What contact did he maintain with France? What markets did he court and win, and against what competition? What new image did he develop as a publisher? Some of these questions have been addressed, albeit cursorily, in the article by W.R. Lefanu and the excellent monograph on the Wechel presses of R.W.J. Evans; the information in W.J. Ong's *Ramus and Talon Inventory* offers many

¹ Konrad Lautenbach *alias* Marx Mangold, *Marckschiff oder Marckschiffergespräch von der Frankfurter Messe*, n.p., 1597, pp. 33–34, reprinted in Hans Widmann (ed.), *Der deutsche Buchhandel in Urkunden und Quellen*, vol. 1. Hamburg: Hauswedel, 1965, pp. 42 and 44.

clues which have previously not been followed up.² This brief study sets out to collate the available data and to amplify it from archival and other sources; to offer new or modified answers to the questions listed above; and to give an annotated bibliography of the publications of André Wechel between 1574 and 1581, in which dubious cases of attribution will be discussed.

Wechel became a citizen of Frankfurt on 23 December 1572 on payment of the sum of 8 florins 16 shillings, giving his profession as 'Buchführer'. According to Benzing (whose entry for Wechel is, however, not reliable)³ he bought 'das weisse Haus auf der Zeil' at the same time. From surviving records about him in 1573, we learn that he acted as host to Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet, and dispatched his wife to Paris to help clear up his affairs after his precipitate flight. He also bought a number of books of hours from Christophe Plantin in Antwerp in December 1573.⁴ In the following year, his daughters married two French expatriates, Claude de Marne and Jean Aubry, who were involved in the book trade in Prague and Vienna. Their activities were of considerable assistance in the revival of André's fortunes, and they became André's heirs in 1581.⁵ Also in 1574, he obtained a generous

² W.R. Lefanu, 'André Wechel', in: *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 21 (1966), 58–81; R.W.J. Evans: *The Wechel presses: humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627*, Oxford, 1975 (Past and Present Society, Supplement. 2). W.J. Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958.

³ *Frankfurt am Main, Bürgerbuch 1540–1585*, fol. 243: 'Andreas Wechel, Buchführer von Pariss ist frembdt zum Bürger angenommen worden. Iuravit den 23 Dezember anno [15]72 dedit 8 fl. 16 sch.'; Joseph Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982, s.v. Frankfurt am Main: Andreas Wechel. Benzing calls Wechel a Calvinist (on the evidence for this claim, see below, p. 171); he claims that he was son of Chrétien Wechel, whereas he was in fact the nephew (see Annie Parent, *Les métiers du livre à Paris au XVI^e siècle*. Geneva: Droz, 1974, pp. 160ff.). Wechel relates that he was in Paris during the St Bartholomew Day's massacre, whereas Benzing claims that he left before these events (see below, note 12); Joannes Obsopoeus states that he died on 1 November 1581, not, as Benzing claims, on 31 October (see below, note 7).

⁴ See Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and engraved book illustrations in sixteenth-century Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 439.

⁵ Lefanu, 'André Wechel', p. 70; [Rectification du contrat d'édition de la *Cosmographie Universelle* d'André Thévet], Paris, Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, 1xxiii.79; Paris, BN, MS Latin 8583 f. 225^v (letter of Théophile de Banos to Hubert Languet, dated Frankfurt, 25 September 1574); 'Monsieur, jay receu vos lettres dernieres avec double joye, dautant que d'icelles iay sceu que bien vous est, et que d'autre p[ar]t ne maies point en oubly. Il est vray que ieusse mieux aymé vostre presence delaquelle je masseure de jouir veu l'occasion du mariage des filles du sieur Vuechel, lesquelles ie scay que vous avies accusé de leur paresse mais particulièrement elles ont a ce coup

licence from Maximilian II to print and publish books which were given six years' protection unless they were on theological or historical subjects. This licence specified that he possessed excellent Greek typeface: it seems thus reasonable to infer from this that by 17 June 1574 he had recovered his printing materials from Paris.⁶ He may have begun to print on commission before the receipt of the licence: the names of both Sigismund Feyerabend of Frankfurt and Jean Mareschal of Heidelberg appear on title-pages in books in which André is named in a colophon or used ornaments which were unique to him (Bibliography, nos. 6, 17, 18, S2; 1, 1c; see also Appendix VII). Feyerabend was a shrewd publisher of legal books and Lutheran theology, from whose financial difficulties Wechel's heirs were to benefit in 1586, when they bought his house in the city.⁷ Mareschal was a Huguenot *marchand libraire* from Lyon with a house in Basle; he had taken refuge in Heidelberg during the reign of the Count Palatinate Frederick III, whose Calvinist sympathies brought many prominent scholars to the city, and ceased publication shortly after the accession of Ludwig IV who energetically reintroduced Lutheranism from 1577 onwards. He seems not to have printed on his own account after 1550, and to have developed his activities as a bookseller and publisher. He commissioned André to publish an edition of Clenardus's *Institutiones* in 1566; by 1576, and possibly before, he employed him again in the sphere of Calvinist

besoing de vostre adresse combien que leur maison en porte assez de soing: tant y a que leur jeunesse et peu d'experience requiere la consolation et instruction laquelle elles receurent de vous come de leur bon pere et amy.' It is possible that the 'consolation' to which Banos refers relates to the death of their mother, although on 5 October 1574 she is named as alive in a deed in Paris (see below, note 23). On the bookselling activities of Marne and Aubry and their involvement in humanist circles see Evans, *The Wechel Presses*, pp. 32ff.; Hubert Languet, *Epistolae politicae et historicae scriptae ad Philippum Sydnaeum*, Frankfurt Fitzer, 1633, xxv, p. 75; id., *Ad Joachimum Camerarium patrem et Joachimum Camerarium filium, medicum, scriptae epistolae*, ed. L. Camerarius, Groningen: Nicolai, 1646, II.xxvi, p. 225; Paris BN, MS Latin 8583 (hereafter MS 8583), ff. 100, 103, 150, 223; Béla Iványi, *A Magyar könyvkultúra múlt-jaból*, Szeged: Attila Tudomán-Yegytem, 1983, pp. 401f., 414ff. Aubry had been active in Vienna since June 1571, if not earlier.

⁶ A copy of the original of this impressorium may be found in Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Impressoria FZ 2, ff. 252–3. It is printed in full in Wechel's edition of Fernel's *Univerſa medicina* of 1574. Such a generous privilege would normally have been prohibitively expensive: see, for example, Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, ed. P.S. Allen and H.M. Allen, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924, no. 1344, pp. 232f. (Willibald Pirckheimer to Erasmus, 17 February 1523).

⁷ Evans, *The Wechel presses*, p. 4; H. Pallmann, *Sigmund Feyerabend, sein Leben und seine geschäftlichen Verbindungen*, Frankfurt: Völcker, 1881.

theology. Through him, André published works by the Huguenot exiled scholars François Du Jon and Daniel Toussain (*Bibliography*, nos. 7, 19, 37, 61, S3, S4, 112, 125). It is very likely on the evidence of typeface and ornaments as well as compositorial practice that he acted as his printer for works of polemical religious history and the consolation, celebration or congratulation of patrons, although this must remain to some degree speculative (see Appendix VII). André Wechel was a man who was scrupulous in complying with legal requirements, and he is not an obvious person to associate with clandestine publication. On the other hand, as a victim of religious persecution, he might have been motivated enough to make his presses available for such productions, and there is evidence that the printer of these works did what he could to disguise his identity.⁸

We learn from a letter written by Hubert Languet to Philip Sidney on 22 October 1577 that Wechel remarried on 18 November of that year, at the same time as the minister of the French Reformed Church of Frankfurt, Théophile de Banos, whose life of Ramus Wechel had published in the previous year. Languet specified that this was a love match, and that he could scarcely believe how strong love's hold over men of mature years could be.⁹ André's death took place—piously, according to Johannes Obsopoeus (Koch)—on 1 November 1581. It seems from other evidence (now lost) that he died, with other members of his household, from the plague.¹⁰ From these sparse details it is not easy to obtain a picture of André Wechel as a person, but such testimony as remains suggests that he was a careful, prudent but generous-minded and friendly man. In Paris, he had a real tennis court and allowed a visiting scholar's noble pupil to have a game there; he

⁸ On Mareschal, see Henri-Louis Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, Paris: F. de Nobele, 1964, xi.432–61.

⁹ Hubert Languet, *Epistolae ad Sydnaeum*, lxi (pp. 215–6), dated Frankfurt, 22 October 1577: 'Banosius et Wechelus nudiustertius facti sunt sponsi. Iam toti sunt in amore, quem non credebam tantum iuris habere in homines maturae iam aetatis, quantum iam video. Dies 18 proximi mensis dictus est eorum nuptiis, ad quas te invitant. Vide igitur ut accurras.'

¹⁰ Petrus Ramus, *In Ciceronis orationes et scripta non nulla, omnes quae hactenus haberi potuerunt praelectiones*, Frankfurt, heirs of André Wechel, 1582, *ijr–v ('Ioannes Obsopoeus candido lectori s.'): 'Verum cum jam prelo [praelectiones] committendae essent, subito luctuosa calamitas res nostras turbavit. Wechelo enim Cal Novembris pie mortem obeunte, ac generis eius, Claudio Marnaeo et Ioanne Aubrio, suarum rerum occupatione distentis et retardatis, prelorum cursus pene semestre inhibitus fuit.' See also ADB 41 (1896), p. 366.

was frequently mentioned with warmth by Languet's correspondents and in the prefaces to the books he published; his *facteur*, Denis Du Val, who took over his house, his presses and some of his printing materials after Wechel's flight in 1572, dedicated a book to him with a generous tribute; he was looked upon by the Imperial Book Commission as honest and assiduous in the fulfilment of his duties and legal obligations as publisher.¹¹ Most striking was his affinity with Germans, even before 1572. He fostered contacts both at the Frankfurt book fairs, and at home in Paris. To one visitor he was known by reputation as a publisher and host 'der die Teutschen lieb hatte'.¹² He may even have had family connections in Cologne, whence came his probable close relation Johann Wechel in 1581 to settle in Frankfurt.¹³ His welcome

¹¹ Simon Proxenus a Sudetis (Wirt), *Commentarii de itinere francogallico*, ed. Dano Martinikova. Budapest: Akad. Kiadó, 1979, p. 23: reference to the 'Sphaeristerium Andreae Wecheli'; see also pp. 19, 21, 22, 24f., 27, 47f., 54 f., 89f., for evidence of Wechel's activities and connections with Germany; MS 8582, ff. 68, 103, 129, 138, 236, 244; for examples of references to Wechel in prefaces, see bibliography, nos. 1, 3, 10, 11, 20, 23, 29, 118; Apomasar, *Des significations et euenemens des songes [...] tournée du grec en latin par Jean Leunclaius. Et mis de nouveau en François*. Paris: Denys Du Val, 1581, a ii-iv: 'Au seigneur André Wechel, mon compere, libraire et imprimeur excellent': 'Et d'autant que vous auez este le premier qui a trauaille à mettre [ce livre] en lumiere, et que ie n'ay rien fait qu'après vous, l'ay estime que c'estoit mon deuoir, de vous le dedier, afin que la louange en demeure à qui elle est due: joint les bons offices, dont vous auez toujours usé en mon endroit, lesquels ie n'ay voulu enseuelir sous silence.' On Wechel's compliance with the requirements of Vienna, see Evans, *The Wechel Presses*, p. 31.

¹² See Lucas Geizkofler und seine Selbstbiographie, ed. Adam Wolf, Vienna: Braumüller, 1873 p. 34; and Geneviève Guilleminot, 'Heurs et malheurs des jeunes voyageurs en France au XVI^e siècle' in *Voyager à la Renaissance. Actes du Colloque de Tours*, ed. Jean Céard and Jean-Claude Margolin, Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1987, pp. 179-91.

¹³ The relationship of Joannes Wechel to André is a matter of controversy. Joannes is 'frembdt zum Bürger angenommen' in Frankfurt on 27 January 1581, giving Cologne as his place of origin. As Evans points out (*The Wechel presses*, p. 3n), he has been said to be the son, the nephew and the cousin of André, and also to be no relation at all. The will of Chrétien Wechel, André's uncle whom he succeeded in the early 1550s, mentions another nephew Simeon 'tailleur d'histoires en bois demeurant à Cologne sur le Rhin' (see Annie Parent, *Les métiers du livre à Paris*, p. 162); conceivably, Simeon could be André's first cousin or brother, and Joannes his son. Philippe Renouard (*Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens*, ed. Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer and Brigitte Moreau, Paris: Minard, 1965, p. 435), following E. and E. Haag, *La France protestante*, Paris: Cherbuliez, 1846-59, s.v. makes Joannes a son of André (Haag has him marry a daughter of the printer Jérôme Drouart), but Mme Guilleminot-Chretien, who is preparing a bibliography of Chrétien and André Wechel at Paris, informs me that when André was forced to leave the capital in 1562 and entrusted his children to their grandmother, only daughters are mentioned. Investigation of the Cologne archives has proved fruitless. Dr. Deeters of the Historisches Archiv, who kindly scrutinized the records for me, informs me that protestant printer-publishers undoubtedly stayed some time in Cologne in the 1560s

to Germans seems to have been extended to the influential and less influential alike. Some were noblemen and scholars on the Central European version of the academic grand tour, such as Simon Proxenus (Wirt) and his tiresome pupil Julius Graf von Schlick, Ludwig Camerarius (Kammerer), Lorenz Zincgref, and Lucas Geizkofler; others were distinguished scholars and known patrons of letters, such as Johannes Wolf, Thomas Rhediger and Joachim Camerarius the Elder, with whom Wechel stayed in turn during his enforced absence from Paris in 1569.¹⁴ Of all these contacts, by far the most advantageous was Hubert Languet, the political agent of the Duke of Saxony, who seems to have been a frequent visitor to Paris during the 1560s, and who was sleeping in Wechel's house on the eve of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre.¹⁵ In a moving letter published as the dedication to Krantz's *Wandalia*, Wechel gratefully acknowledged Languet's assistance in his escape from Paris,¹⁶ but his debt to him was almost as great after his flight and his establishment at Frankfurt.

and 1570s, but they left no trace of their passage. Dr. W. Schmitz of the Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek also could find no trace of Wechel in archival or other material. The fact that protestant printer-publishers passed through Cologne is attested in the memoirs of Eustache Vignon (see *Palaestra typographica*, ed. J.-F. Gilmont, Aubel: Gason 1985, p. 184). The troubled history of the city in relation to protestants from Northern Europe is given in L. Ennen, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, Cologne: Schwann, 1863–1880, iv.756, v.805f., 834–836, 856–874. Joannes Wechel's printer's mark resembles that of André; on one occasion at least (his edition of Arnaldus Ossatus (d'Ossat), *Expositio in disputationem Jacobi Carpentarii de methodo*, published in 1582) he used the same mark as the heirs of André, a practice which provoked other printers of this time to act promptly against the usurper of the trade mark (see Ursula Baumeister, 'Gilles Beys, 1541/2–1595', in *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle: ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, vol. 3. Paris: Paris-Musées 1979, p. 312ff.). It seems that the heirs of André Wechel do act against Joannes at about this time (see Evans, *The Wechel presses*, loc. cit.).

¹⁴ See Lefanu, 'André Wechel', p. 68f.; Evans, *The Wechel presses*, pp. 23ff.; Wolf's preface to Albert Krantz: *Regnorum aquilonarum chronica*, Frankfurt: Wechel, 1575, (: iiiij); J.F.A. Gillet, *Crato von Krafftheim und seine Freunde*, Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1967, 1.77–86 and 326, ii.54–90. Also Sureau's dedicatory letter to Rhediger in Martin Du Bellay (Bellaius), *Commentarii de rebus gallicis*, Frankfurt: Wechel, 1574, a2–4. On Schlick see Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From humanism to the humanities*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986, pp. 151–153.

¹⁵ See Wechel's dedication of Krantz's *Wandalia* to Languet, Frankfurt, 1575, a iir. On Languet, see Henri Chevreul, *Etude sur le XVI^e siècle: Hubert Languet*, Paris: Potier, 1852.

¹⁶ See Languet, *Epistolae ad Sydnaeum*, xxxii, p. 101 (Weber); xxvi, p. 91 ('Cratoni Caesaris medico, veteri meo amico'); lix and lx, pp. 211–4 (Beale and Jordan); Evans, *The Wechel presses*, pp. 20ff. (Sambucus, Lewenklaue). On Crato and his connections see Gillet, *Crato von Krafftheim und seine Freunde*; MS 8583 f. 129 (Peucer).

Languet's network of contacts—some diplomats, some court officials, some scholars, most of them protestants of one or another hue—stretched throughout the German-speaking world and beyond, and he generously made accessible to Wechel the benefit of his acquaintance. When Wechel received his general licence to print and publish books in June 1574, it was signed by Joannes Baptista Weber, a contact of Languet; the first book to enjoy the protection of this licence—Jean Fernel's *Universa medicina*—carried a foreword addressed to Wechel by the Imperial doctor Joannes Crato von Krafftheim, another old friend, of Languet, promising help at court; Languet's scholarly friends—Joannes Sambucus, Robert Beale, Johannes Lewenklaue, Tomas Jordán, Caspar Peucer—all undertook to provide Wechel with copy, as does Crato von Krafftheim himself.¹⁷ Beyond these direct connections lay a broader circle of influential and scholarly men in Great Britain and throughout the German-speaking world: Philip Sidney, who stayed at Wechel's home with Languet in 1573 and was invited to his marriage in 1577; George Buchanan and his publisher Thomas Vautrollier; Robert Cambier, another London publisher; Hugo Blotius, the Imperial librarian, whose contacts extended throughout the Republic of Letters; François du Jon (Junius) and Daniel Toussain (Tossanus), French religious exiles living in the Palatinate, their Calvinist confederates such as Caspar Olevian (all three became Wechel authors), and their patrons, Frederick III Count Palatinate and Landgraf Wilhelm IV von Hessen-Kassel.¹⁸ As will be seen by a glance at the bibliography, a significant proportion of Wechel's publications stems from the activity of Languet's correspondents;

¹⁷ See Lefanu, 'André Wechel', pp. 68f., and above, note 6; I.D. McFarlane: *Buchanan*, London: Duckworth 1981, pp. 172f.; Languet, *Epistolae ad Sydnaeum*, lxvii, p. 241 (Cambier); Evans, *The Wechel presses*, p. 33, and Iosias Simlerus and Iohannes Iacobus Frisius, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta, primum a Conrado Gesnero: deinde in Epitomen redacta [...] per Iosiam Simlerum [...] amplificata per Johannem Iacobum Frisium ex instructissima Viennensi Austriae Imperatoria Bibliotheca*, Zürich: Froschauer, 1583, *6–8 (Sambucus and Beale named as well as Blotius); R.W.J. Evans, *The making of the Habsburg monarchy 1550–1700*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, pp. 22–37 and 39f. On Calvinist intellectual circles in general, see Menna Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism 1541–1715*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

¹⁸ See Evans, *The Wechel presses*, pp. 38ff.; F.W. Cuno, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*. Amsterdam: Scheffer and Co., 1891, pp. 75–9 and 298–303. Junius also acted as translator for Wechel of Jean Du Tillet (Tilius), *Commentarii et disquisitiones de rebus gallicis*, 1579, alias 'Lotarius Philoponus'; he dedicated this work to Languet, who speaks of it in the highest terms (*Epistolae ad Sydnaeum*, lxxi, p. 255, dated Frankfurt, 20 September 1578).

to many of these, Wechel also acted as host, money-changer, banker and postal agent.¹⁹

Wechel received further support from his proof-readers and editors: first Hugues Sureau, alias Du Rosier, who after a turbulent period of abjuration and counter-abjuration in the year following the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, settled in Frankfurt and translated a number of French texts into Latin for the German and Italian market before his death in 1575; then Friedrich Sylburg, who first collaborated with Wechel in 1577; finally Joannes Obsopoeus. Through the high academic standing of these latter two, Wechel acquired new authors such as Natale Conti (Comes).²⁰ Wechel himself seems prudently to have cultivated a number of Frankfurt Lutheran patricians, such as Kristoph zum Jungen and Johann Fichard.²¹ Through Johann Fichard, André came into contact with the prominent Rostock theologian and historian David Chytraeus—no friend of Calvinism, but someone who in 1580 expressed to Fichard his fulsome admiration of Wechel, 'that most famous publisher throughout nearly all Europe' for his accurate and elegant printing.²² Chytraeus was himself the foremost historian of

¹⁹ See MS 8583, ff. 68, 101, 103, 129, 138, 139, 215, 223, 236; Languet, *Ad Joachimum Camerarium epistolae*, I. xviii, p. 44, I. xxxi, p. 69, II. xxx, p. 237; Lefanu, 'André Wechel', p. 72; MS 8583 f. 238 (MS letter of Wechel to Languet about transfer of money and letters, dated Frankfurt, 14 September 1571).

²⁰ On Hugues Sureau see *La France protestante*, s. v. Sureau; also preliminary verses in Wechel editions: Fernel, *Universa medicina*, 1574; Bernardus Salignacus, *Tractatus arithmetici*, 1575; see also Philippus Lonicerus's tribute in *Arrestum sive placitum parlamenti Tholosani*, 1576, (:) 2–5. Sureau translated Du Bellay's *Commentarii de rebus gallicis* and the *Arrestum*. See also Natale Conti (Comes), *Mythologiae libri decem*, 1581, (?) 3^v (letter of Conti addressed to 'egregio ac praestantissimo viro D. Andreae Wechelo, amico meo carissimo'). The earliest known association of Sylburg with Wechel is 1577 (see Jean de Gorris (Gorraeus), *Definitiones medicae*, Frankfurt: Wechel, 1577, pp. 539–543). See also Cuno, *Junius*, p. 50; and Konrad Bursian, *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie*, Munich: Oldenbourg, 1883, p. 230. Wechel describes Obsopoeus in 1580 as 'corrector meus' (Nicolaus Clenardus, *Institutiones ac meditationes in Graecam linguam*, 1580, a1^v).

²¹ See the preface by Lonicerus to Saxe Grammaticus, *Danica historia*, 1576, aij–iij, and to the *Arrestum*, (:) 2–5.

²² David Chytraeus, *Epistolae*, ed. David Chytraeus filius, Hanau: typis Wechelianis, apud haeredes Ioannis Aubri, 1610, p. 911: (to Johannes Fichardus, dated 13 August 1580): 'specimen de pagellis epistolarum et aliarum narrationum ad te missis, elegantibus typis a celeberrimo totius fere Europae Typographo Andrea Wechelo diligenter et splendide expressum, de quo sumere ad Wechelum ipsum scribendi cogitabam, sed rectius tua commendatione accuratiore, aditum mihi ad ipsius amicitiam commodiorem prius patefieri iudicavi. Quod ut facies et pro aureo Rhenensi exempla libelli pagellarum editarum typographo emi, eaque Matthiae Rittero, qui statim per certum tabellarium ad me transmittere poterit, tradi cures, reverenter oro.'

Germany of his generation, and no doubt particularly appreciated the extensive publication of Albert Krantz's works, which he was himself to supplement, by Wechel; it may well be that Wechel's German reputation was founded in large part on the historical works he published.²³ The cultivation of powerful Lutheran patricians such as Fichard was no doubt wise, even during a period of relative tolerance in the Imperial city towards religious refugees from France and the Netherlands.²⁴ These refugees were in the main Calvinist, and it has often been assumed that Wechel was also. It is clear that he was suspected of reformed beliefs in France in 1562 and 1569, and he published material both for Lutherans such as Villegagnon and for Calvinists (the Geneva version of the New Testament in 1565).²⁵ One would have expected him, in his letter to Languet about his escape from France in 1572, to employ the usual Calvinist shibboleths about exile, persecution and the captivity of Babylon; but none of these appear. Instead there is an abundance of classical allusions, as might be expected from a humanist printer-publisher.²⁶ He seemed, however, to be very closely connected with Théophile de Banos, the minister of the French Reformed Church at Frankfurt, who financed the publication of Ramus's *Commentarii de religione Christiana* in 1576. Ong describes the religion of this text as 'mild Zwinglianism', although it seems to me to be both more radical and less precise than this in places. Whether or not this rationalized and irenic protestantism reflects Wechel's own beliefs, it remains clear that he became enmeshed with more committed Calvinist circles in the German-speaking world after 1572 and acted for them as publisher and distributor.²⁷

²³ On Chytraeus and his brother Nathan (a humanist, also professor at the University of Rostock, whose translation of della Casa was also published by Wechel: below, Bibliography, no. 76) see *David und Nathan Chytraeus: Humanismus im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, ed. Karl-Heinz Glaser and Stefan Rhein, Ubstadt-Weiher: Verlag Regionalkultur, 1993.

²⁴ See Matthias Meyn, *Die Reichstadt Frankfurt von dem Bürgeraufstand von 1612 bis 1614: Struktur und Krise*, Frankfurt: Kramer, 1980, pp. 228–233.

²⁵ See B.T. Chambers, *Bibliography of French bibles*, Geneva: Droz, 1983, pp. 355f., no. 360; Frank Lestringant, 'Tristes tropistes: Du Brésil à la France, une controverse à l'aube des guerres de religion' in: *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 202 (1985), 267–294, esp. 278f.; Denis Pallier, 'Les réponses Catholiques' in *Histoire de l'édition française*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and Jean-Pierre Vivet, Paris 1982–6, i.327–347.

²⁶ *Wandalia, Aai'* (references to *Aeneid* x.445–6 and 430) and Aa2^r (reference to Herodian, *Ab excessu divi Marci*, 4.4.5).

²⁷ See James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972, pp. 51, 288, 320f., 416f., 424; W.J. Ong, *Ramus, method and the decay of dialogue*,

The evidence that survives about his relations with France after 1572 suggests strongly that he considered his exile permanent and sought to disengage himself from all involvement with publishing ventures in Paris. On 22 January 1573, his wife acting as his proxy withdrew from a venture to publish André Thévet's *Cosmographie* jointly with Pierre L'Huillier and Guillaume Chaudière; on 5 October 1574, Denis Du Val, Wechel's successor in his house and printing shop, acted on his behalf in the execution of a will; he did so again on 8 June 1575 in a commercial transaction concerning a disputed shipment of books.²⁸ It seems that Du Val and Wechel remained in close contact throughout Wechel's lifetime, for on 4 October 1581, Du Val dedicated the French translation of Apomasar's *Apotelesmata* to his erstwhile master with a warm tribute to the many kind services performed by Wechel on his behalf. There is also evidence of *Tauschhandel* between Du Val and Wechel's heirs in 1584–5.²⁹ Of Wechel's authors in his Paris period, Ramus is best represented after 1572, as we shall see; Denis Lambin entrusted his commentary on Horace to Wechel in 1577; the heir of Jean de Gorris sent his father's revised *Definitiones medicae*, first published by André Wechel in 1564, to be printed in Frankfurt in 1578; Wechel himself reprinted (mainly in amended or translated versions) the medical works of Jean Fernel, his wife's uncle, French historical chronicles, Plutarch and Clenardus. But with the exception of Ramus, his list became predominantly Central European. There is some evidence that he kept a store of his Paris pre-1572 imprints in Frankfurt, but he did not advertize these at the book fair nor seek to reissue them. Those which appear in the later catalogues issued by his heirs are listed in appendix V; they consist in the main of pedagogical and medical works.³⁰

New York: Columbia University Press, 1974, pp. 5, 28, 302; above, note 15. It is also worthy of note here that Wechel published a work by Coras (Bibliography, no. 20) which Sureau translated into Latin for the German market. Coras was a victim of the anti-protestant events of 1572; Wechel probably felt unable to publish his serious jurisprudential works for fear of challenging the established publishers who specialized in law books, but produced the *Arrestum* as a mark of respect and solidarity.

²⁸ Paris, Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, lxxiii.80, f. 632 (5 October 1574); Act of 8 June 1575 between Galiot Du Pré and Jean Rabaiz, Mathurin Prevost and Denys Du Val 'agissant comme procureur d'André Wechel'. I am deeply grateful to M. Denis Pallier for having supplied me with these references.

²⁹ See above, note 8; and the books listed in Appendix V.

³⁰ See Bibliography, nos. 5, 54, 57, 80; for evidence of a book store, see Clenardus, *Institutiones ac meditationes in Graecam linguam*, a1^r ('aliquot adhuc postremae editionis exemplaria [sc. Clenardi Institutionum] prostant in meo bibliopolio').

We are able to gain a clearer insight into Wechel's remarkable recovery in Frankfurt from his precipitate and permanent flight by examining closely his involvement in the contest to become Ramus's principal posthumous publisher. This position was undoubtedly Wechel's during Ramus's lifetime, as even his rivals confess;³¹ but Ramus's death in 1572 and Wechel's enforced exile left a vacuum in the potentially lucrative sector of innovative schoolbooks which a number of publishers set out to fill. Three or so years earlier, Ramus as well as Wechel had been obliged for religious reasons to leave the French capital for some time: he had gone on a sort of academic lecture tour, during which he had sanctioned the publication of various of his works, including the *Dialectica*, and Talon's *Rhetorica*, at Basle in 1569.³² In the early part of 1572, he had extensively revised the editions of Basle, and had overseen their publication by Wechel at Paris; his last known letter, written to his disciple and biographer Johann Thomas Freige of Basle on 16 August 1572, informs his correspondent that he will shortly send him the new versions of his *Dialectica* and his various Grammars: a promise he was tragically unable to fulfil.³³

The publishing war which followed Ramus's death is instructive in various ways. It began with the 1573 edition in octavo of his *Ciceronianus* by Pietro Perna, the much respected humanist publisher of Basle. In a prefatory letter, Freige records how he urged Perna to republish this text 'for the use of scholars aspiring to great things' ('in utilitatem studiosorum ad magna quaedam aspirantium'); this exhortation was well received by Perna, whose 'desire to promote good learning is such that he has declared himself ready to publish other Ramus books in a series.'³⁴ Notable is the absence of any mention of pecuniary gain; and the fact that Freige was rector of the new Freiburg high school as he wrote this preface (to its founder), shows that he was well placed to ensure a good sale. In 1573 Wechel was powerless to react to this invasion into his publishing territory: but in 1574 he threw himself into a vigorous counterattack. Asked by a Frankfurt publisher and colleague, Sigismund Feyerabend, to print a school edition (in octavo)

³¹ See below, note 32. Ramus describes Wechel as 'typographus noster' in his letter to Joannes Thomas Freige of 16 August 1572 (see Ramus, *Ciceronianus*, Basle: Perna, 1573, A 6r).

³² On these revisions, see Ong, *Inventory*, pp. 87, 181.

³³ This letter is reprinted in Ramus, *Ciceronianus*, Basle: Perna, 1573, A6^v-7^r.

³⁴ *Ciceronianus*, A3^{r-v}: 'et qualis est in literis promovendis diligentia [Pernae], alios etiam Rami libros deinceps se editurum professus est.'

of Ramus's *Dialectica* some time around April 1574, he seems to have bought Feyerabend's interest from him, and published it under his own auspices after the receipt of his licence in June. This edition of the *Dialectica*, with notes by Wilhelm Roding of the Calvinist-controlled high school at Marburg prepared for 'studious youth' ('studiosa iuventus'), appears in the same year as the plain text printed by Albert Busius of Düsseldorf was advertized at the Frankfurt Book Fair, and the publication of Roland McIlwein's edition and translation of a corrected version of the 1572 *Dialectica* occurred in London.³⁵ This coincided with three editions with the Paris imprint: the *Rhetorica* by Denis Du Pré and a plaintext *Dialectica* and *Rhetorica* which purported to come from Wechel's presses in Paris.³⁶ There are serious problems in attributing these texts to Wechel, which will be discussed in appendix IV, and it would seem most likely that they were rather clumsy pirated editions produced outside France.

Freige meanwhile had not finished stirring up publishers in Switzerland. He organized an octavo edition of Ramus's earliest works—the *Dialecticae institutiones* and *Aristotelicae animadversiones*—which were printed at the presses of another famous Basle printer, Sebastian Henricpetri. They appeared in March 1575 prefaced by a letter by Freige addressed to Henricpetri with an unmistakable message: 'since we thought that these books would be of interest to Ramus scholars ('Rami studiosis') and profitable to read, we wished to send them to you, so that, just as once Bogard was, and now Wechel is to Ramus as publisher, so you might be, and might call him back to life by the

³⁵ Ong, *Inventory*, nos. 250, 251, and below, Bibliography nos. 6, 6a; Ong, *Inventory*, no. 255; B. Fabian (ed.), *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1564–1600*, Hildesheim and New York: Olms 1972–2001, ii.48. The Busius text preserved in the Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek, Cologne [pressmark P 5 353] is dated 1576; Ong, *Inventory*, nos. 252, 253; on the connection between Vautrollier and Wechel, see the MSS cited in note 28, above. McIlwein makes the claim that his edition corrects that of Wechel of 1572 in that he had discussed the text with Ramus himself a few days before his death and suggested some amendments (*Dialecticae libri duo*, London: Vautrollier, 1576, p. 9). A 1573 edition of the *Dialectica*, reproducing the 1572 Basle edition, appears in two states in Cologne (Ong, *Inventory*, nos. 248, 249), presumably for sale in North Germany and the Low Countries.

³⁶ Ong, *Inventory*, nos. 85, 86, 254. One might also mention the French translation of the *Rhetorica* published at Paris by Guillaume Auvray in 1576 (Ong, *Inventory*, no. 258), in which the printer tells the reader that 'si prens en gré ce Labeur, tu pourras auoir à l'aduenir chose plus grande de la mesme boutique' (a iv^r), indicating the uncertain reception of Ramus he anticipated from the French public.

reconstituting action of your presses ('tua typographica palingenesia').³⁷ Wechel answered this direct challenge with an octavo edition of the *Rhetorica* whose subtitle reads, 'to which is appended a letter, which impresses (commonefacit) on the reader the fact that the complete works of both these authors will shortly be published [by Wechel]'; this edition also came out in the early part of 1575.³⁸ In this letter, the publisher accused his colleagues of 'laying a scythe to his harvest' ('falcem in meam messem immittere') by illegal actions ('interversio') (he may have had in mind the 1574 'Paris' edition), which tempted him to go to law to protect his interests: he, after all, had invested endless patience, time and money in the production of Ramus's works; he had acted as midwife ('obstetrix') to the brainchildren of an author who was notorious for revising his works incessantly and radically, even at the proofs stage; he thus wished to see a fair return for his efforts, as well as desiring to benefit scholarship in general. Wechel declared that the most recent editions of Ramus were imperfect, out-of-date, or shoddily produced (including the Basle printings), and offers to publish any posthumously discovered manuscripts. This offer, which is repeated later by Perna, produced, as far as can be judged, only one new work for Wechel to print (the *Commentarii de religione Christiana*); some publication of the Nachlass of Ramus occurred also in Paris. In naming the principal Ramists working in France, Wechel contrived to get the forename of Nicolas Bergeron wrong (he calls him 'Petrus') indicating how far removed he was from contact with Parisian circles, and how little he was directly concerned with competition against the native French book trade in its own country.³⁹ Wechel's prefatory letter drew

³⁷ 'Quos libellos, cum Rami studiosis non ingratos lectu, certe non inutiles cognitu futuros existimarem, eos tibi communicare volui, ut quod olim Bogardus, hodie Vuchelus Ramo fuerunt et sunt: idem tu illi esse velis, et eum hac tua typographica palingenesia in vitam revoces.'

³⁸ 'Cui praefixa est epistola, quae lectorem de omnibus utriusque viri [viz. Rami et Talaei] propediem edendis commonefacit.' The letter is found on Aii and Aiii. The announcement is made again in Banos's edition of Ramus's *Commentarii de religione Christiani*, a7^v; see Evans, *The Wechel presses*, p. 17.

³⁹ *Rhetorica*, A2^{r-v}: 'gravissimam causam me habere arbitratus sum, cur alios falcem in meam messem immittere prohiberem. Neque enim mihi tam diuturnae possessionis intercessionem ferendam esse existimavi, quin illius retinendae interdicto agerem, eamque velut lege vindiciarum recuperarem. Qua sane causa etiamsi sola moveri me significarem, nihil absurdum (credo) facere videre, si quis typographicarum legum rationem habeat.' The claim that Wechel was midwife to Ramus's works ('ut quoscunque ille [Ramus] liberos velut liberos quoddam procreabat, ad eos edendos meam operam fidem ac diligentiam tamquam obstetricis munus obire iuberet') had been made by him

a swift reply from Perna, who produced a quarto volume of Talon's works for the autumn book fair in which he replies to Wechel in a witty and sarcastic manner: as well as burlesquing Wechel's images of harvests and midwives, he makes the more serious point by using a phrase from Ramus's logic and giving it a new sense that Ramus had written to make his knowledge available to all ('kata pantos') and that there can be no such thing as a monopoly in the Republic of Letters.⁴⁰ Basle's counterattack continues with a folio edition of Ramus's works (possibly the promised palingenesis) by Henricpetri which appeared in 1576, edited by Freige, and by editions of Ramus's commentaries on Cicero by Perna in 1575 and 1580,⁴¹ but it was overwhelmed by a massive and systematic onslaught by Wechel. He reproduced Roding's edition of the *Dialectica*, presumably bought from Feyerabend, in 1576, 1577, 1579 and 1580 (four more editions from the Wechel presses were to appear before 1591); he printed McIlwein's edition in 1579 and 1580 in amended form (which his heirs would go on publishing until 1605); he seems to have commissioned an edition by Piscator in 1580; his heirs even consented to publish the 1569 Basle edition which Wechel himself declared to be imperfect. By 1580, André Wechel was publishing three concurrent editions; by 1593, his heirs carried stocks of six different editions. A similar story can be told of the *Rhetorica*.⁴² Wechel was active also in other areas of Ramus publication, and in

in an earlier edition of the *Rhetorica* in 1567 (see Ong, *Inventory*, no. 78 n, pp. 99–101). He singles out the Basle editions of the *Grammatica Latina* for particular opprobrium. The group of Parisian scholars friendly to Ramus named by Wechel includes 'Petrus' Bergeronius, Losellus [Loisel], Amaldus Ossatus [d'Ossat] and Joannes Poetevinus (Poëtevin). See also Ong, *Ramus, method and the decay of dialogue*, p. 29.

⁴⁰ Talaeus, *Opera elegantioris methodicae philosophicae studiosis pernecessaria*, Basle: Perna, 1575, (3^r–4^r): 'In medio omnibus haec palma [the honour of publishing Ramus and Talon] posita est, nec cuiquam peculiariter aut praecipue ullo vel privilegio vel possessionis iure debita: aequae animo vel vincere, vel vinci volumus. Nullius hic propria messes, nullius propria praescriptio: communium rerum communis usus est, ex lege Ramea kata pantos' [...] 'Fuerunt alij Rameorum foetuum obstetrices, nihil enim id moramur, immo laudamus et gratias habemus, qui tam fideliter liberos tam elegantes, tam suaves educaverunt, nutrierunt, exhibuerunt, et ad adolescentiam perduxerint [...] obstetrices alii, inquam, fuerunt, eo quidem tempore cum recenti partu Ramei liberi in hanc lucem prodierunt: at nunc cum ab uberibus ablactati sunt, cum pubertatem attingerunt, cum miseri pupilli sine re, sine spe temere vagantur: nos tutores illis et curatores profitemur.' This edition of Talon's works was reissued in 1576 with a new titlepage, perhaps for redistribution at the spring book fair.

⁴¹ Ong, *Inventory*, nos. 490, 491.

⁴² Ibid., nos. 256, 261, 266, 269 (also 279, 291, 295, 325); 265, 267 (also 334, 380); 268, 283. For a similar configuration of editions of the *Rhetorica*, see nos. 89–139.

various prefatory notes declared himself repeatedly to be at the service of his customers, being willing to publish works in the form they required—whether singly, or in collected volumes—and showing a high degree of commercial flexibility.⁴³

It seems clear that Wechel was aiming at little short of a monopoly of Ramus publication by putting into practice the commercial principle: if a competitor produces an edition, do the same. This attempt at monopoly was targeted at the North and Central European market but excluded France;⁴⁴ it used the licence granted to Wechel to print philosophical books, but as that licence only protected new editions, it entailed in every case of a reprinting the claim that a better text was being produced—‘editio locupletior’, ‘recognita’, ‘in quibusdam locis emendata’, ‘castigata’, ‘cum commentario (novo)’, ‘tertia, quarta, quinta, sexta’, ‘postrema’. It also involves the shrewd use of weaknesses in other publishers’ licences, which were usually restricted to the geographical jurisdiction of the authorities awarding them.⁴⁵ Furthermore, though

⁴³ E.g. *In tres liberales artes*, Frankfurt: Wechel, 1581, Aa1^r, ‘Typographus lectori S’: ‘Cum inter alia formae commoditas, chartae nitor, typorum elegantia, et operarum diligentia praecipue libros commendare soleant nihil eorum in hisce P. Rami in tres liberales artes scholis recudendis praetermittendum statuimus. An vero id a nobis praestitum sit, aequo lectori ipso opere de se ipso testante iudicandum relinquimus. Certe priusquam dictae scholae prelis committerentur, accurate a vitiis typographicis fuerunt repurgatae. Deinde, ut multorum desideriis satisfaceret, et studiosorum tenuitati consuleretur, scholae singulae, Grammaticae, Rhetoricae, Dialecticae, suis titulis distinctae et tribus quasi libris seorsum excusae sunt: ita ut vel singulatim a quovis comparari et disiungi, vel omnes simul coemi et coniungi possint, pro cui usque commodo ac voluntate. Postremo, ne quid in hac editione merito desideraretur, peculiarem ac proprium singulis scholis quantumque ejus fieri potuit ac debuit largum et arctum Indicem subjecimus. Quod si nostrum studium et operam juvenus probaverit, in caeteris Rami scriptis et variis praelectionibus simili cura et diligentia propediem edendis et recudendis g[r]aviter elaborabimus.’ Wechel’s awareness of market conditions and readership demands is evident also in his other prefatory letters, to Krantzius’s *Wandalia* (1575); and to Talon’s *Rhetorica* of the same year, referred to above, note 34. See also below, note 57.

⁴⁴ The evidence from present locations of Ramus’s texts in French public libraries, and from the catalogues of confiscated libraries (mainly of religious houses) drawn up under the auspices of the Comité d’Instruction in the aftermath of the French Revolution, suggests a very weak penetration of German editions into France. For native French editions, see Ong, *Inventory*, no. 262; nos. 86, 91, 94, 96. See also below, notes 46 and 47.

⁴⁵ On privileges see Karl Schottenloher, ‘Die Druckprivilegien des 16. Jahrhunderts’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 23 (1933), 89–110; Albert Labarre, ‘Éditions et privilèges des héritiers d’André Wechel à Francfort et à Hanau, 1582–1627’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, (56)1970, 238–50; on Ramus’s *privilège*, see Ong, *Inventory*, no. 506; The claims for jurisdiction are sometimes far-fetched (e.g. the claim to the title of King of Jerusalem by Maximilian II and Rudolf II). See also Ian Maclean, ‘The market for scholarly books,

all the participants in this battle referred to a 'pure' or 'perfect' edition of Ramus's works, their palingenesis, this never came about: instead an interpretation boom occurred, as the Ramus plaintexts in their various states become charged with more and more textual apparatus. By the time of Beurhaus's edition of 1596, the eighty pages of Ramus's *Dialectica* had been swamped by 764 pages of notes and commentary. This cannot entirely be put down to the material and legal conditions of publishing, but these were certainly a factor in this act of exegetical hypertrophy.⁴⁶

Evidence of Wechel's determined and aggressive publishing policy can be found also in his dogged counter-publication of the works of Jean Fernel and Clenardus against editions produced in Geneva which presumably threatened his own markets; and his pursuit in foreign law courts of those who attempt to reprint his works, notably, again, in Geneva, where steps were taken with varying results to protect his editions of Toussain's *L'exercice de l'ame fidele* (1578) and Clenardus's *Institutiones ac meditationes in Graecam Linguam*. But at the same time, he was always scrupulous to explain why he himself republished the texts of others, and seems genuinely to have believed in a commercial ethic for the book trade.⁴⁷

1570–1630: the case of Ramus' in *New perspectives on Renaissance thought: essays in the history of science, education and philosophy in memory of Charles B. Schmitt*, ed. John Henry and Sarah Hutton, London: Duckworth, 1990, pp. 253–63.

⁴⁶ See Ong, *A Ramus and Talon inventory*, no. 345 (Friedrich Beurhaus, *Ad P. Rami Dialecticae praxin generalis introductio*, Cologne: Gosvinus Cholinus, 1596, 8vo, [16]+844+[2] pp. On the pedagogical and political context of such editions, see Howard Hotson, *Commonplace learning: Ramism and its German ramifications*, 1543–1630, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 101–26.

⁴⁷ That the same struggle occurs with Fernel's *Universa medicina* can be deduced from the Lyon imprints which match those of Wechel: Louis Cloquemin and Etienne Michel in 1574, Jacques Stoer of 1577. Clenardus's *Institutiones ac meditationes* were printed at Geneva in 1580 by Jeremie des Planches, financed by Jacques Chouet, and at Paris by Henry Le Bé and others in 1580–1. These editions are described in indignant and scathing terms by Wechel (*Institutiones*, a1^v), but he was unable to secure the suppression of the Geneva edition from the German authorities: see Louis Bakelents and René Hoven, *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Nicolas Clénard*, Verviers: Gason, 1981, nos. 248–72; H.J. Bremme, *Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zur Zeit der Glaubenskämpfe: Studien zur Genfer Druckgeschichte, 1565–1580*, Geneva: Droz, 1969, p. 149. Wechel had more luck with Daniel Toussain's (Tossanus) *Exercice de l'ame fidele* of 1578; in this case, the Genevan authorities upheld his rights as printer after the intervention of the author on his behalf (see Bremme, *Buchdrucker*, p. 88, who fails to identify printer and author). For an example of Wechel's scrupulous reference to previous editions, see his editions of Krantzius, *Wandalia* and *Saxonia*, in which he sets out his justification for republishing this text only two years after the Cologne edition from the presses of

André Wechel's commercial sense seems never to have left him; even while still in Paris and well established, he showed a shrewd awareness of developable market sectors (new vernacular poetry, for example),⁴⁸ and he on his arrival in Frankfurt he readjusted his publishing strategy to fit his new geographical and cultural situation. This reassessment seems also to have been hard-headed, even though it was expressed by Wechel in terms of 'service to the academic community';⁴⁹ a service which at times was required of him as repayment from those who had helped him in the past. Languet reported to Joachim Camerarius the Younger that he pleaded with Wechel to publish the Elder Camerarius's commentary and translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, but that Wechel had replied that it would not be in his commercial interests to do so, in spite of the fact that the publisher owed a great debt to both Languet and Camerarius. By the 26 April 1578, Wechel had repented, but only after further pressure from Languet. Nor is it infrequent to find references in prefaces of books published by Wechel to the efforts of persuasion which have had to be made to overcome the publisher's reluctance to publish.⁵⁰ These indications of caution may tell us something about the

the heirs of Johannes Quentel (eiiiij"). See also Paulus Manutius, *In Epistolas familiares Ciceronis Commentarii*, Frankfurt: Wechel, 1580, *1° ['typographus lectori S']: 'si qui forte mirabuntur quid me ad hos P. Manutii Commentarios edendos permoverit, sciant me non invidia lucrive cupiditate adductum esse, sed assiduis literatorum hominum per Germaniam efflagitationibus impulsam. Permulti enim hinc inde querebantur, Aldinam editionem nimio vendi pretio, ideoque a tenuioribus comparari non posse. Olim me, quum adhuc Parisiis essem, Galliae in bonis auctoribus edendis serviisse: nunc istud officii debere Germaniae, in quam e Gallia concesserim. Hancque editionem meam Aldo in Italia et vicinis regionibus non obfuturum, sed Germanorum duntaxat studiis profuturam: posse igitur volumen, in gratiam iuventutis, excudi forma et caractere minore, sic que fore portatile, et ad usum quotidianos magis aptum. Aldinam editionem nihilominus aditioribus emi posse, et in splendides inferre bibliothecas.'

⁴⁸ See Geneviève Guilleminot, 'André Wechel et la Pléiade (1555–1559)', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 17 (1980), 66–72.

⁴⁹ On expressions of desire to serve the academic community, see Wechel's preface to Krantzius, *Wandalia, Aaij* and note 41 above. In one of Wechel's own publications (the *Philosophicae Consolationes* of Sadoletus and Camerarius of 1577), the editor—Joachim Camerarius the Younger—expressed to his dedicatee some doubts as to Wechel's desire to serve scholarship, since the publisher seemed unwilling to publish the *Consolationes*, and furthermore was likely to let him down again over the matter of his father's Greek letters (pp. 5f.).

⁵⁰ *Epistolae ad Joachimum Camerarium*, II.xxii, p. 241 (5 December 1577): 'Ego diligenter egi cum Wechelo ut ederet commentarios clariss[imi] tui parentis in Ethica Aristotelis, sed parum profeci. Non sunt ei facultates quae antea fuerunt et dicit eiusmodi scripta jam esse minus vendibilia, eo quod Galli et Belgae nulla emant'; *ibid.*, II.xxxv, pp. 250f. (29 March 1578): 'Cum Wechelo egi, ut quandoquidem iudicabat non esse ex re sua scriptum clariss[imi] tui parentis excudere, illud tibi remitteret. Respondit

reasons for Wechel's eventual success. He seems not to have balanced the staples of his list with marginal or risky publication, as Robert Kingdon has argued to be the practice of contemporaries such as Christophe Plantin and Henri Estienne;⁵¹ rather, he seems to have wished to see in every book he himself financed a certain staple, or at the very least a product which would not lose money.

He seems also to have made a shrewd assessment of his market both in terms of its geographical limits and the nature of his purchaser. In doing this, he must have had to decide what place he could occupy in the existing market for scholarly books, and whether this market could be expanded in any way. We have seen that he goes to considerable length to defend his own territory in the case of Ramus, Fernel and Clenardus; he also invaded that occupied by others, and promoted the purchase of categories of books which seem not to have readily found purchasers in Germany before. He specifically identified Germany, England and Italy as his area of activity, and recognized that he stood little chance of penetrating the French market against competition from native printers and from Geneva.⁵² This failure to penetrate both France and the Low Countries (who seem to have been supplied by Cologne and Antwerp) is attested by a survey of French provincial libraries, which contain very few Frankfurt editions of Ramus.⁵³

se nihil magis cupere quam tibi et mihi in ea re gratificari, et petiit, ut adhuc quindecim dies ipsi concederemus ad deliberandum. Se enim obsequiturum nobis si videat suas rationes id ullo modo ferre posse. Si non possit praestare quod cupimus, librum statim remittet. Putavi id esse ei concedendum: nam typographiae hic feriantur totis quindecim diebus post mercatum. Typographi interea deliberant quid ferre recusant, quid valeat humeri, et operas conducunt'; *ibid.*, II.xxvi, p. 253 (26 April 1578); 'Tandem persuasimus Wechelo, ut clariss[imi] tui parentis commentarios suis typis exprimeret, ut videbis ex pagellis quas iam ad te mittit [...]'. See also Nicolaus Cisnerus in Krantzius, *Saxonia*, e iij^v; Wolf in Krantzius, *Metropolis*, (:) iij^v–iiij^v.

⁵¹ 'The business activities of printers Henri and François Estienne', in *Aspects de la propagande religieuse*, ed. G. Bertoud. Geneva: Droz, 1957, pp. 258–75.

⁵² See preface of Sureau to Du Bellay, *Commentarii de rebus gallicis*, a3–4; Languet, *Ad Joachimum Camerarium epistolae*, II.xxii, p. 241, quoted above, note 43; on zones of book distribution, see Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, selling and reading 1450–1550*, 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974, pp. 104ff.; and Pallmann, *Sigmund Feyerabend, sein Leben und seine geschäftlichen Verbindungen*, pp. 128–133.

⁵³ See above note 39. M. André Robinet of the Centre d'Histoire des sciences et des doctrines, C.N.R.S., Paris, has just undertaken a survey of all Ramus editions extant in French libraries.

Wechel did not attempt to invade the lucrative sector of legal publication (although his heirs made inroads into this area),⁵⁴ contenting himself with commissions to print on Feyerabend's behalf in this domain.⁵⁵ He was also willing to put his famous device on the title-page of other, small, commissions consisting of celebratory or consolatory verses, or expressions of sorrow about the state of Europe (Bibliography, nos. 38, S1, S6, S9, 126). The four main areas of activity in which he himself took the initiative were medical literature, historical chronicles, school books and Calvinist theology. He launched a number of French medical texts in the German-speaking world -Fernel, Gorris, Lepois—and published works by contacts of Crato von Krafftheim, such as Tomas Jordán and Antonius Schneeberger.⁵⁶ He also set out in an explicit and determined fashion to become known as a publisher of history books for the educated public of the German-speaking world, of Italy and of England. In a prefatory letter to Languet written in 1575, he declared that nothing was more agreeable and universally applicable to a broad range of readers ('plura lectorum genera')—theologians, jurists, doctors, philosophers; to serve these, he planned to publish neglected works which dealt with all parts of Europe, and engaged also in Latin translations of French vernacular historical chronicles: Du Bellay, Comines, Froissart, Seyssel and Du Tillet.⁵⁷ While it may be going too far to see in his historical publications an encyclopedic desire for total coverage,⁵⁸ there can be little doubt that he looked upon these books as a series (indicated by the already-hallowed formula 'rerum [germanicorum], [hispanicorum], [...] scriptores'), which vied directly with the activities of other local publishers in this area, notably Feyerabend.⁵⁹ The fact that he had successfully identified a profitable and extendable market sector is further suggested by the figures given by Schwetschke for declarations of 'libri historici' at the Frankfurt Book Fair between 1570 and 1590; and by the reprinting of works in this series at regular intervals.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Not, however, without offending against local susceptibilities: see Pallmann, *Feyerabend*, pp. 67ff. and Evans, *The Wechel presses*, p. 12.

⁵⁵ See below, Bibliography, nos. 17 and 18.

⁵⁶ See below, Bibliography, nos. 22, 83, 102.

⁵⁷ Wechel had already published Comines in Latin at Paris in 1561 and 1569.

⁵⁸ This claim is made by Evans, *The Wechel presses*, p. 11.

⁵⁹ See Alexander Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, Frankfurt: Selbstverlag, 1921, iii.16f.

⁶⁰ G. Schwetschke, *Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis*, Halle: Schwetschke, 1850–1877, shows that between 1570 and 1579 the average yearly advertisements of history books numbered 40; between 1580 and 1589, it was 45; between 1590 and

As we have seen, Wechel also expanded into the lucrative textbook market, specializing in Ramist publications and school and university classics such as Aristotle, Plutarch, Cicero and Virgil. Many of these books were destined for the Calvinist high schools at Marburg and Korbach, whence came also a number of his editors and authors: Roding, Salignac, Scribonius. This, with historical and medical books, accounts for a high percentage of his output. Of the rest, it is worth mentioning his commitment to publishing (although probably not financing) Calvinist theology: the Junius-Tremellius Bible, Toussain, Du Jon, Olevian. Thus, in relation to the publishing policy of his Paris days, he retained the interest in medicine, developed his involvement in pedagogical literature and historical books, avoided vernacular publishing in German (although he did publish one French vernacular book by Toussain) and allowed himself to become more clearly identified with an active confessional group. His potential purchasers form therefore both factional groups—Ramist schoolteachers and their pupils, Calvinists, the medical profession—and general readers of scholarly Latin; in all cases, Wechel correctly perceived the possibility of an expansion in the market.

For these clients he set himself the highest standards, on which he and his editors often commented in their prefaces.⁶¹ The quality of paper and typeface was high; very few books were produced without textual apparatus in the form of commentary, preface and index; errata are listed in nearly all publications; explanatory material is rarely discarded, but rather accumulated through successive editions. When the standard of an author's Latin was poor, Wechel added a fastidious note to make it clear that he had noticed the errors, and disclaimed responsibility for them (this he did in the case of Leonhard Gorecius's *Descriptio belli*

1599, it was 67. Krantzius's *Saxonia* and *Wandalia* were reprinted by Wechel in 1580; the *Regnorum Aquilonarium Chronica* of the same author in 1583; Comines and Froissart in 1584, Krantzius's *Metropolis* in 1590; Sigonius's *Historiae de regno Italiae* (in an expanded form) in 1591. Many others of Wechel's list (namely nos. 7, 20, 30, 37, 43, 57, 62–5, 76, 77, 80, 83, 88, 90, 100, 106 of the Bibliography) were also reprinted by his heirs.

⁶¹ For examples of congratulatory references to André Wechel in prefaces, see Krantzius, *Saxonia*, *Metropolis*, *Regnorum Aquilonarium Chronica*, Saxo Grammaticus, *Danica Historia*, Coras, *Arrestum parlamenti Tholosani*, Comes, *Mythologia* and Ramus, *Tres liberales artes*.

Iuoniae Voivodae Valachiae of 1578).⁶² These attentions shown to the reader were accompanied by indications of shrewd commercial practice; some books were designed to be bought in parts as well as complete; formats were chosen to appeal to the class of reader—octavo for the school and college, folio for the gentlemanly collector and library.⁶³ Reprints were frequently so scrupulously produced that they are difficult to distinguish from reissues.⁶⁴

By 1581, it seems that Wechel's recovery was complete, and his place in the Frankfurt market secure—secure enough to survive a complete shut-down of the presses for six months after his unexpected death. This recovery was due in no small part to influential patrons and friends, but it can also be ascribed to shrewd commercial practice. Wechel and his heirs perceived a place for themselves in an expanding market: as Schwetschke's figures show, it seems to have been able to absorb three times as many books in 1610–1620 as in 1570–1580 in nearly all sectors of the book trade. This upsurge of buying (or at the very least speculative publication) can be attributed a number of factors: the rise in numbers and intake of German universities; the growing social prestige attached to the possession of books; a changing educational book market; the value attached to the book as an object; the cosmopolitan character of the Latin book trade in the last phase of humanism. By virtue of this last factor, the French refugee André Wechel was, by the time of his death, subsumed into the international Latinate publisher Andreas Wechelus. He did not become so rich as to abandon his activity as hired printer, postal agent, bookseller and banker; he continued to exploit the connections afforded to him by his sons-in-law in Vienna and Prague;⁶⁵ but he clearly was able to invest more and more in the expansion of

⁶² On Gorecius's errors, see *Descriptio*, K 7: 'Gorecii, non nostra culpa, tam varia est in quibusdam nominibus, praesertim exoticis, scriptura et inflexio. Eidem, non nobis, tribuenda est deponentium pro passivis, activorum pro deponentibus usurpatio, transpositiones relativorum commatum inusitae, nominativi et accusativi pro ablativis absolute positi, similesque aliae syntaxeos et phraseos formae insolitae.'

⁶³ See Wechel's prefatory remarks to Manutius, *Commentarii in Ciceronis epistolas familiares*, quoted above, note 47; and his remarks in Ramus, *Tres liberales artes*, quoted above note 43.

⁶⁴ This is the case with Krantzius, *Saxonia* and *Wandalia*, editions of 1575–6 and 1580.

⁶⁵ On these activities, see also Rita Calderini-de Marchi, *Jacopo Corbinelli et les érudits français d'après la correspondance inédite Corbinelli-Pinelli (1566–1587)*, Milan: Hoepli, 1914, pp. 264, 271.

his business, which in 1574–1576 published and printed less than ten books annually, and by 1581 was producing twenty-five a year, many of which were major publishing undertakings. His recovery and progress is testimony therefore not only to patronage and to beneficial market conditions but also to shrewd management, adaptation to a changed commercial context, and clever exploitation of the cultural attitudes prevalent in his day.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ I should like to thank the following for their invaluable help and generous gifts of information and expertise in the preparation of this article: Mme Geneviève Guillemot-Chrétien, M. Denis Pallier, M. François Dupuigrenet-Desroussilles; Professor Peter Bayley, Dr. Neil Kenny and Mr. Timothy Farrant; M. Frank Lestringant. I should also like to express my deep gratitude to Miss Pat Lloyd without whose infinite patience, care and attention the typescript could not have been produced. I am indebted also to the Queen's College, Oxford, the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, and the Faculty of Modern Languages of the University of Oxford for generous assistance which has allowed me to consult books and documents in Paris, Vienna, Göttingen and Wolfenbüttel.

APPENDIX I:
THE 1579 MS CATALOGUE

This was sent to Vienna to satisfy the requirements of the Imperial Book Commission (see *Evans*: Wechel Presses, p. 31). It is preserved in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Bücherkommission im Reich, Kasten 1 Konvolut 4, f. 34, and is written in Wechel's own hand:

Catalogus Librorum Typographiae Andreae Weheli Francofurtensis
Jo. Fernellii Opera 8° 1574.
Bellai Commentaria de Rebus Gallicis 1574 Rami Dialectica 8°.
Alberti Krantzij Saxonia.
 Wandalia.
Plutarchus de liberorum institutione Graece 4°.
Krantzij Dania Suecia et Nortwegia.
Bibliorum pars prima.
Krantzij Metropolis.
Scaliger de Subtilitate contra Cardanum 8°
P. Ramus de Religione Christiana 8°
Grammatica Latina. Rami 8°
Expositio Symboli Apostolici per Oleuianum. Saxonis Grammatici Dania
Horatius Lambini
Jordanus de Peste 8°
Rebecca Frischlini
R. Gaguini Historia Francorum.
Aristotelis Physica Graeca 4°
Item Ethica Graece 4°
Item Politica Graece 4°
Talaey Rhetorica 8°
Phisica Scribonij 8°
Aristotelis Organum Graece. 4° Item Oeconomica
Fernelij opera folio
Item de Febribus 8°
Apomasaris Apotelesmata 8°
Rami Grammatica Graeca 8°
Philosophicae Consolationes 8°
Cratonis Oratio Funebris 8°
Cominaeus de rebus Galliae
Ramus in Georgica
Leonhardi Gorecij descriptio belli Iuoniae 8°
Clades Dantiscanorum
Definitiones Medicae Gorraej
Camerarius in Ethica Aristotelis 4°
Pars Tertia Bibliorum
Bibliorum pars Quarta
Libri Apocriphi
Rerum Sicularum Scriptores

J. Tillius de rebus Gallicis
 Ta1ei Rhetorica cum commento Scribonij Physica
 Hippocratis Aphorismi et prognostica Carmine redditi ab H. Ellingero
 Lexercice de Lame Fidelle

Of subsequent printed catalogues of the Wechel presses, those which survive are from 1594 (*Wecheliana officinae catalogus, secundum disciplinarum classes digestus*, 8°: Stadtbibliothek Mainz), 1602 (*Wecheliana officinae catalogus satis amplius, Secundum disciplinarum et facultatum classes digestus, nunc denuo revisus et recusus* (broadsheet): Staatsbibliothek Bamberg) and 1618 (*Catalogus librorum Wechelianorum, qui in officina libraria Danielis et Davidis Aubriorum ac Clementis Schleichij, Anno M.DC.XVIII. venales reperuntur, et partim hereditario jure ad ipsos transmissi, partim ipsorum sumptibus editi, aliundeve sunt comparati. Secundum materiarum et facultatum seriem digestus*, 4°: Bodleian Library Oxford). On these, see Gunter Richter, 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkatalogen in den Akten der Kaiserlichen Bücherkommission' in *Festschrift für Josef Benzing*, Wiesbaden: Pressler, 1964, pp. 317–72; id., *Verlegerplakate des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Wiesbaden: Pressler, 1965; id., 'Bibliographische Beiträge zur Geschichte buchhändlerischer Kataloge im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buches und seine Funktion in der Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Hans Widmann*, ed. Alfred Swierk. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1974, pp. 183–229, (in which is reproduced the broadsheet of 1602).

APPENDIX II:
COMPOSITORIAL PRACTICE

As has already been noted, the *typi Wecheliani* represent a very conservative attitude towards the retention of prefatory material in later editions of the same book: the letter of André Wechel of 1575 announcing an imminent edition of the complete works of Ramus—an edition which never appeared—continued to be printed in later editions of the *Rhetorica*, and is still found in that of 1593 (See Ong, *Inventory*, 112). Compositorial practices seem also to have been very conservative, and to be more consistent with French than with German usage. This is attested by the relevant entries in R.A. Sayce, *Compositorial practices and the localization of printed books, 1530–1800*, Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society Occasional Publications, 13, 1979, pp. 14 [preliminary signatures a e i o.u], 28 [number of leaves signed], 32 [leaf-catchwords]. It is not proposed here to give a complete account of the composition of Wechel imprints, but the following features are worthy of note:

- (i) Titlepage. As well as the customary title and name of author in descending scale of points, nearly all Wechel titles advertize scholarly apparatus—tables and indices—and prefatory material. In nearly every case they carry the Wechel device, but not all bear André's own distinctive addition to this, which appears only in larger formats.



The address of the imprint is either *Frankofurti ad Moenum* or *Frankofurti*: in nearly all cases it is capitalized in the same point, although there are instances of *FRANCOFVRTI* (nos. 13, 36, 45, 47). Both *FRANCOFVRTI* and *FRANCOFURTI* are found (instances of the latter in nos. 50, 91, 98, 101). In one or two cases *FRANCOFVRTI* occurs (20, 22). The formula 'typis Andreae Wecheli' appears only on books printed for another publisher (nos. 17, 18): otherwise 'Ex typographia' (nos. 5, 36), 'Ex officina typographia' (or *Typographia*) (nos. 12, 23, 29, 54) and 'Apud' (nos. 10, 11, 78, 79 generally on octavos but not on no. 6 a) are all found. It does not seem possible on the basis of these formulae to determine which books were financed by Wechel and which were not, although 'apud' is more likely to indicate financing by the publisher. After 'ex officina typographia' and 'apud', both 'Andreae Wecheli [*Andream Wechelum*]' (nos. 12, 54) and 'And. Wecheli [*Wechelum*]' (nos. 10, 23, 29) even 'A.' (no. 11) are found.

Absolutely without exception, Wechel writes and prints his name with a W, and never a VV (see MS 8385 f. 238; the MS catalogue of 1579). The date, in all examples I have seen, is printed as in Sayce V.I (p. 38) with a final stop: M.D.LXXII.; M.D.LXXV.; M.D.LXXVI.; (...) M.D. LXXIX.

- (ii) Signatures, etc.
 - (a) Preliminaries. A wide variety is used:
 - ã ë ï õ ù (nos. 7, 11, 29, 76)
 - * (nos. 15, 24)
 - αβγ (no. 46)
 -) (nos. 19, 57)
 - (:)(nos. 10, 20, 23)

In nearly all cases of octavos, the titlepage is [AI] and the signatures sequential.
 - (b) Numbering. 2°: 1–4; 4°: 1–3; 8°: 1–4. Both Roman and Arabic numeration is found. No points separate signature letter from number, but there is usually a space (a ij, a iij, a iiij; A 2, A 3, A 4, etc.).
 - (c) Sequence. A–Z Aa–Zz with the usual omissions.
 - (d) Pagination. Preliminaries in 2° and 4° are not usually numbered; pagination begins with A. In the majority of cases of 8°, pagination begins with the titlepage. Indices are not paginated. Page numbers are printed on the outer edges to allow for running heads.
 - (e) Catchwords. Leaf catchwords are habitually used.
- (iii) Initials and ornaments. Wechel uses three series of initials and a number of ornaments: but the initials are of a pattern which appears in the texts of other printers, including Jacques Du Puys and Henri Estienne. There is some indication that his stock of initials is not very large, because it seems not to be sufficient to allow certain very long and demanding texts to be printed consistently (see especially nos. 7, 19, 63). He has ornaments which bear his initials, and those which do not.
 - (g) Colophon. This is sometimes absent; sometimes present as a device and a text ('Francofurti [ad Moenum] excudebat Andreas Wechelus anno salutis...'). The reference 'anno salutis' had been used by Wechel since 1565 (Ong, *Inventory*, 242), and cannot be alleged as a sign of Calvinist piety. Some texts carry just the device as colophon (no. 61).
 - (h) V and U. There is a significant number of occurrences of 'U' in upper case: not only in FRANCOFURTI, (see above) but also in RAMUS, TALAEUS, TYPOGRAPHUS (nos. 26, 44, 50, 118) and in headings in the edition of the Junius-Tremellius Bible; SECUNDUS, TERTIUS, QUINTUS LIBER MOSCHIS (no. 7, pp. 109, 193, 248, 325).
 - (i) Reissues and reprints. The only indisputable cases of reissues are nos. 1a, 6a, 40a, 102a. There seems to have been some sort of crisis in 1580–81, as a number of texts are over stamped '1581' or have a different date in the colophon (nos. 87, 102a, 114, 126a). Because of the conservative nature of the press, it seems that reprints follow as

closely as possible the composition of the earlier edition, although in all cases errata recorded separately in the earlier printing are incorporated into the text.

- (j) Licence. The terms of the licence of 17 June 1574 explicitly exclude books on theology and history: 'opera medica Joannis Fernelij, ab authore correctata et locupletata, aliosque authores bonarum artium in Philosophia, medica, Juridicaque facultate per [Andream Wechelium] imprimendos (ad historicorum et Theologorum librorum vera editionem privilegio meo absque peculiari consensu uti non debet) privilegio meo donauimus.' In fact, Wechel invokes the licence only for medical books (nos. 3, 40, 57, 90), and for one pedagogical book (no. 80).

APPENDIX III:
PARIS IMPRINTS OF ANDRÉ WECHEL, 1573–1574

1573

1. PARÉ, Ambroise
Deux livres de chirurgie, 8°. Avec privilège du Roy [assigned to Paré for 10 years from 4 July 1572]. Q6^v has Wechel's device as a colophon. These two books follow the *Cinq livres de chirurgie* of 1572, also with a privilege assigned to Paré [for 9 years from 4 May 1568]: with both a device and a text ('A Paris de l'imprimerie de André Wechel') as a colophon: G4^{r-v}. Mme Geneviève Guillemot-Chrétien of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has compared these two books and confirms that they were both printed with the same typeface. See also Janet Doe: *A bibliography, 1545–1940, of the works of Ambroise Paré, 1510–1590*, Amsterdam: van Heusden, 1976, pp. 68–74. There seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of this book, which was probably almost ready for publication by late August 1572, before Wechel's flight.

1574

2. RAMUS [LA RAMÉE], Petrus
Dialecticae libri duo. Postrema editio post mortem auctoris, 8°. 'Cum privilegio Regis' (not given in text).
(Figs 1 and 2)
ONG254
 3. TALAEUS [TALON], Audomarus
Rhetorica e P. Rami Regii professoribus praelectoribus observata. Postrema editio post mortem auctoris, 8°. 'Cum privilegio Regis' (not given in text).
(Figs 3 and 4)
ONG85
- These two editions pose a considerable problem. As signs of authenticity, they display on their titlepages Wechel's device, and on the first page of text Wechel's monogrammed ornament. But there are also compelling reasons for believing them to be counterfeit Wechel editions:

- (i) Wechel, in his letter attached to Talaueus's *Rhetorica* of 1575, recognizes the editions of 1572 to be his, but refers to subsequent editions as pirated or forged: 'gravissimam...causam me habere arbitratus sum, cur alios falcem in meam messem immittere prohiberem. Neque enim mihi tam diuturnae possessionis interversionem ferendam esse existimavi [...] [anno 1572] Dialecticam recognitam, et velut suprema manu elaboratam dedimus. Quin et Talaei Rhetoricam eadem cura et fide emendaturn tunc emisimus [...] Has [...] sermocinales (quas vocant) artes paulo ante immanem illam lanienam dedimus, nunc a Rhetorica rursus edenda initium facimus' (*Rhetorica*, A 2–3).
- (ii) The *privilège* which covered Wechel's editions of Ramus up to 1572 was held by Ramus, not Wechel, and covered all works written or revised by him. It could not protect a posthumous edition.

- (iii) Although the 1574 texts follow the compositorial practice of the 1572 editions in many respects, there are significant divergences:
 - (a) The title of the *Rhetorica* is preceded by a vine leaf ornament (very rare in Wechel's output).
 - (b) The printer's name appears as 'VVechel' (never found in other genuine Wechel imprints).
 - (c) No other 8° edition of Wechel uses lower case u for capital V (although there are cases of upper case U for capital V).
 - (d) The date appears in Roman numerals (not used by Wechel between 1574 and 1581, although used by him in 1572).
- (iv) There are significant divergences in typeface:
 - (a) The Greek typeface used is not Garamond, and is not found elsewhere in Wechel publications.
 - (b) The initials in books 1 and 2 of *Dialectica* and *Rhetorica* are not found in any other Wechel publication.
- (v) The present location of known copies of these texts in Europe—London, Dublin, Cambridge for no. 2; Cambridge and Oxford for no. 3—does not suggest a French provenance, although not too much weight can be placed on such evidence.

It is possible but unlikely that Wechel authorized their printing. The balance of the evidence suggests counterfeit editions produced during the period when a number of publishers were striving to corner the Ramus market (see above, p. 173). It would seem likely that the printer in question did not possess an adequate quantity of type to set a text of this length: other examples of lower case u for upper case V are found in North European small presses [e.g. Zacharias Lehmann of Wittenberg, whose edition of Albertus Bolognnetus's *De lege jure et aequitate disputationes* of 1594, 8°, has as the heading of a2^r INDEX VOCuM ET SENTENTIARuM IN LIB. de Lege, Iure et Aequitate.

APPENDIX IV:
PARIS IMPRINTS IN WECHEL CATALOGUES 1594–1618

Later generations of Wechels (sons-in-law and grandchildren) include in their published catalogues references to editions printed at Paris: these may have been kept in stock by André Wechel at Frankfurt even before his flight, or may have come into the possession of the printing house through a process of exchange or debt settlement. The full list is as follows:

Catalogue of 1594

1. CORDAEUS [LA CORDE], Mauricius
In Hippocratis lib. 1 de morbis mulierum commentarius, 2°
[PBN has a Paris, Denys Du Val, 1585, edition]
2. FABER [DU FAUR], Petrus
Commentarius ad tit. De diversis regulis juris antiqui, 2°
[PBN has a Paris, Denys Du Val, 1585, edition]
3. JULIANUS
Opera quae extant omnia, 8°. Greek and Latin text. [PBN has Paris, Denys Du Val, 1583]. Part of this text (the *Misopogon* and *Epistolae*) was published by André Wechel in 1566: the composition of Wechel's *Misopogon* and *Epistolae* is identical to that of Du Val, who has however incorporated the *Errata* of Wechel's edition.

Catalogue of 1602

This contains 1–3 above as well as the following:

4. QUINTUS HORATIUS FABER [HORACE] *Epistolae*, ed. Claudius Minos (Mignault), 4°
[PBN has a Paris, Gilles Beys, 1584, edition]. According to Renouard, *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens*, iii.351–2, Denys Du Val shared this imprint. This is not given as 'Parisiis' in 1602, but is so recorded in 1618.
5. RAMUS [LA RAMÉE], Petrus and TALAEUS [TALON], Audomarus
Collectaneae orationes, praefationes et epistolae, 8° [PBN has Paris, Denys Du Val, 1577]
ONG 717

Catalogue of 1618

This contains 1–5 above as well as the following:

6. CHALMETEUS [CHAUMETTE], Antonius
Enchiridion chirurgicum externorum morborum remedia tum universalium tum particularia brevissime complectens [...] 8°
[Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine has a Paris, André Wechel, 1560, edition]
7. CLENARDUS [CLEYNAERTS], Nicolaus
Meditationes graecanicae in artem grammaticam, 8° [PBN has a Paris, André Wechel, 1572, edition]

8. DU PORT, Franciscus
De signis morborum libri quatuor [...] 8°
 [PBN has a Paris, Denys Du Val, 1585, edition]
 3a. JULIANUS
De caesaribus sermo, trans. Carolus Cantoclarus, 8° [part 3 of no. 3, above]
9. LUPANUS [LA LOUPE], Vincentus
Annotationes in AEL. Spartianum, Capitolinum, Lampridium [...] 8°
 [PBN has a Paris, André Wechel, 1560, edition]
10. VARENNIUS, Joannes
Peri prosodion libellus, 8°
 [PBN has a Paris, André Wechel, 1559, edition; and later editions in 1564 and 1566 are recorded in the fiches Renouard]. See R. Hoven, *Bibliographie de trois auteurs de grammaires grecques contemporains de Nicolas Clénard*, Aubel: Gason, 1985, nos. 26, 29, 33. Hoven also records an edition by Denys Du Val in 1576 (no. 35) calqued on Wechel's edition of 1564 (no. 29).

From this Nachlass, it would seem that a small residue of stock remained in Frankfurt from André Wechel's Paris days [nos. 6, 7, 9 and possibly 10], but that neither he nor his immediate heirs sought to advertise it; and that in 1583–5, Du Val either gave or exchanged a certain number of books to or with the heirs of Wechel [nos. 1–5, 8 and possibly 10]. As has already been noted, he acknowledged his debt to André Wechel, his former employer, in the prefatory letter to the French translation of Apomasar's *Apotelesmata* of 1581; he also used the sheets of part of Ramus's *Traitté des meurs et façons des anciens gaulois* (Paris André Wechel, 1559; reissued by Du Val in 1581). This is made clear by the appearance on N4^v of the Du Val text of Wechel's device. But the first gathering (A) had been reset, and certain typographical conventions altered. Both editions are in PBN. He seems also to have inherited from Wechel the special typeface needed for Ramus's *Grammaire*, published by Wechel in 1572 and, in a revised form, by Du Val in 1587 (PBN).

APPENDIX V:

FALSE OR ERRONEOUS ATTRIBUTIONS TO ANDRÉ WECHEL

- (i) In Georgius Draudius, *Bibliotheca Classica*, Frankfurt: Balthasar Oster, 1625:
1. Gabriel Falloppius, *Expositio in librum Hippocratis de vulneris capitis*, 'Frankfurt, Wechel, 1566, 4° [BL: Venice, 1566, 4°] (Draudius, p. 894) *Opuscula tria*, 'Frankfurt, Wechel, 1569, 4° [BL: Venice, 1569, 4°] (Draudius, p. 1003) *Expositio in Galeno de ossibus*, 'Frankfurt: Wechel, 1571, 4° [BL: Venice, 1570, 4°] (Draudius, p. 965) *De compositione medicamentorum*, 'Frankfurt, Wechel, 1571, 4° [NUC: Venice, 1570, 4°] (Draudius, p. 936)
Note: the source of this error is Joannes Clessius, *Unius seculi; eiusque virorum literatorum monumentis... ab anno dom. 1500 ad 1602 nundinarum autumnalium inclusive elenchus*, Frankfurt: Joannes Saur for Peter Kopff, 1602, p. 259, who confuses the above works with Falloppius's *Opera omnia* published by the heirs of André Wechel in 1584.
 2. Matthaeus Mathesilanus (Mattesillani) and others, *Singularia doctorum acta [...]*, 'Frankfurt, Wechel, 1570, 2° [Library of Advocates, Edinburgh: Lyon, 1579, 'tertia editio', 2°]
Note: Draudius gives a Lyon, 1570, 2°, edition: OB has an edition by the heirs of André Wechel in 1596, 2°, which is probably the source of the confusion.
 3. Plutarch, *Opera ethica*, ed. Hermannus Cruserus 'Frankfurt, Wechel, 1580, 2° [BL: Frankfurt, apud Georgum Corvinum impensis Sigismundi Feyrabendi, 1580, 2°] (Draudius, p. 1207)
Note: the heirs of André Wechel produce an *Opera omnia* in 1599, 2°, which may be the source of the confusion.
 4. Henricus Stephanus [Estienne], *Paralipomena grammaticarum Graecae linguae institutionis* [1581, 8°] *Nizoliodidascalus* [1578, 8°] *Expostulatio de latinitate falsa suspecta* [1576, 8°] *Hypomneses de Gallica lingua* [1581, 8°] *Admonitio de abusu linguae Graecae* [1576, 8°] *Pseudo-Cicero dialogus* [1577, 8°] *In Ciceronis locos castigationes* [1579, 8°] (Draudius, p. 1384)
Note: Draudius attributes all of these to Wechel at Frankfurt; the PBN Catalogue attributes all of these publications to Estienne himself at Geneva. Clessius (p. 451) also attributes them to Wechel: it is possible that he acted as Estienne's agent for the sale of these books.
- (ii) In Ferdinand Buisson, *Répertoire des ouvrages pédagogiques du XVI^e siècle*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886:
5. Nicolaus Hemmingus, *Dragmata locorum tam rhetoricorum quam dialecticorum*, 'Paris, Wechel, 1580, 4° (Buisson, p. 355)

Note: Buisson locates this work in the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris; it is listed there s. v. Christophorus Hegendorphinus [Hegendorff] as the second part of his *Methodus conscribendi epistolas*, Paris, Denis Du Pré, 1580, 4°, but this second part is missing from the copy (press mark 11343).

- (iii) In Peter G. Bietenholz, *Basle and France in the sixteenth century*, Geneva: Droz, 1971:

6. Etienne de Malescot, *Iuris divini ac verae theologiae... catechesis*, Basle, apud Jacobum Parcum, 1567, 8° [fictitious imprint? Frankfurt?, A Wechel?] [no. 4017, p. 353]

Note: Bietenholz adds in a footnote that two other anonymous or pseudonymous works—John Poynt, *Diallaction, cest a dire reconcilcatoire*, trans. Etienne de Malescot, 1566 and Annibal d'Auverne, [?Etienne de Malescot], *Censure des erreurs de M. Charles Du Moulin*, 1566—may also be attributed to Wechel. This attribution seems highly improbable for the following reasons:

- (i) Wechel is not known to have produced any unacknowledged printed texts before 1576, and, as has been noted above, seems scrupulously careful to remain inside the law.
- (ii) While it is true that the printing materials used are similar to those of Wechel, there is no distinguishing feature (such as his monogram ornament or his initials), and at least two other printers suspected of protestant sympathies—Henri Estienne and Jacques Du Puys—possessed similar typeface.

All these works are to be found in PBN.

- (iv) In Hubert Elie, 'Chrétien Wechel, imprimeur à Paris', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 40 (1954), 181–197.

7. Philippe Mornay (Duplessis-Mornay), *Traicte de l'Eglise*, 'Frankfurt, Wechel, 1581' [PBN: Frankfurt, haeredes Andreae Wecheli, 1582, 8°]

Note: A 79 declares a 16° edition without imprint: the first edition is by Thomas Vautrollier (London, 1578, 8°; PBN). RE follows Elie in this error. Cuno, *Junius*, p. 189 (referring to A. Sayous, *Etudes littéraires sur les écrivains français de la Réformation*, 2nd ed. Paris: Charbuliez, 1854, p. 177) states that the 16° edition of 1579 was printed in Geneva.

APPENDIX VI:
LETTERS AND PREFACES WRITTEN BY ANDRÉ WECHEL, 1571–1581

1. MS Letter to Hubert Languet: dated Frankfurt, 14 September 1571 [PBN MS Latin 8583, f. 238] [concerning transfer of letters and exchange rates].
2. Prefatory letter to Talaëus, *Rhetorica*, 1575 (no. 16): dated Frankfurt, 3 March 1575 [on forthcoming edition of complete works of Ramus, and Wechel's claim to be his appointed publisher].
3. Prefatory letter to Krantzius, *Wandalia*, 1575 (no. 12): addressed to Hubert Languet, dated March 1575 [on Wechel's escape from Paris with Languet's help, and on his plans to publish a series of historical annals for consumption in the German-speaking world].
4. Closing note to Gorecius, *Descriptio belli*, 1578 (no. 56): [expressing his distaste for bad Latin].
5. Note to the reader in Comminaeus et al., *Tres gallicarum rerum scriptores*, 1578 (no. 54) [on the coherence of the three texts].
6. Preface to *Rerum hispanicarum scriptores*, 1579 (no. 70): [on his historical series].
7. Note to the reader in Manutius, *In Ciceronem commentarius*, 1580 (no. 78): [on motives for reprinting Manutius, envisaged readership and choice of format].
8. Note to the reader in Clenardus, *Institutiones*, 1580 (no. 80): [on unfair competition from inferior pirated editions].
9. Note to the reader in Ramus, *Scholae in tres primas liberales artes*, 1581 (no. 118): [on envisaged readership, choice of format and presentation in three parts].

APPENDIX VII:
ENTRIES IN VD16 WHICH ARE PROBABLE WECHEL EDITIONS

All of the works listed below were produced for Jean Mareschal with an imprint naming Heidelberg as the place of publication. As Baudrier (*Bibliographie lyonnaise*, xi.432–61) makes clear, Mareschal did not print on his own behalf after 1550. Eugénie Droz's identification of him as the publisher of [Théodore de Bèze's] *Du droit des magistrats* [n.p., 1574, 8°: VD16 4783] depends on her view that this work was produced by the same printer as Jean de Léry's *De Sacrocaesarei (quod Sancerrum vocant) obsidione, fame, et deditione historia* (below, no. 3: see her 'Fausses adresses bibliographiques', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 23 (1961), 380–6, and Robert M. Kingdon's introduction to his edition of *Du droit des magistrats*, Geneva: Droz, 1970, xxx, xxxiv). It certainly seems as though the printer wished to remain anonymous, as he left a space for an initial I, possibly fearing that had he included it, it would have allowed his presses to be identified. The compositorial practice is not however consistent in a number of features with that of the book by Léry and the practice of Wechel (no use of running head, placing of page numbering centrally, gatherings in four, not in eight); it is however consistent with the polemical unacknowledged Geneva publications of Jean Berjon for Jean Lertout, such as [Innocent Gentillet's] *Remonstrance au roy [...] sur le fait des deux Edicts de sa Maiesté donnez à Lyon, 'A Francfort, 1574', 8°*. All the compositorial practices, typeface, initial letter and ornaments of the works listed below are consistent with those of Wechel. The *antiqua* type is very common (it is also used by another Heidelberg printer, Johann Mayer, when printing for Matthaeus Harnisch at this time), but there is a variation in one capital (*M*) which does not appear in these works. I have not inspected copies of nos. 6 and 7.

1. [BEZE, Théodore de]
De iure magistratuum in subditos et officio subitorum erga magistratus. 8°. '[Heidelberg] apud Iohannem Mareschallum'. 1576. A Latin version of *Du droit des magistrats sur leur suiets*.
VD16 ZV 11171 HAB Identified in VD16 as a Wechel printing by Ulrich Kopp of the Herzog-August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.
2. RODING, Wilhelm
Oratio [...] ad Ioannem Casimirum [...] Comitem Palatinum. 4°. 'Heidelbergae, apud Ioannem Mareschallum'. 1576
VD16 R 2714 HAB The same bandeau showing signs of the same slight damage on A2^r as in Frischlin, *Rebecca*, Aij^r (no. 21, below).
3. [LÉRY, Jean de]
De Sacrocaesarei (quod Sancerrum vocant) obsidione, fame, et deditione historia. 8°. 'Heidelbergae, apud Ioannem Mareschallum.' 1576.
VD16 S 1236 HAB The same same ornament showing signs of the same damage on p. 4 as in Ramus, *Commentarii de religione Christiana*, p. 95 (no. 28, below).

4. BOUQUIN, Pierre
Oratio de vita et morte [...] Friderici III Comitis Palatinae. 4° '[Heidelberg], apud Ioannem Mareschallum'. 1576. Other contributors include the following authors with Wechel connections: Simon Sten, Friedrich Sylburg, Immanuel Tremellius, François Du Jon.
 VD 16 B 6839.
5. RODING, Wilhelm,
Oratio funebris in laudem Friderici Pii [...] Comitis Palatini. 4° '[Heidelberg] apud Ioannem Mareschallum'. 1577. Dr Cristina Neagu has kindly sent me images of the copy of this text in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, which unfortunately lacks the titlepage and first page of text.
 VD16 R 2715
6. TOSSANUS, [TOUSSAIN], Daniel
Exhortation chrestienne faite à Heidelberg sur le trepas du [...] Prince Frideric Comte Palatin. 8° '[Heidelberg], par Iehan Mareschal'. 1577. There is a German version (*Leichpredigt, so zur Begräbnis des durchlauchtigsten hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn Friedrichen [...]*) which Wechel would almost certainly not have printed; there is no record of his possessing fraktur type.
 VD16 ZV 24282
7. [BEZE, Théodore de]
De iure magistratuum in subditos et officio subitorum erga magistratus. 8°. '[Heidelberg] apud Iohannem Mareschallum.' 1580.
 BL not in VD16 See above, no. 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WECHEL EDITIONS, 1574–1582

This is intended as a short-title catalogue; where the prefatory material is of some historical interest, this has been indicated. Locations have been given wherever possible, except in the case of works by Ramus and Aristotle, for which Ong and Cranz-Schmitt provide locations; but as these works survive in the most part in great numbers, the locations given are in no sense exhaustive. An italicized location indicates that I have seen the copy of the work in question preserved at the library specified. Reissues are given as 1a, 6a etc. This catalogue includes a supplementary list derived from the electronic resource: *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachgebiet erschienenen Bücher des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, <http://www.vd16.de>, hereafter VD16. These supplementary entries are numbered 'S1' 'S2' [...]. In all cases, the VD16 reference number is given.

The following abbreviations are used:

- A74, A75... *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus autumnalibus de anno...*
- AB Aberdeen University Library
- AD H.M. Adams, *Catalogue of books printed on the continent of Europe 1501–1600 in Cambridge libraries*, 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.
- BL London, British Library
- C79 André Wechel's MS *Catalogus librorum typographiae Andreae Wecheli* of 1579
- C94 *Wecheliana officinae catalogus*, 1594
- CS F.E. Cranz, *A bibliography of Aristotle editions 1501–1600*, 2nd ed. with addenda and revisions by C.B. Schmitt. Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1984.
- CUL Cambridge University Library
- DM T.H. Darlow and H.P. Moule, *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. 4 vols. London: The Bible Society, 1903–1911.
- ED Edinburgh, University Library
- GO Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
- HAB Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek
- NLS National Library of Scotland
- NUC United States of America, National Union Catalog, pre-1956 Imprints
- NYPL New York Public Library: *The imprint catalog in the rare book division*, Boston: G.K. Hall, 1979.
- OB Oxford, Bodleian Library
- OBR Oxford, Brasenose College Library,
- OE Oxford, Exeter College Library
- OM Oxford, Merton College Library

- ONG W.J. Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- OQ Oxford, The Queen's College Library
- OSJ Oxford, St. John's College Library
- OW Oxford, Worcester College Library
- PBN Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
- RE R.J.W. Evans, *The Wechel presses*, Oxford 1975 (*Past and present* Supplement 2) 1975, Appendix
- S74, 75... *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus de anno...*
- VD16 *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachgebiet erschienenen Bücher des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, electronic resource: <http://www.vd16.de>

1574

1. BELLAIUS [DU BELLAY], Martinus *Commentarii de rebus gallicis*. 2°. [presumed first state] trans. Hugo Suræus [Sureau, alias Du Rosier] Latin text (from French). Dedicated by Sureau to Thomas Rhediger of Breslau (dated Frankfurt, 31 August 1574) 'Francofurti, apud Iohannem Mare-schallum, M.D.LXXIII' (colophon O6v: 'excudebat Andreas Wechelus, anno salutis M.D. LXXIII.' French editions in 1569, 1572 and 1573 (Paris, Pierre l'Huillier). A shared edition.
VD16 D 2811
- 1a. BELLAIUS [DU BELLAY], Martinus *Commentarii de rebus gallicis*. 2°. [second state] trans. Hugo Suræus [Sureau, alias Du Rosier] Latin text (from French). Dedicated by Sureau to Thomas Rhediger of Breslau (dated Frankfurt, 31 August 1574) 'Francofurti, apud Andream Wechelum, M.D. LXXIII.'
A 74; C 79; (RE 4) VD16 D 2813
ED OB PBN NUC ('1573')
2. FERNELIUS [FERNEL], Joannes *De abditis rerum causis*. 8°. Earlier editions by Chrétien Wechel (Paris, 1548, 2°) and André Wechel (Paris, 1560, 8°). Fernel was André's wife's uncle and guardian (see A. Parent, *Les métiers du livre à Paris au XVI^e siècle*, Geneva: Droz, 1974, pp. 193f.); Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens*, Paris: Minard, 1965, p. 435 misrecords her maiden name as Frenot, as does Lefanu. This work is often presented as the appendix to the *Universa medicina*.
A 74; C 79; RE2 [VD16 769: given as appendix to 3, below]
PBN
3. —*Universa medicina* [viz: *physiologia; pathologia; therapeutice*] ed. Guilielmus Plantius *editio tertia*. 8°. Dedicated by Joannes Crato von Krafftheim to André Wechel (dated Vienna 1 July 1574). Specified in Wechel's general privilege from Maximilian II of 17 June 1574, and probably Wechel's first publication at Frankfurt. Earlier editions by André Wechel at Paris in 1554 (2°) and 1567 (2°). There is an edition of Fernel's *Therapeutice* by Louis Cloquemin and

Etienne Michel at Lyon, also in 1574, 8°, with a different pagination (see below, no. 25): on Cloquemin, see H.-L. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, iv.39–61 (esp. 48); on Michel, see Maclean, ‘Murder, debt, and retribution in the Italic-Franco-Spanish book trade’ below, pp. 227–50.

A74; C79; RE2 VD16 769

PBN AD

4. HAGECIUS AB HAYCK [HAJEK], Thaddaeus *Dialexis de novae et prius incognitae stellae apparitione*. 4°.

Epistola dated 4 March 1574; A–X⁴ first section (X⁴ marked FINIS); pp. 169–76 (y⁴) seems to be a late addition, and contains a letter from Cornelius Gemma to Hajek dated Louvain, 19 July 1574. Titlepage bears the device of Sigmund Feyerabend and the imprint ‘Francofurti ad Moenum M.D.LXXIII’. (see below, no. 6) Initials, typeface and ornaments are all congruent with those used for Wechel’s edition of Serlius (below, no. 14); two initials have blemishes which correspond (Serlius p. 4 D = Hajek p. 86; Serlius p. 28 I = Hajek p. 84). Feyerabend also uses Bassaeus and Corvinus as printers at this time, but their printing materials are quite different. See below no. 17, and Hartmann Schopperus, *De omnibus illiberalibus sive mechanicis artibus* Frankfurt, 1574, 8° [apud Georgium Corvinum impensis... Sigismundi Feyerabent]. Andre Wechel’s heirs subsequently publish Hajek’s *Aphorismorum metosopcorum libellus unus* (1584, 8°). A74 VD16 239 (attributed to another printer: Paul Refeller)

PBN HAB AD NUC

5. PLUTARCH *De liberorum institutione*. 4°. Greek text.

Preface of Philip Melanchthon to ‘iuventus Wittenbergensis’ dated March 1519. Earlier editions by André Wechel at Paris in 1556, 1559 and 1569. A74; RE 3 not in VD16

BL

6. RAMUS [LA RAMEE], Petrus *Dialecticae libri duo, ex variis ipsius disputationibus et multis Audomari Talaei commentariis, breviter explicati a Guilelmo Rodingo Marpurgensi*. 8°.

[first state] Letter of Roding to Feyerabend [sic] on verso of titlepage dated 17 April 1574. Titlepage bears the device of Sigmund Feyerabend and imprint ‘Francofurti ad Moenum M.D.LXXIII’. G7^v has colophon ‘Francofurti excudebat Andreas Wechelus M.D.LXXIII’, and is misnumbered p. 100 (for 110). Dedicated by Roding to Ludwig Abbot of Hirsfeld. Not announced in A 74, although a plaintext is declared by Albert Busius of Düsseldorf (a 1576 copy with this imprint is in the Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Cologne). It seems clear that this precedes 6a from internal evidence, and from the date of Wechel’s imperial licence (June 1574).

(Figs 5, 6 and 7)

ONG 251 VD16 ZV 9412

OW

- 6a. —*Dialecticae libri duo, ex variis ipsius disputationibus et multis Audomari Talaei commentariis, breviter explicati a Guilelmo Rodingo Marpurgensi*. 8°. [second state]

No letter from Roding to Feyerabend on Al^v. Titlepage bears the device of André Wechel, and the imprint 'Francofurti ex typographia Andreae Wecheli, M.D.LXXIII'. Same colophon on G7^v, still misnumbered p. 100 (for 110). A reissue.

ONG 250 VD16 [ZV 9412]

(Fig. 8)

Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek

1575

- 1c. BELLAIUS [DU BELLAY], Martinus *Commentarii de rebus gallicis*. 2°
Reissue of 1, with new date on titlepage.
VD16 ZV 4787
- 1d. BELLAIUS [DU BELLAY], Martinus *Commentarii de rebus gallicis*. 2°
Reissue of 1a, with new date on titlepage. Colophon as 1.
RE 4
HAB VD16 D 2813
7. —*Biblia sacra*.
Ed. Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius [Du Jon] Part 1: 'quinque libri Moschis'. 2°. Latin text (from Hebrew). Dedicated by the editors to Frederick III, Count Palatinate (no date).
A 75 C 79 RE 13 DM 6165 not in VD 16
OE
8. FERNELIUS [FERNEL], Joannes *De abditis rerum causis*. 8°.
See above, no. 2. A reprint, not advertized in S 75 or A 75.
RE 5 [VD 16 770]
PBN AB
9. —*Universa medicina, editio tertia*. 8°. Ed. Guilielmus Plantius.
See above, no. 3. A reprint: GG7^r has colophon 'Francofurti excudebat Andreas Wechelus anno salutis M.D.XXV'. Not advertized in S 75 or A 75.
RE 5 VD16 F 770; ZV 20853 lists the section entitled *Therapeutice universalis* separately.
AB PBN OB (both *Therapeutice* only)
10. KRANTZIUS [KRANTZ], Albertus *Regnorum aquilonarium, Daniae, Sueciae, Norvagiae, Chronica*. 2°.
Dedicated by Joannes Wolf to Ludwig Duke of Württemberg (dated Mundelsheim, 1575). Part of a series entitled *Rerum germanicarum historici clarissimi*.
A75 C 79 RE 6 VD16 ZV 9196
OQ PBN AD
11. —*Saxonia. Denuo, et quidem accuratius emendatiusque quam ante, edita*. 2°.
Dedicated to the 'Consules et Senatores Reipublicae Hamburgensis' by Nicolaus Cisnerus (dated Speyer, 1 March 1575). Part of a series entitled *Rerum germanicarum historici clarissimi*. In A 74 an edition by C. Gale-num and the haeredes Quentelii (Cologne, 8°) was announced, to which the preface makes reference
(e iiij^v).

S 75 C 79 RE 7 VD16 K 2259

OQ PBN AD

12. — *Wandalia: adiecta est appendicis instar polonici regni et Prussiae descriptio*. 2°.

Dedicated by André Wechel to Hubert Languet (March 1575). Part of a series entitled *Rerum germanicarum historici clarissimi*. Signatures begin Aa. Separate title and signatures for appendix: *Poloniae, gentisque et rei publicae descriptio*.

S 75 C79 RE 8 VD16 K 2267

OQ PBN AD

13. SALIGNACUS [SALIGNAC], Bernardus *Tractatus arithmetici partium et alligationis*. 4°.

Dedicated by Salignac to Frederick III, Count Palatinate (dated Neuhaus, 3 January 1575).

S 75 C79 RE 10 VD16 S 1355

OM PBN

14. SERLIUS [SERLIO], Sebastianus *Architecturae liber septimus*. [*Il settimo libro d'architettura*] 2°.

'Ex musaeo Jacobi de Strada'. Imperial licence dated 30 May 1574 (20 years); French *privilège* dated 25 December 1572 (12 years); both in favour of Strada. Titlepage does not bear Wechel device. Text in both Latin and Italian. On the connection between Strada and the Imperial Court, see Evans, *The Wechel presses*, p. 28.

S 75 RE 11 VD16 S 6002; VD16 ZV 22646 (with Italian title)

HAB AD

15. SIGONIUS [SIGONIO], Carolus *Historiarum de regno Italia libri XV*. 2°.

Dedicated by author to Jacobus Boncampagnus, 'Generalis S.R.E. Gubernator' (dated Bologna, 1 July 1574). There is a Venice, 1574, 2° edition apud J. Zilettum (PBN) and a Basle edition by Petrus Perna of 1575, 4°, with twenty books. A later edition appears at Bologna, 1580, 2°, by the Societas typographiae. On Boncampagno, duke of Sora, see Giampietro Maffei, *Degli annali de Gregorio XIII*, Rome: Girolamo Mainardi, 1742, i.24, ii.459–60.

S 75 RE 12 VD16 S 6440

OSJ

16. TALAEUS [TALON], Audomarus *Rhetorica e P Rami praelectionibus observata: cui praefixa et epistola quae lectorem de omnibus utriusque viri scriptis propediem edendis commonefacit*. 8°. Wechel's letter is dated Frankfurt, 3 March 1575.

S 75 ONG 87 VD16 T 98

17. TARGAGNUS [TARTAGNI], Alexander *Consiliorum libri septimi*. 2°.

Part 8.: 'typis Andreae Wecheli impensis Sigismundi Feyerabendi'; parts 1–7 'ex officina Nicolai Bassaei impensis Sigismundi Feyerabendi'; part 9 appears 'apud Georgium Corvinum'.

S 75 VD16 T 190

NLS AD PBN

18. UBALDIS [UBALDI], Angelus de *Consilia*. 2°. 'typis Andreae Wecheli impensis Sigismundi Feyerabendi'. Colophon has 'excudebat Andreas Wechelus'.
A75 VD16 A 2827
NLS PBN
- 1576
19. — *Biblia sacra*.
Ed. Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius [Du Jon] part 2: 'libri historici'. 2°. Latin text (from Hebrew).
S 76 C 79 RE 13 DM 6165 VD16 ZV 1566
OE
VD16 ZV 11171
 - S1 CHRISTMANN, Jakob *Eidyllon in quo miser status Europae discordis et se bellis divexantis intestininis deplorator*. 4°. VD16 ZV 3278
 20. [CORASIUS [CORAS], Joannes *Arrestum parlamenti Tolosani super prodigioso casu matrimoniali*. 8°. Trans. Hugo Suraeus [Sureau, alias Du Rosier]. Latin text (from French).
Dedicated by Philippus Lonicerus to Joannes Fichardus. French editions in 1561 and 1565 (Lyon: Antoine Vincent, 4° and 8°) and Paris, 1572, 8°. (Galiot du Pré and Vincent Normant).
S 76 C 79 RE 25 (erroneously 1577) VD16 T 1666
PBN
 21. FRISCHLINUS [FRISCHLIN], Nicodemus *Rebecca: comoedia nova et sacra ex XXIII. capite Geneseos imitatione scripta ad nuptias D. Ludovicis ducis Wirtembergici adornata*. 4°.
Dedication, cf. no. 10.
A 76 C 79 RE 14 VD16 F 2984
NUC
 22. JORDANUS [JORDÁN], Thomas *Pestis phaenomena*. 8°.
Dedicated by Jordan to Joannes Crato von Krafftheim (dated Brno, 1 March 1576).
A76 C 79 RE 15 VD16 J 930
OM
 23. KRANTZIUS [KRANTZ], Albertus *Ecclesiastica historia, sive metropolis*. 2°.
Dedicated by Joannes Wolf to Julius Bishop of Würzburg (dated Mündelsheim, March 1576). Earlier edition by Joannes Oporinus at Basle, 1568, 2°, with imperial privilege of five years.
S76 C 79 RE 7 VD16 K 2251
PBN OQ
 - S2 MATTHEIS, Antonius de [MATTEI] *Examen ad Rubricam [...] ff. De Acquirenda vel amittenda possessione*. 4°. 'excudebat Andreas Wechelus, impensis Sig. Feyerabend'
VD16 M1353

24. OLEVIANUS [OLEVIAN], Caspar *Expositio symboli apostolici*. 8°. Dedicated by Olevian to Frederick III Count Palatinate (dated 19 March 1576).
S 76 C 79 RE 16 VD16 O 699
AD HAB
25. RAMUS [LA RAMEE], Petrus *Dialecticae libri duo... breviter explicati a Guilielmo Rodingo*. 8°. New dedicatory letter to Ludwig, Abbot of Hirsfeld, dated 10 January 1576. Seems to have been pirated in 1577 by Louis Cloquemin and Etienne Michel at Lyon (same format and pagination), see ONG 262
ONG 256 VD16 ZV 9414
GO
26. — *Grammatica, aliquot in locis aucta et emendata*. 8°. C 79 ONG 519 VD16 ZV 9415
OB
27. — *Rudimenta grammaticae Latinae, aliquot in locis aucta et emendata*. 8°. ONG 547 VD16 ZV 9416
OB
28. — *Commentarii de religione Christiana*. 8°. Dedicated by Theophilus Banosius (de Banos) to Sir Philip Sidney (dated Frankfurt, 1 January 1576). Contains Banosius's *Rami vita*.
S 76 C 79 RE 17 ONG 637 VD16 L 463
29. SAXO GRAMMATICUS *Danica historia*. 2°. Dedicated by Philippus Lonicerus to Kristoph zum Jungen (dated Frankfurt, 1 September 1576).
A76 C79 RE 18 VD16 S 2050
OQ
30. SCALIGER, Julius Caesar *Exotericarum exercitationum liber XV de subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum*. 8°. With colophon. Dedicated by Joannes Crato von Krafftheim to Joseph Scaliger (dated Vienna, 1576). First edition, Paris, Federic Morel, 1557, 4°.
S 76 C 79 VD16 S 2080
BL

1577

31. APOMASAR [AHMAD IBN SIRIN] *Apotelesmata, sive de significatis et eventis insomniorum*. 8°. Trans. Joannes Leunclavius (Lewenklaus). 'ex bibliotheca Joannis Sambucus'. Latin text (from Arabic). Later trans. into French and published by Denis Du Val with a dedication to André Wechel in 1581 (Paris, 8°).
A77 C79 RE 19 VD16 A 1204
BL
32. ARISTOTELES *Ethica, sive de moribus ad Nicomachum*. 4°. Ed. Petrus Victorius [Vettori]. Greek text. Revised reprint of Paris, Guillaume Morel, 1560, 4° (CS 108.419).
S 77 C 79 CS 108.613 VD16 A 3400
BL

33. —*Oeconomica*. 4°. Ed. Jacobus Tussanus [Toussain]. Greek text.
Revised reprint of Paris, Guillaume Morel, 1560, 4° (CS 108.418).
A 77 C 79 CS 108.614 VD16 A 3508
OB
34. —*Organum*. 4°. Ed. Simon Grynaeus. 'Excudebat Andreas Wechelus sibi et Thomae Guarino'. Greek text.
Revised reprint of Paris, Guillaume Morel, 1562, 4° (CS 108.453): 'Ad exemplaris fidem quod postremum Lutetiae excusum est, diligenter emendatum et in capita distinctum.'
A 77 C 79 CS 108.612 VD16 A 3521
OB
35. —*Physica*. 4°. Ed. Andreas Wechelus (according to CS). Greek text.
Revised reprint of Paris, Guillaume Morel, 1561, 4°, 6 vols. (CS 108.444).
S 77 C 79 CS 108.616 VD16 A3552
BL (imperfect)
36. —*Politica*. 4°. Ed. Petrus Victorius (Vettori). Greek text.
Revised reprint of Paris, Guillaume Morel, 1558 (CS. 108.354; also Paris apud 1. Benenatum excudebat Guilielmus Morel, 1574, 4°: CS 108.595).
S 77 C 79 CS 108.615 VD16 A3579
OB
37. —*Biblia sacra*, part 2. 2°.
A reprint: colophon date is 1577.
DM6165 not in VD16
OB
CAMERARIUS, Joachimus, see SADOLETUS, Jacobus
38. CRATO VON KRAFFTHEIM, Joannes *Oratio funebris de Maxaemiliano II Imperatore*. 8°.
A 77, C 79 RE 20 VD16 C5717 (attributed to 1578)
AD
39. FERNELIUS [FERNEL], Joannes *De abditis rerum causis libri duo, postremo ab ipso autore recogniti, compluribusque in locis aucti*. 2°. 'Cum privilegio Caesariae Maiestatis ad sexennium'.
Signatures begin Aa. Linked by Catchword (on **03^r) to *Universa medicina*.
Colophon: 'Francofurti ad Moenum excudebat Andreas Wechelus anno salutis M.D.LXXVII.'
[VD16 F 771]
BL OW
40. —*Universa medicina, ab ipso quidem authore ante obitum diligenter recognita, et quatuor libris numquam ante editis, ad praxim tamen perquam necessariis aucta. Accessit recens Methodus generalis curandarum febrium numquam ante hac edita. Editio postrema*. Ed. Guilielmus Plantius. 2°. 'Cum privilegio Caes. Maiest. ad sexennium'.
Licence of 17 June 1574 printed in text, a1^v. In A 77, an *Opera omnia* by Jacques Stoer of Lyon is also announced.
A 77 C 79 (RE 2) VD16 F 771
AD VD 16 OW

41. —*Febrium curandarum methodus generalis*. 8°.
C79 VD16 F 766
AB PBN
42. GAGUINUS [GAGUIN], Robertus *Rerum gallicarum annales cum Huberti Velleii supplementa*. 2°.
Dedicated by Joannes Wolf to Marquardus von Hatstain, Bishop of Speyer (dated Mundelsheim, March 1577). Many French editions in the course of the sixteenth century.
S 77C 79 RE 21 VD16 G 44
OBR AD
43. QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS [HORACE] *Dionysii Lambini in Horatium commentarii amplificati. Editio postrema*. 2°.
Two volumes; second titlepage reads *Pars altera: Horatii sermonum seu satyrarum seu eclogarum libri duo: Epistolarum libri a Dionysio Lambino declarati*. Colophon. Revised edition of Paris, J. Macaeus, 1567, 2°.
S77 C79 RE 22 VD16 H 4873
PBN AD
44. RAMUS [LA RAMEE], Petrus *Dialecticae libri duo...breviter explicati a Guilielmo Rodingo*. 8°.
ONG 621 VD16 L 471
45. —*Grammatica Graeca*. 8°.
ONG 570 VD16 L 508
HAB
46. —*Commentari de religione Christiana*. 8°.
A revised reprint of 1576, with errata incorporated into text and changes made to the dedicatory letter. On this edition, see Ong, *Ramus, method and the decay of dialogue*, p. 302.
S 77 (C 79) RE 17 ONG 638 VD16 L464
HAB
47. SADOLETUS [SADOLETO], Jacobus, with CAMERARIUS [KAMMERER], Joachimus, the Elder, and others *Philosophicae consolationes et meditationes in adversis: Iacobo Sadoleto et Joachimo Camerario...authoribus*. 8°.
Dedicated by Joachimus Camerarius the Younger to Joannes Sambucus (dated Nuremberg, 1 June 1577): both of these have material published at the end of the texts of Sadoletus and the Elder Camerarius.
A 77 C 79 RE 23 VD16 S 1271
OSJ
48. SALIGNACUS [SALIGNAC], Bernardus *Tractatus arithmetici partium et alligationis*. 4°.
Presumably a reprint.
A 77 (C 79) RE 10 not in VD16
49. SCRIBONIUS, Guilhelmus Adolphus *Rerum physicarum iuxta leges logicas methodica explicatio*. 8°.
Scribonius was associated with the same school at Korbach at which Salignac taught: see Friedrich, *Die Gelehrtschulen in Marburg, Kassel und Korbach*, p. 151.

A77 C79 RE 24 VD16 S 5116

BL NUC

50. TALAEUS (TALON), Audomarus *Rhetorica P. Rami praelectionibus observata*. 8°.

A reprint.

(C 79) ONG 90 VD16 T 99

HAB

51. WITIKIND (WITICHIND) *Annales: historia Henrici Leonis Ducis Saxoniae*. ed. Reinerus Reineccius (Reineck).

Not declared in C79.

A77 RE 26 VD16 W 3696

AD

1578

52. ARISTOTELES *Ethica Nicomachea*. 4°. Trans. Joachimus Camerarius the Elder. Latin text (from Greek).

On the publication of the text, see above, p. 153.

A 78 C 79 CS 108.628A VD16 A 3430

BL AD

- S3 [Bible] *S Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios epistolae duae*. 8° Trans. Franciscus Junius [Du Jon]. '[Heidelberg], Apud Ioannem Mareschallum.'

VD16 ZV 24754

- S4 [Bible] *Sanctorum apolostorum Acta*. 8° Trans. Franciscus Junius [Du Jon]. '[Heidelberg], apud Ioannem Mareschallum.'

VD16 24755

53. BUCHANANUS [BUCHANAN], Georgius *Baptistes, sive calumnia, tragoedia*. 8°.

Same as first edition, London, Thomas Vautrollier, 1577, 8°, except for addition of dedicatory letter to Buchanan by Daniel Rogers (A1^v). Not declared in C 79. On this edition see I.D. McFarlane, *Buchanan*. London: Duckworth, 1981, pp. 386, 499.

A78 RE 27 VD16 B 8974

BL

54. COMMINEAEUS [COMINES], Philippus; FROSSARDUS [FROISSART], Joannes; SESELLIVS [SEYSSSEL], Claudius *Tres gallicarum rerum scriptores*. 2°. Trans. Ioannes Sleidanus [Philippon]. Latin text (from French).

Previous French edition of Comines in 1569, 16°, by André Wechel at Paris.

S 78 C 79 RE 28 VD16 C 4637

OQ AB

- 40a. FERNELIUS (FERNEL), Joannes *Universa medicina. Postrema editio* 2°. 'Cum privilegio Caes. Maiest ad Sexennium'. Identical in all respects to 1577 edition, but for date on titlepage. Probably a reissue (see catchword and colophon to no. 39, to which this copy is attached), redated to appear to be subsequent to the Lyon edition of 1577.

RE 2 VD16 F 771

BL

56. GORECIUS, Leonardus with LASICIUS [LASICZKI], Ioannes *Descriptio belli Iuoniae, Voiuodae Valachiae, quod anno. M.D.LXXIII, cum Selymo II, Turcarum imperatore gessit. Huic accessit 10. Lasicii historia de ingressu Polonorum in Valachiam cum Bogdano et caede Turcarum.* 8°.

Separate titlepage for Lasicius, with title *Clades Dantiscanorum, anno domini M.D.LXXVII/XVII. Aprilis a Ioanne Lasicio polono descripta.*

S 78 C 79 RE 29, 30 VD16 G 2666, L 548

OB

57. GORRAEUS (GORRIS), Joannes *Definitionum medicarum libris XXI III... ab authore ante obitum recogniti magnaue accessione adaucti et nunc denuo ad publicam rei literariae utilitatem editi.* 2°.

‘Cum privilegio Caesareae Maiestatis ad Sexennium’. pp. 539–543 contain Friedrich Sylburg’s emendations.) (4^v has a portrait of Jean de Gorris with an epigram by André Wechel, which first appeared in his Paris, 1564, 2° edition (*iv^v).

A 78 C 79 VD16 G 2669

OM (lacks)/(4)

58. RAMUS (LA RAMEE), Petrus P. *Virgilii Maronis Georgica P. Rami praelectionibus exposita.* 8°.

Previous Wechel edition at Paris, 1564, 8°. S 78 claims these to be ‘praelectiones emendatae’.

S78 C79 RE 31 ONG 481 VD16 V 1558

PBN

59. —*Grammatica.* 8°.

S 78 claims this to be ‘aucta et emendata’. (d. no. 26).

S 78 C 79 ONG 521 VD16 L 512

60. —*Rudimenta grammaticae Latinae aucta et emendata.* SO.

ONG 549 VD16 L 519

61. TOSSANUS (TOUSSAIN), Daniel *L’exercice de l’ame fidele.* 8°.

Letter from Toussain to the ‘pauvres residus de l’Eglise d’Orleans’ (dated St. Lambert (Palatinate), 20 July 1578). Date wrongly recorded (from the HAB copy) as 1573 by Cuno, *Daniel Tossanus der Ältere.* Amsterdam: von Scheffer and Co., 1898, ii.17–18 (see also RE 1). Not declared in the Book Fair. See also above, p. 153.

C 79 RE 1 (erroneously 1573) VD16 T 1696

HAB

1579

BELUS [BEALE], Robertus, see *Rerum*

62. —*Biblia sacra.* Ed. Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius [DuJon] Part 1. 2°.

A reprint.

A 79 (C 79) DM 6165 VD16 ZV 15660

OB

63. —*Biblia sacra*. Ed. Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius [Du Jon] Part 3: 'Quinque libri poetici'. 2°. Latin text (from Hebrew). Dedicated by the editors to Johannes Casimir, Count Palatinate. A 79 C 79 RE 13 DM 6165 VD16 B 2888
OB OE
64. —*Biblia sacra*. Ed. Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius [DuJon] part 4: 'prophetici libri'. 2°. Latin text (from Hebrew). Dedicated by the editors to Landgraf Wilhelm von Hessen. A 79 C 79 RE 13 DM 6165 VD16 B 2888
OB OE
65. —*Biblia sacra*. Ed. and trans. Franciscus Junius [Du Jon], part 5: 'libri apocriphi'. 2°. Latin text (from Greek). A 79 C 79 RE 13 DM 6165 VD16 B 2888
BL
66. BUCHANANUS [BUCHANAN], Georgius *Baptistes, sive calumnia, tra-goedia*. 8°. A reprint. See *McFarlane*: Buchanan, p. 499. The Worcester College, Oxford, copy has a price—½ batz—recorded on the titlepage. VD16 B 8975
OW
67. ELLINGERUS, Andreas *In Hippocratis aphorismos paraphrasis poetica*. 8°. S 79 C 79 RE 32 VD16 H 3771
PBN
FAZELLUS [FAZELLI], Thomas, see *Sicularum*
68. RAMUS [LA RAMEE], Petrus *Dialecticae libri duo... breviter explicati a Guilelmo Rodingo*. 8°. A reprint. ONG 266 VD16 ZV 9418
69. —*Dialecticae libri duo, exemplis [...] illustrati per Rolandum Makilmenaeum* (McIlwein). 8°. A reprint of ONG 252 (London, Thomas Vautrollier, 1574, 8°). (ONG 257) ONG 265 VD16 L 473
OW
70. —*Rerum hispanicarum scriptores aliquot, ex bibliotheca Roberti Beli* [Beale]. 2°. Two volumes with continuous pagination and signatures. According to Wechel's prefatory note () (ii'), this is part of the same series as nos. 1, 10, 11, 12, 23, 54. See also below, no. 109. A79 RE 36 VD16 R 1163, R 1164
OW
71. SCRIBONIUS, Guilhelmus Adolphus *Rerum physicarum... explicatio*. 8°. A reprint. S 79 C 79 RE 24 VD16 S 5117
BL

72. —*Sicularum rerum scriptores*. 2°. Edited by Thomas Fazellus [Fazelli].
S 79 C 79 RE 33 VD16 F 672
BL
73. —TALAEUS [TALON], Audomarus *Rhetorica e P. Rami praelectionibus observata*.
A reprint.
ONG 93 VD16 T 100
74. —*Rhetorica... una cum commentationibus per Claudium Minoem* [Mignault]. 8°.
First edition of this commentary: Paris, Gilles Beys and Jean Richer, 1577, 4°.
ONG 92 VD16 T 101
75. TILIUS [DU TILLET], Joannes with LUPANUS [LA LOUPE], Vincentius *Commentarii et disquisitiones de rebus gallicis*. 2°. Trans. Lotarius Philoponus (pseudonym of Franciscus Junius [Du Jon], according to Haag, *La France Protestante*).
With V. Lupani *de magistratibus Francorum libri III*. Latin text (from French). Dedicated by translator to Hubert Languet. French editions of Tilius at Rouen in 1578 (P. de Tours) and Paris in 1580 (Jacques Du Puys): Latin text of Lupanus in 1551 (Paris, G. Le Noir).
S 79 C 79 RE 35 VD16 D 3066
OB

1580

76. CASA [DELLA CASA], Joannes *Galateus seu de morum honestate et elegantia: libellus de officiis inter potentiores et tenuiores amicos*. 8°. Trans. Nathan Chytraeus. Latin text (from Italian).
Dedicated by translator to Nicolaus Caasa (Kaser) (dated Rostock, 15 September 1577).
A80 RE 37 VD16 C 1224
PBN
77. CHYTRAEUS, David *Oratio de statu ecclesiarum hoc tempore in Graecia, Asia, Africa*, 8°.
Published and advertized simultaneously with a Wittenberg, 8°, edition.
A80 RE 38 VD16 C 2671
BL
78. [MARCUS TULLIUS] CICERO *In epistolas M. Tullii Ciceronis, quae familiares vocantur, Paulli Manutii Commentarius*. 8°.
First edition Venice, 1540, from the Aldine press: on its reprinting by Wechel, see his letter, *1^v.
S 80 VD16 C 3053
OQ
79. —*Commentarius Paulli Manutii in epistolas M. Tullii Ciceronis ad T. Pomponium Atticum. Adiunctae sunt item Simonis Bosii animadversiones in easdem epistolas, diu hactenus expeditae*.
First edition of Manutius, Venice, 1540. Another edition of Manutius-Bosius published at Limoges in 1580 by Hugo Barbours, 8°, (AD).

A80 VD16 ZV 24202

OQ

80. CLENARDUS [CLEYNAERTS], Nicolaus *Institutiones ac meditationes in Graecam linguam cum scholiis et praxis P. Antesignani...*, omnia a Frid. Sylburgio Hesso recognita, locus propemodum innumeris emendata, notisque insuper illustrata. 4°.

‘Cum privilegio Caes. Maiest. ad Sexennium’. On this edition, which revises that of Paris, 1572, 4°, by Wechel, see above p. 180, and Louis Bakelaats and René Hoven, *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Nicolas Clénard 1529–1700*, Verviers: Gason, 1981, nos. 223, 246, 248–60.

A80 VD16 C 4150

PBN

81. DITMARUS *Chronicorum libri VII*. 2°. Ed. Reinerus Reineccius [Reineck].

A80 VD16 D 2094

NYPL

FERNELIUS, Joannes see SNEBERGIUS, Antonius

82. HELMOLDUS *Historia de vita et rebus gestis Adolphi III comitis Nordalbingiae*. 2°. Ed. Reinerus Reineccius [Reineck].

Signatures begin Aa. See below, 111

VD16 H 1793

AD PBN

83. JORDANUS [JORDAN], Thomas *Brunogallus seu luis novae in Moravia exortae descriptio*. 8°.

S 80 RE 39 VD16 J 928

PBN

84. JUNIUS [DU JON], Franciscus *Grammatica Hebraeae linguae*. 4°.

RE 40 VD16 D 2886

AD NYPL

85. KRANTZIUS [KRANTZ], Albertus *Saxonia*. 2°.

A reprint.

RE 7 VD16 K 2260

AD CUL

86. — *Wandalia*. 2°.

A reprint which does not have the Appendix *Poloniae gentisque et rei publicae descriptio*, although this is advertized on the titlepage.

RE 8 VD16 K 2268

AD CUL

- S5 MANSFELD, Ernestus Comes in (Ernst, Graf von Mansfeld) *Oratio continens historiam Henrichi I Saxonis quem Aucupem scriptores nuncupant*. 4°.

VD16 M 642

MANUTIUS, Paullus see CICERO

87. MONACHUS PEGAVIENSIS with GARZONI, Giovanni *De vita et rebus gestis Viperti Marchionis Lusatiae [...] De bellis Friderici Magni [...] Marchionis Mysniae*. 2°. Ed. Reinerus Reineccius [Reineck].

Colophon date is 1581.

- RE 43 VD16 C 3053; H 3894
AD PBN
88. OLEVIANUS [OLEVIAN], Caspar *Expositio symboli apostolici*. 8°. A reprint. S 80 RE 16
AD VD16 O 700
89. PISCATOR, Joannes *In P. Rami Dialecticam animadversiones*. 8°. Ramus's text with a commentary.
A80 ONG 268 VD16 L 476
90. PISO [LE POIS], Nicolaus *De cognoscendis et curandis praecipue internis morbis: de febribus*. 2°. S 80 RE 41 VD16 L 1278
PBN
91. RAMUS [LA RAMEE], Petrus *Ciceronianus, editio postrema*. 8°. Ed. Joannes Thomas Freigius.
Prior edition Basle, Petrus Perna, 1573, 8°. S80 ONG 491 VD16 L 462
92. — *Dialecticae libri duo... breviter explicati a Guilielmo Rodingo*. 8°. A reprint.
ONG 269 VD16 L 474
93. — *Dialecticae libri duo, exemplis illustrati per Rolandum Makilmenaeum* [McIlwein]. 8°. A reprint.
ONG 267 VD16 L 475
94. — *Grammatica. Editio postrema a superioribus longe diversa*. 8°. A revised edition.
ONG 522 VD16 ZV 22794
95. — *Grammatica... ex postrema editione aliquot in locis aucta et emendata*. 8°. A reprint.
ONG 523 VD16 ZV 17913
96. — *Rudimenta grammaticae editio postrema a superioribus longe diversa*. 8°. Ed. Nicolaus Bergeronus [Bergeron]. A revised edition.
ONG 550 VD16 ZV 22795
97. — *Rudimenta grammaticae ex postrema editione aliquot in locis emendata*. 8°. A reprint.
ONG 551 not in VD16.
98. — *Rudimenta Graeca e P. Rami grammaticis praecipue collecta a Bernardo Salignaco*. 8°. Dedicated to Lazarus Schonerus [Schoener] of the Nova Schola Waldeciana at Korbach by Salignac (its co-rector) (dated 12 April 1579). S80 ONG 580 not in VD16
99. REINECCIUS [REINECK], Reinerus *Oratio de historia ejusque dignitate*. 2°. RE 42 VD16 R 891
PBN AD

100. SALIGNACUS [SALIGNAC], Bernardus *Arithmeticae libri duo et algebrae totidem cum demonstrationibus*. 4°.
New edition.
S 80 RE 10 VD16 S 1352
OB NUC AD
101. SCRIBONIUS, Guilhelmus Adolphus *Isagoge sphaerica*. 8°.
S 80 RE 34 ('1579') VD16 ZV14271 ('1581')
HAB
102. SNEBERGIUS [SCHNEEBERGER], Antonius with FERNELIUS [FERNEL], Joannes *Medicamentorum facile parabilium adversus omnis generis articulo rum dolores enumeratio* with Joannes Fernelius, *Consilium pro epilectico scriptum*. 8°.
Dedicated to Petrus Posuanita (dated 8 August 1579). Colophon date is 1580.
[S 81] RE 55 (1581) VD16 S 3191 (1581)
PBN
- S6 STEN, Simon *Ecloga in nuptiis [...] Iohannis Comitis in Nassau Cattinelebogen*. 8°.
VD16 8861
126. WEISSENBERGERUS, Melchior *Oratio in obitum Philippi Ludovici Comitis ab Hanaw*. 8°.
See below, 126a.
VD16 ZV 23742

1581

103. ARISTOTELES *Politica et Oeconomica* with Xenophon, *Oeconomica*. 4°.
Trans. Joachimus Camerarius the Elder. Latin text (from Greek).
A 81 CS 108.651
BL PBN VD16 C 506
104. BONFINUS, Antonius with others *Rerum ungaricarum decades* 2°. Ed. Joannes Sambucus.
S 81 RE 44 VD16 B 6595
AD
105. CICERO *Orationes octo consulares: tres de lege agraria, una pro C Rabirio perduellonis rei, quatuor in L. Catilinam. Seorsum nunc in usum scholarum excusae et literis notisque Arithmetici troporum et figurarum indicibus distinctae*. 8°.
This seems to be in response to *P. Rami praelectiones in Ciceronis orationes octo consulares*, ed. Joannes Thomas Freigius, Basle: Petrus Perna, 1580, 4° (ONG 714). This edition, for which I have been unable to find a location, is attested by *In Ciceronis Orationes et scripta nonnulla*, ed. Joannes Obsopoeus, Frankfurt, haeredes Andreae Wecheli, 1582, 8°, *ij^v.
S 81 not in VD16
106. COMES [CONTI], Natalis *Mythologiae libri decem*. 8°.
Earlier edition Venice, 1568.

- A 81 VD16 C 4972
BL
107. DORNIUS [DORN], Gerhardus *Congeries Paracelsicae chemiae de transmutationibus metallorum: Genealogia metallorum*. 8°. A81 RE 45 VD16 P 435
BL
108. FERNELIUS [FERNEL] Joannes *De abditis rerum causis*. 8°. A reprint.
RE 2 [VD16 F 772]
AB
109. — *Universa medicina. Quarta editio*. 8°. A reprint. S 81 RE 2
AB BL VD16 F 772
FERNELIUS Joannes] see SNEBERGIUS, Antonius
110. GOMECIUS [GOMEZ DE CASTRO], Alvarus *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnero archiepiscopo Toletano [Rerum hispanicarum scriptores, volume III]*. 2°. Ed. Joannes Sambucus.
S 81 RE 46. VD16 R 1165
PBN
111. HELMOLDUS *Chronica slavorum*. 2°. Ed. Reinerus Reineccus [Reineck]. Possibly a reissue. See above, 82
S81 RE 47 VD16 H 1790
AD PBN
- S7 — *Historia de vita Henrici IIII Imperatoris*. 2°. VD16 H1791 (printed with 111)
- S8 — *Historia de vita et rebus gestis Adolphi II Comitis Nordalbingae*. 2°. Possibly a reissue. See above, 82.
112. JUNIUS [DU JON], Franciscus *Ecclesiastici sive de natura et administratione Ecclesiae Dei*. 8°. Dedicated to William, Prince of Orange.
RE 48 VD16 D 2884
AD BL HAB
113. — *Ecclesiastic, ou de l'etat et des administrations de l'Eglise de Dieu*. 8°. Attested by Haag, *La France Protestante* and Cuno, *Junius* p. 76, who says it is dedicated to Charlotte de Bourbon, wife of William, Prince of Orange. Cited in C 94; not in VD16
114. MANSFELD, Ernestus Comes in (Ernst, Graf von Mansfeld) *Oratio continens historiam Henrichi I Saxonis quem Aucupem scriptores nuncupant*. 4°. See S8, above (1580). In the imprint, the date 'M.D.LXXX' has had a '1' stamped by hand added to it.
S 81 VD16 ZV 10346
AD
115. OLEVIANUS [OLEVIAN], Caspar *Fundamenta dialecticae*. 8°. A 81 RE 50 VD 16 O 703
ED

- S9 PETREIUS, Henricus *Elegia gratulatoria de secundis nuptiis D. Cyriaci Johannis F Spangenbergii*. 4°. VD16 P 1754
116. RAMUS [LA RAMEE], Petrus *Dialecticae libri duo exemplis illustrati per Rolandum Makilmenaeum* [McIlwein]. 8°. 'auctoris iussu in quibusdam locis emendati'. A 81: not in ONG VD16 ZV 9419
117. — *Grammatica graeca nunc... emendata notisque... illustrata*. 8°. A revised edition. S81 ONG 571 VD16 ZV 9420
118. — *Scholae in tres primas liberales artes*. 8°. Ed. Joannes Piscator. Letter to André Wechel from editor dated Neustadt, Easter 1581. Three parts: *Scholae grammaticae*; *Scholae rhetoricae seu quaestiones brutinae in Oratorem Ciceronis*; *Scholae dialecticae*. Designed to be bought separately if wished, according to Wechel's letter to the reader, Aal^v. Revised edition of *Scholae in tres liberales artes*, Basle: E. Episcopus et Nicolai fratris haeredes, 1569 and 1578, 2°. (ONG 695–6) A 80 ONG 697 RE 51 (pt. ii) VD16 L 532
HAB
119. REINECCIUS [REINECK], Reinerus *Brandenburgicae stirpis origines*. 2°. S 81 RE 52 VD16 R 860
AD
Rerum hispanicarum scriptores, see GOMECIUS, Alvarus
120. RHODOMANNUS, Laurentius *Historia Ecclesiae sive populi Dei politiae eiusdem et rerum praecipuarum quae in illo populo accederunt Graeca carmine: Latina versio*. 8°. S 81 RE 54 VD16 R 2093
VD 16
121. — *Ilfelda Hercynica descripta carmina Graecolatino*. 8°. RE 53 VD16 R 2096
BL
- 102a. SNEBERGIUS [SCHNEEBERGER], Antonius, with FERNELIUS [FERNEL], Joannes *Medicamentorum facile parabilium adversus omnis generis articulorum dolores enumeratio*, with Fernelius, *Consilium pro epilectico scriptum*. 8°. Second state: date in imprint over stamped M.D.LXXXI. Colophon date M.D.LXXX. In PBN copy, which belonged to Andreas Dudith, an MS note reads 'mortuus est autor Cracoviae 1581 antequam liber hic e nundinis ad eum pervenisset'. On Dudith, see Evans, *The Wechel Presses*, p. 23. S 81 (Fernelius only) RE 55 VD16 S 3191
PBN
122. SCRIBONIUS, Guilelmus Adolphus *Rerum physicarum... explicatio*. 8°. S 81 VD16 S 5118

123. STOBÆUS, Joannes *Loci communes sacri et profani sententiarum omnis generis ex auctoribus Graecis. congestarum*. 2°. 'ex officina Andreae Wecheli impensis Roberti Cambieri'. A81 VD16 J 773
BL
124. TALAEUS [TALON], Audomarus *Rhetorica e P. Rami praelectionibus observata*.
A reprint.
ONG 95 VD16 T 102
125. TOSSANUS [TOUSSAIN], Daniel *Lamentationes Jeremiae... methodica explanatione illustratae*. 8°. Dedicated to Adolf Count of Newenar, Moerss and Limburg. A81 VD16 B 3800
PBN HAB
- 126a. WEISSENBERGERUS, Melchior *Oratio in obitum Philippi Ludovici Comitis ab Hanaw*. 8°. See above, S9 (1580)
S 81 RE 56 VD16 W 1706 A probable reissue
BL
XENOPHON see ARISTOTELES

1582: Posthumous Publication

127. RAMUS [LA RAMEE], Petrus, *Virgilii Bucolica praelectionibus exposita*. *Editio quarta*. 8°. S 82 gives 'apud haeredes Andreae Wecheli', whereas titlepage has 'apud Andream Wechelum'. 2nd edition Paris, 1558; 3rd edition Paris, 1572, both by André Wechel. This may have been published above André's name because the general privilege which Marne and Aubry sought by letter to Vienna dated 4 May 1582 was only granted on 25 May, long after the close of the Spring Fair (see Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, FZ2 ff. 251–6). All other 1582 imprints have 'apud haeredes'.
S 82
BL

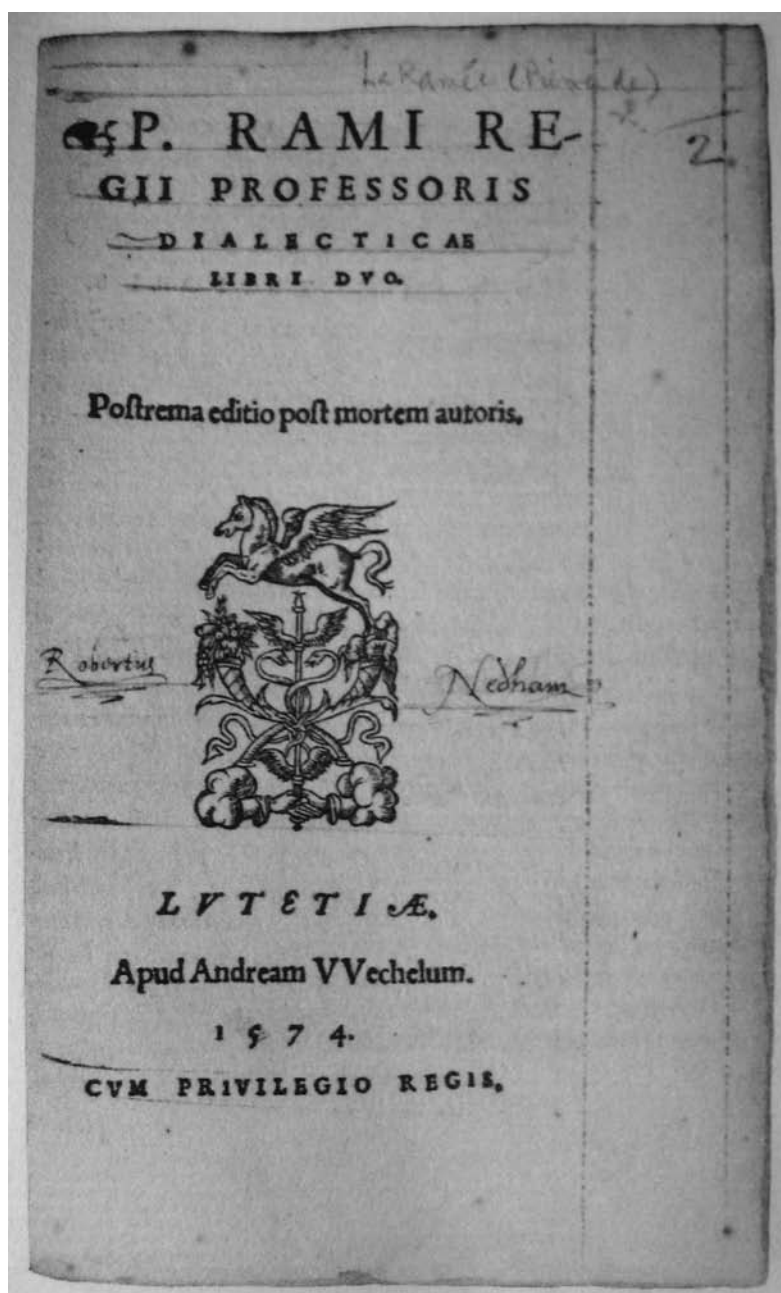


Fig. 1. Ramus, *Dialecticae libro duo*, Paris, 1574, title page. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library (shelfmark: C.57.e.42(2)).

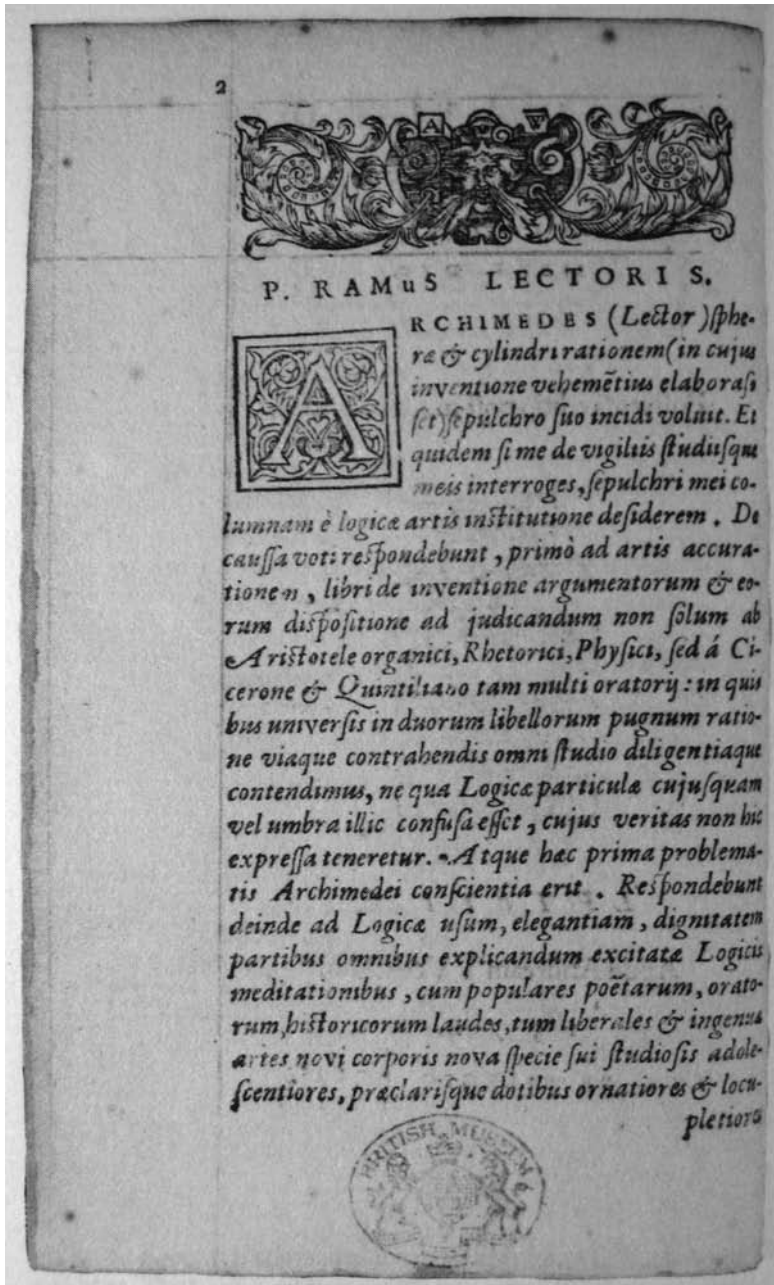


Fig. 2. Ramus, *Dialecticae libro duo*, Paris, 1574, verso of title page.

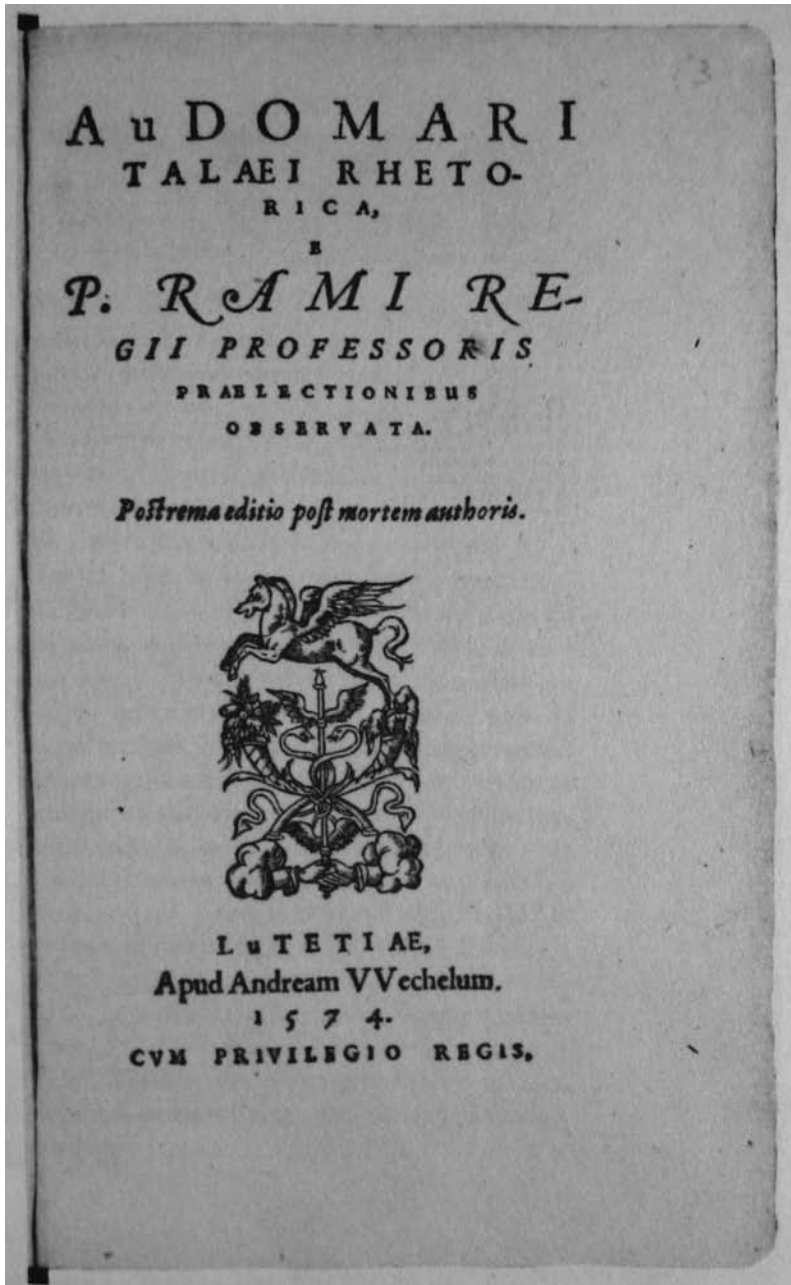
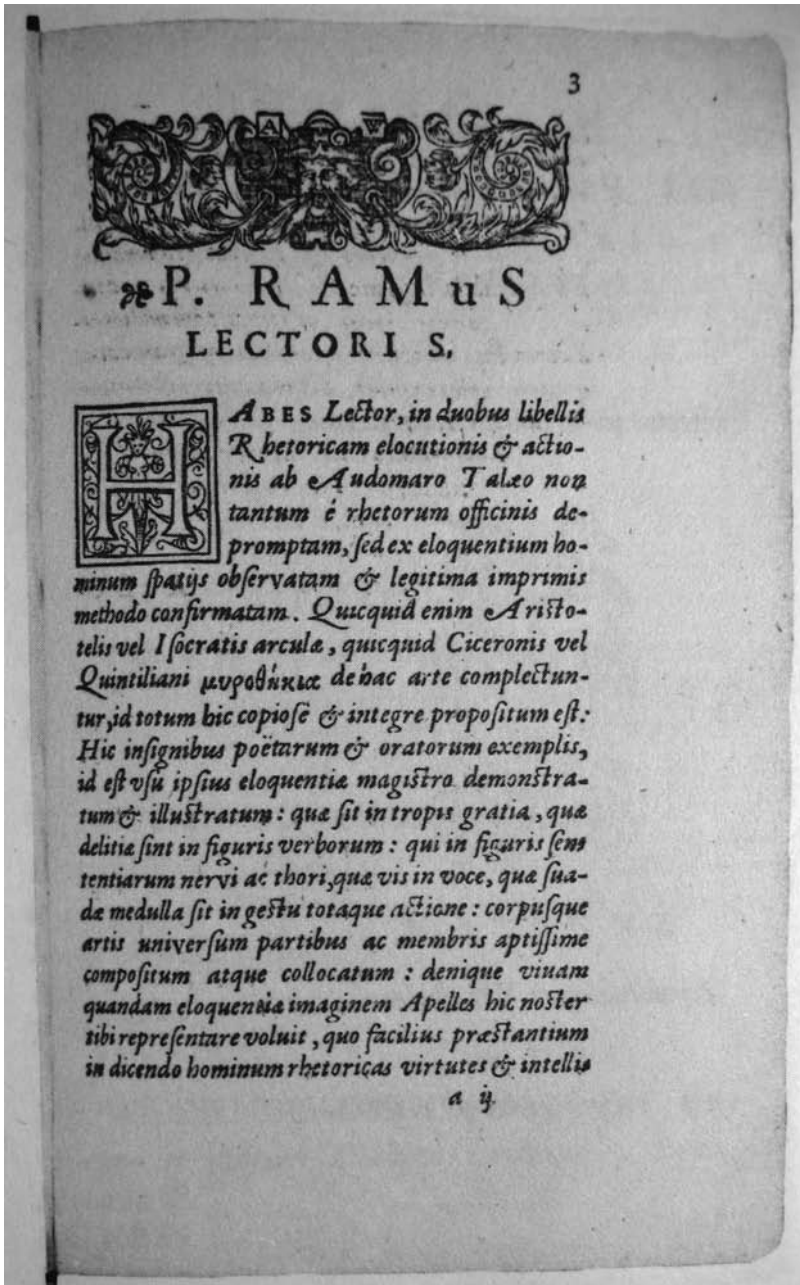


Fig. 3. Talaeus, *Rhetorica*, Paris, 1574, title page. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (shelfmark: vet.M.1.f.9(3)).

Fig. 4. Talaeus, *Rhetorica*, Paris, 1574, p. 3.

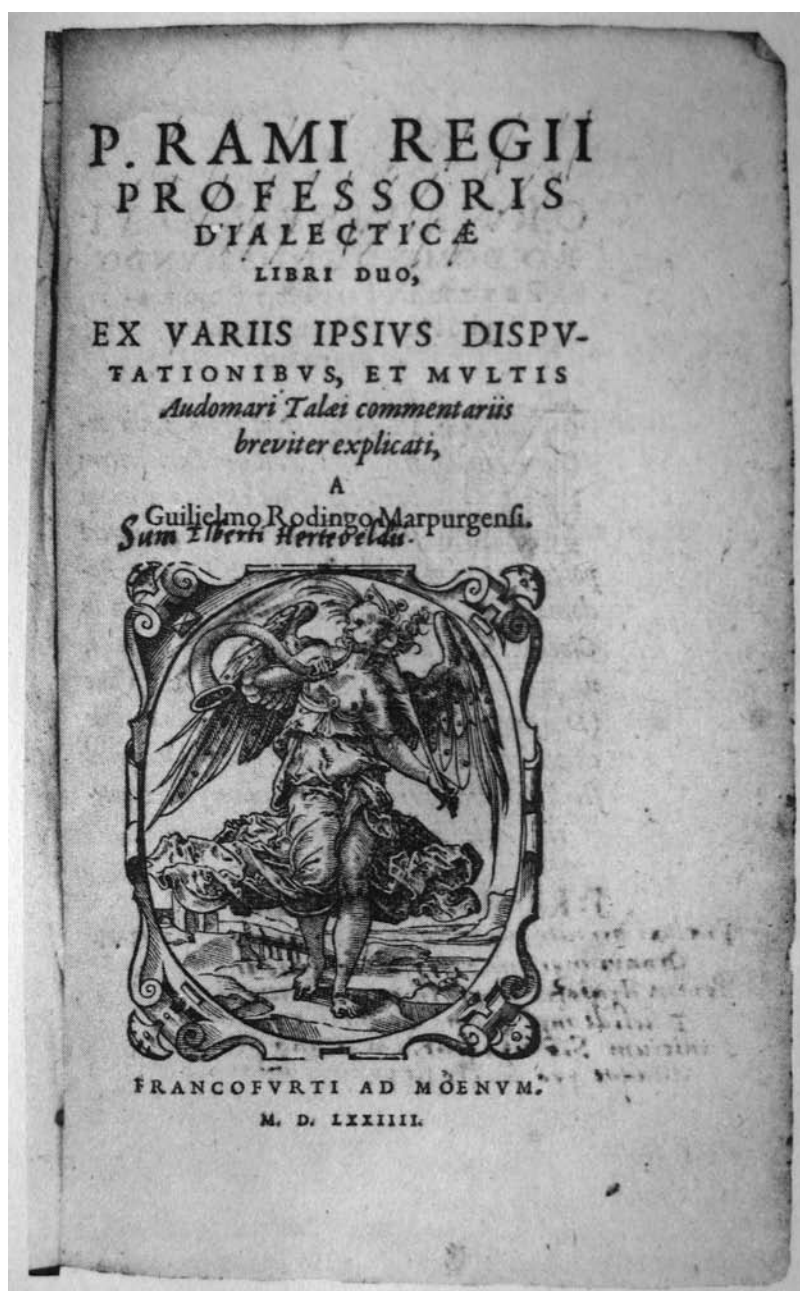


Fig. 5. Ramus, *Dialecticae libri duo*, Frankfurt, 1574, title page. Reproduced by kind permission of Worcester College, Oxford (shelfmark: QQ.vw.7(2)).

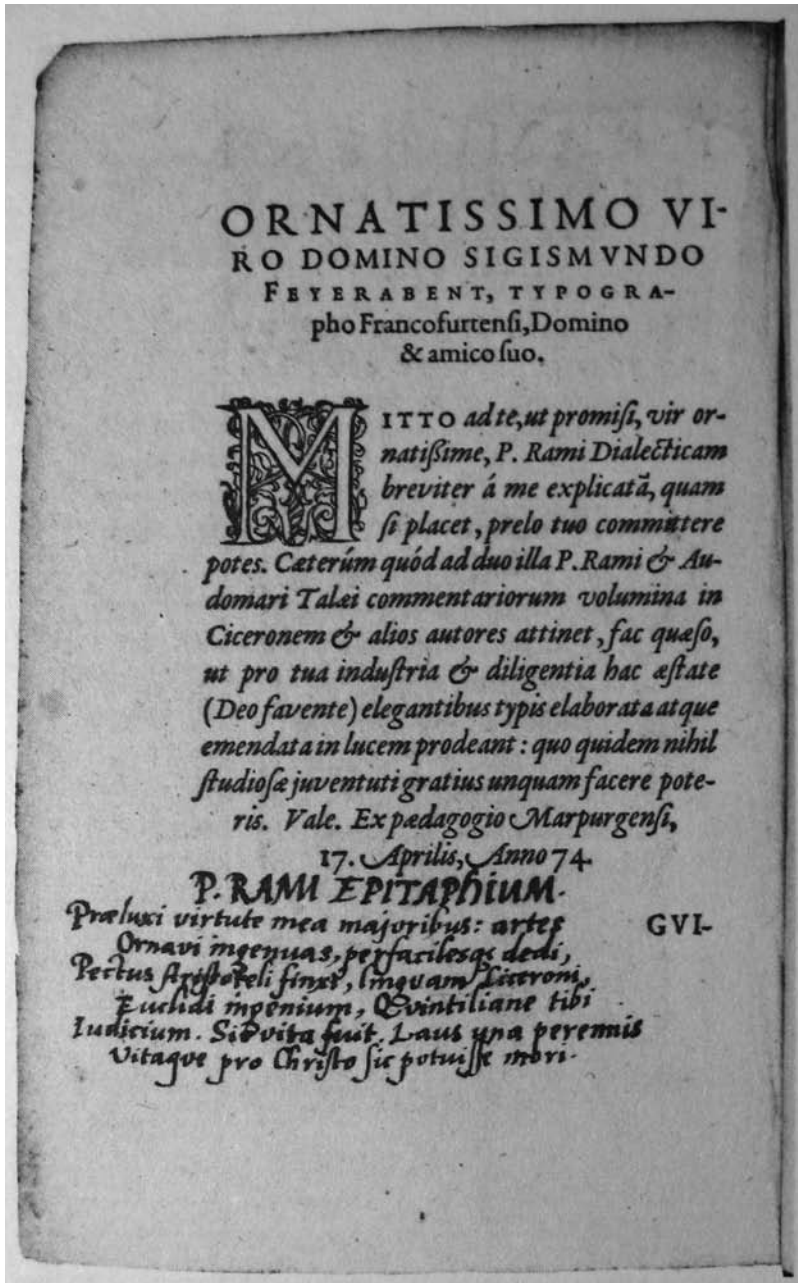


Fig. 6. Ramus, *Dialecticæ libri duo*, Frankfurt, 1574, verso of title page.

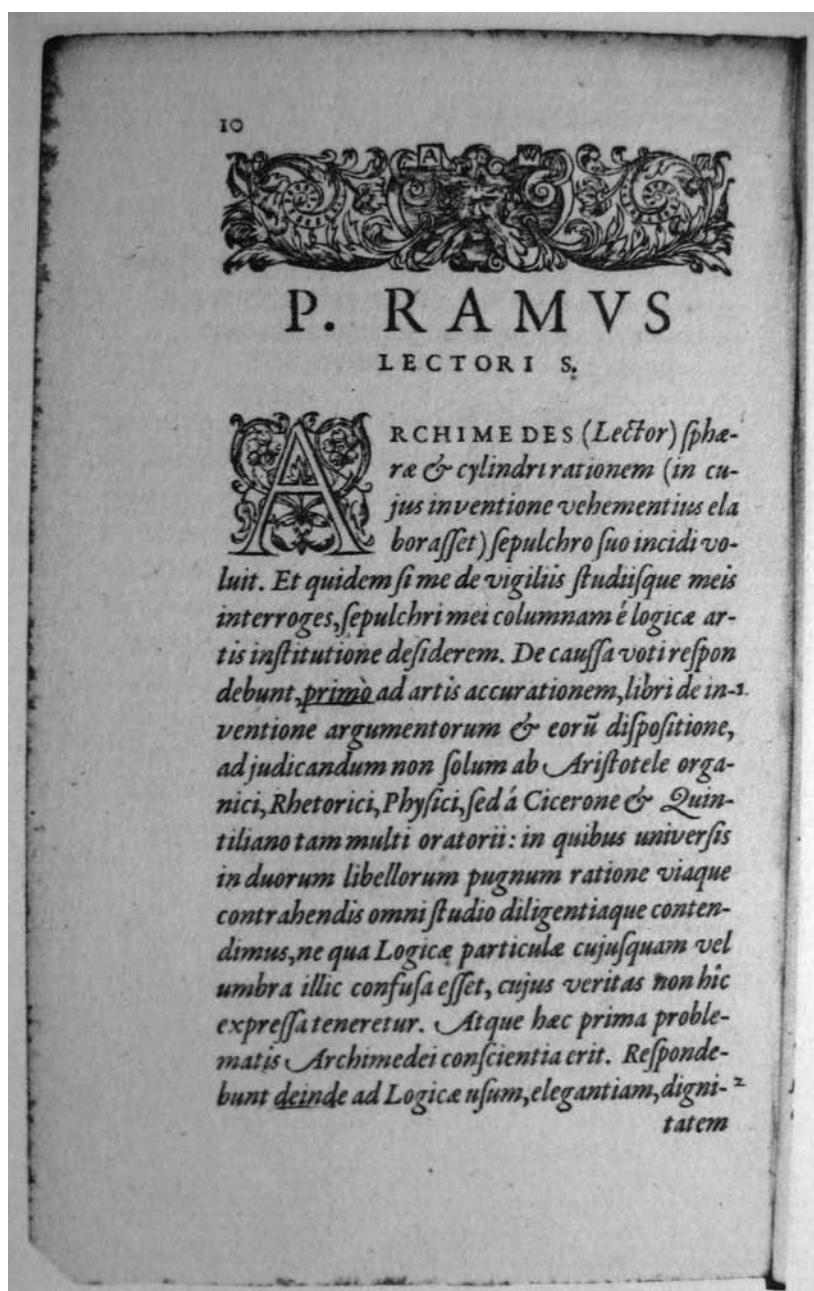


Fig. 7. Ramus, *Dialecticae libri duo*, Frankfurt, 1574, p. 10.

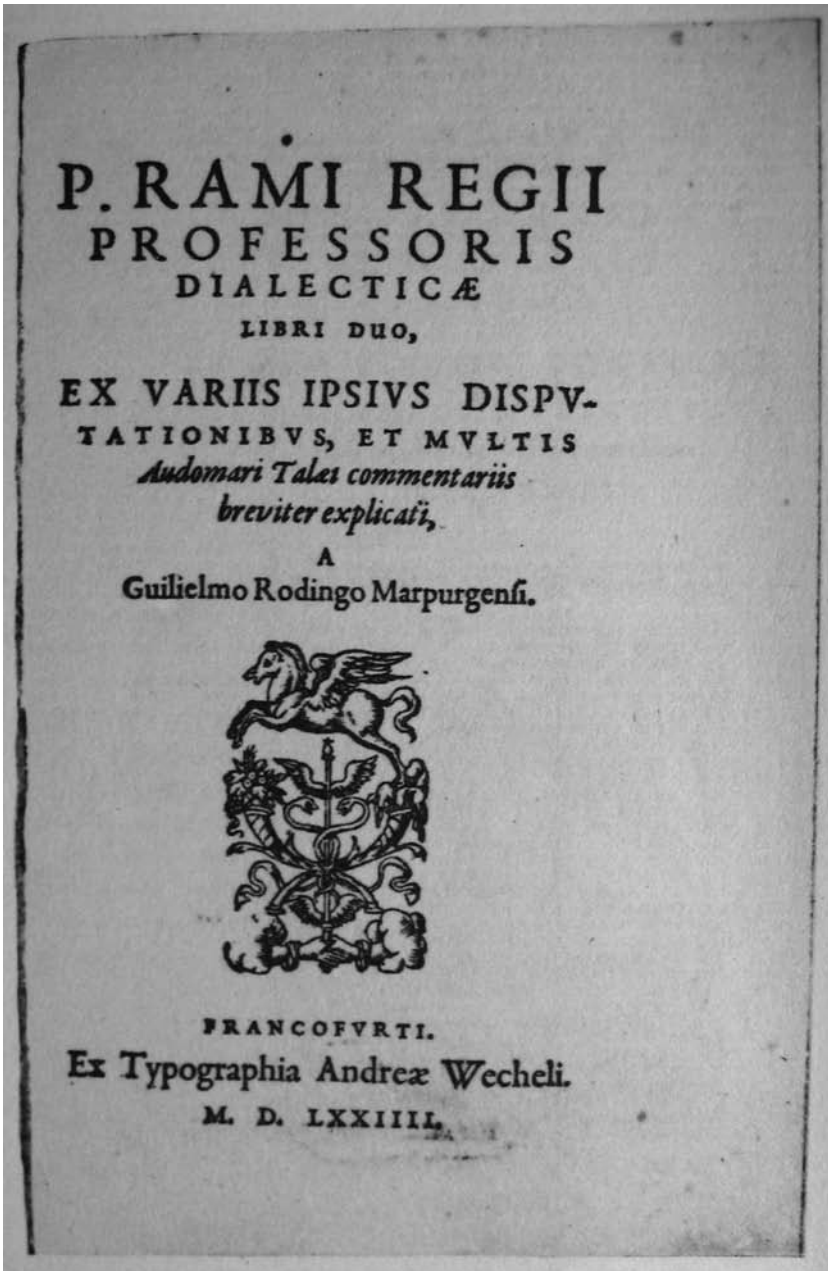


Fig. 8. Ramus, *Dialecticae libri duo*, Frankfurt, 1574, title page. Reproduced by kind permission of the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt.

CHAPTER NINE

MURDER, DEBT AND RETRIBUTION IN THE ITALICO-FRANCO-SPANISH BOOK TRADE: THE BERAUD-MICHEL-RUIZ AFFAIR, 1586–1591

This paper owes a great deal to various scholars: to my colleague Clive Griffin, who passed on to me a document that was puzzling his colleague Anastasio Rojo Vega; to Anastasio Rojo Vega, who introduced me to the Archive in Valladolid in which much of the material on which the paper is based is to be found; to my wife Pauline, who negotiated for me with the staff of the Archive, and helped me decipher and translate the documents we found there; and to Henri-Louis Baudrier and Henri Lapeyre, two meticulous scholars respectively of the Lyon book trade and the Spanish merchant Simon Ruiz. I was attracted to the subject because it seems to me to reveal quite a lot about the intimate workings of the world of learned books; but it also features a murder, and it is with that I shall begin.¹

On 30 September 1586, Symphorien Beraud, a prominent Catholic merchant publisher, who was already the Recteur de l'Aumône and together with this honour was on the point of becoming an échevin and thereby acquire noble status, was murdered in the streets of Lyon; according to the records that survive, this happened a day after having broken off his three-year-old commercial association in the book trade with another Lyonnais merchant publisher, Etienne Michel. He was

¹ Anastasio Rojo Vega is a distinguished historian of the Spanish book; see *inter alia* his 'Les livres des Espagnols à l'Époque moderne', *Bulletin hispanique*, 99 (1997), 193–210 and his *Impresores, libreros y papeleros en Medina del Campo y Valladolid en el Siglo XVII* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994). The documents referred to in this article are to be found in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid, Archivo Simon Ruiz, caja 246 (hereafter AHV 246, with the date of the document); Henri-Louis Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise: recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle, publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier*, 12 vols, (Paris: F. de Nobele, 1964–5); Yvonne La Perrière, *Supplément provisoire à la "Bibliographie lyonnaise" du président Baudrier* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1967); also Sybille von Gültlingen and René Badagos, *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden, V. Koerner, 1992–); Henri Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands: les Ruiz. Contribution à l'étude du commerce entre la France et l'Espagne au temps de Philippe II* (Paris: A. Colin, 1955).

not interred until 18 November, in the Eglise Notre-Dame de Confort, which was the burial place of his former employer and later commercial partner Filippo Tinghi, whose heir he was.² Beraud left a horrendously complicated estate; before coming to that, I should first say something more about the man and his untimely end.

Beraud's parentage does not seem to be known: he is first mentioned in documents (together with his brother Jean) in 1570, as being in the employment of Filippo Tinghi, whose factor he became, and thereafter, in 1572, his heir. This occurred eight years before Tinghi's death, and should surprise us, given Tinghi's numerous Italian family, with whom he was on good terms: it certainly surprised them, and they made strenuous attempts to have the will annulled.³ One might be inclined to speculate that there was a blood relationship between the two, although that cannot be more than a surmise, even if hinted at by one contemporary.⁴ Beraud strengthened his ties to the book trade by marrying as his first wife a daughter of Charles Pesnot whose family were prominent book merchants in Lyon, with strong commercial links in Spain; but they were not as well connected as Filippo Tinghi. His uncle was a member of the powerful Giunti dynasty, who were active as publishers in Venice, Lyon and Florence and as booksellers in Spain as well, and who were involved in a number of publishing companies in Lyon about which I shall have more to say.⁵

Tinghi was a shrewd and energetic publisher, who had begun his career as the factor of his uncle. Even before he became independent, he kept his eyes open for developments in the market for learned books, and exploited them: he it was, for example, who saw the future in publishing collections of letters by prominent physicians, a practice begun by his colleagues in Basle, and arranged for the first compendium of these to be lavishly (and profitably) produced by the Giunti presses in 1556–7, with a long introduction by himself in elegant Latin in which

² Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, IV, p. 125; V, pp. 40–52, 77; VI, p. 442.

³ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 442.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, p. 51; the source of the rumour, Francesco Giuntini, an author of astronomical works published by both Tinghi and Beraud, claimed diplomatically to have lost the letter which might have revealed the reason for Tinghi's choice of heir and not to have read it, when asked to reveal its contents to a Lyon notary.

⁵ On the Giunti, see *ibid.*, VI, *passim*, and William A. Pettas, *The Giunti of Florence: merchant publishers of the sixteenth century* (San Francisco: B.M. Rosenthal, 1980). On Tinghi, see Ugo Rozzo, 'Filippo Tinghi editore tipografo e libraio tra Firenze Lione e Ginevra', *Bibliofilia*, 109 (2007), 239–70.

he carefully constructs the image of the humanist learned publisher whose role is to be at the service of scholarship throughout Europe.⁶ He also saw the benefit of the privilege system, by which books were protected in given jurisdictions, and was hard-headed enough to use the French King's privilege against his own family and former employers, the Giunti. He taught Beraud a number of trade practices which were to bring him success: one of these was the practice already mentioned of introducing books in the persona of the learned Latinate publisher whose principal aim was to serve the scholarly community;⁷ another direct recourse to the Paris Parlement and the King rather than the local Lyon Sénéchaussée court to secure privileges or endorsements for activities which were forbidden to publishers by the city authorities in Lyon, such as the use of Lyon titlepages for books printed in Geneva for a great deal less money, often on inferior paper.⁸ Tinghi also passed on to his heir an extensive network of wholesale and retail booksellers in Spain, Portugal and Italy, through whom he kept stocks of his books abroad. When Beraud inherited Tinghi's estate, he had to collect debts from booksellers in Florence, Naples, Saragossa, Siena, Turin, Venice, Piacenza, Barcelona, Milan, and no doubt many other places.⁹ Yet another beneficial practice was the use of agents and the storage of books at the great northern fairs and at Medina del Campo; one of the

⁶ *Epistolae medicales diversorum authorum, nempe Ioannis Manardi Med. Ferrariensis, Nicolai Massae Med. Veneti, Aloisii Mundellae Med. Brixiensis, Io. Baptistae Theodosii Med. Bononiensis, Ioan. Langii Lembergii Med. Principum Palatinorum Rheni. Adiectis indicibus duobus, quorum prior Epistolarum argumenta, posterior rerum ac vocum toto opere memorabilium elenchum continet* (Lyon: heirs of Jacopo Giunti, 1556), *1^r; his model for the 'hoc epistolarum genus' is Giovanni Manardo (1462–1536), *Epistolae medicales* (first ed. 1521), which Michael Isingrin of Basle published in 1540 with a similar publisher's preface to that of Tinghi. Both books were lavishly produced in folio.

⁷ One of Beraud's prefaces of this kind may be found in the *Communium opinionum syntagma* of 1581 (*2^{r-v}). It is dated 31 August 1580. In it, he pays tribute to Filippo Tinghi, who had died shortly before, as a tireless servant of the republic of letters, who devoted his own financial resources to the production of useful works of scholarship in law which gave efficient access to the best authorities by publishing them together in a convenient form; he refers to him as someone he loved as though he were his own father, and undertakes to continue his work.

⁸ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VI, p. 440, says that production costs in Geneva were a third less than those of Lyon, which publishers complained were artificially high because of restrictive trade practices: see also *ibid.*, IV, p. 125, VII, p. 206. On the relationship of the Sénéchaussée and the Paris Parlement, see Timothy D. Watson, 'The Lyon City Council, c. 1525–75: politics, culture, religion' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1999), pp. 73–101.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 436–59; V, pp. 34–52.

agents of Beraud and Michel at the latter place was Jean Boyer, a nephew of Benoît Boyer, the largest bookseller in the city,¹⁰ who had been an associate of Tinghi; another was Matthieu Nesme; we will hear about both these men again. A third contact in Medina was Pierre Landry, who had also been connected both with Tinghi, and the Pesnot family, and had many dealings with booksellers throughout Spain.¹¹ Tinghi also had recourse, as would his heir, to commercial association as a cure to difficulties of cash flow; this led the Giunti family to enter into an association with Beraud in 1577 (he was given leave to market on their behalf the immense dormant stock they held, and to mark it up by 12% for his own profit). Beraud also saw the benefit of sharing risk: this was no doubt the motive which led him to associate himself commercially with Etienne Michel, with whom he constituted a formal partnership in July 1583.¹² He certainly gave and accepted printed sheets in payment of debts to and from other publishers, and may also have engaged in *Tauschhandel*, that is, the practice of exchanging unbound stock on an agreed basis (usually, printed sheet for printed sheet) with other publishers at book fairs; this would have caused his stock of books to become diversified, and developed his role as bookseller.¹³ In virtue of his activities, he formed part of an international network of merchants accepting (and sometimes refusing) each other's promissory notes (*cédulles*) and bills of exchange, and pursuing each other's debts and obligation by the use of local proxies. Like Tinghi, he produced what Baudrier calls 'éditions rafraîchies' or reissues. His estate was valued by Baudrier at 65,000 écus (195,000 livres); it consisted very largely in unsold books, shares in publishing enterprises, and multifarious credits; he also owned a number of houses and a book warehouse, mentioned in other deeds. The estate was very difficult to settle.¹⁴

¹⁰ Vicente Bécares Botas and Alejandro Luis Iglesias, *La Librería de Benito Boyer (Medina del Campo, 1592)* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992); Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Medina del Campo* (Madrid, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1895), p. 262.

¹¹ For an example of the storage of books in fair cities and outside Lyon, see Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, V, pp. 300–1, VI, p. 441; on Nesme and Boyer, see *ibid.*, V, pp. 34–52; on Landry, see *ibid.*, V, pp. 294f., 396ff., and Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Medina del Campo*, pp. 232, 237–8, 242, 251, 444, 447, 450, 452, 456, 497.

¹² *Ibid.*, V, p. 44; La Perrière, *Supplément provisoire à la "Bibliographie lyonnaise"*, pp. 131–6.

¹³ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, V, p. 43.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 76–89, 487–9.

It does not seem from the documents that survive that he was more at risk of assassination than any other member of the book trade in Lyon, although he certainly had enemies (not least the Lyonnais printers whom he undercut) and creditors, and there is some history of sanguinary instincts in members of the publishing world associated with Beraud, inspired by confessional allegiance.¹⁵ At some point after his death, a suspect emerged: Giovanni Maria Cio[n]nacci, a Florentine merchant with whom Tinghi, Michel and Beraud had had commercial dealings: he had represented the interests of the Giunti against Beraud in the disputed Tinghi inheritance in 1582. He was tortured in late 1586, refused to confess, and on 8 August 1591 submitted to the estate of Beraud a claim for 500 écus damages plus interest, which I compute at about 15% compound: in all 893 écus 11 sous 1 denier: an early example of criminal compensation. The Sénéchaussée of Lyon upheld it; the administrators of the estate unsuccessfully appealed against the sentence in the Parlement de Paris, and then agreed to pay the sum in four instalments at the Lyon fairs.¹⁶ It is noteworthy that a Florentine merchant, described as 'noble' in at least one document,¹⁷ holding a fairs privilege in Lyon, was put to the question; for this to happen under French law, there had to be a 'forte présomption' or the testimony of two unimpeachable witnesses (possibly, given Cionnacci's later claim against the Beraud estate, these were the two persons acting on behalf of the heirs, Jean Compère and Julien Regrey). I believe it to be unusual for someone of this rank to be so treated;¹⁸ and it would be interesting to know what the evidence was on the basis of which he was tortured. In continental criminal law of the time, a 'strong presumption of murder' (which, without a voluntary confession, only justified flogging or some minor physical punishment, not execution), was defined as follows: someone is seen by two independent witnesses of unimpeachable character leaving a house with only one exit, looking pale and distressed, carrying a sword dripping blood: inside there is no person other than

¹⁵ Alessandro Marsili sought remuneration for having a protestant beheaded in the unrest in Lyon following the St Bartholomew's Day massacre in Paris: see *ibid.*, II, p. 158.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, V, p. 47; VI, p. 84.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 354.

¹⁸ See John H. Langbein, *Prosecuting crime in the Renaissance: England, Germany France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974); *id.*, *Torture and the law of proof: Europe and England in the ancien régime* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

a freshly murdered corpse.¹⁹ So Cionnacci must have been denounced, and the evidence of the witnesses must have persuaded a magistrate that he would be likely to confess under duress.

Baudrier does not record any suspicion falling on Etienne Michel, although he had broken off commercial relations with Beraud, which should have lasted until June 1587, 'pour plusieurs causes et raisons' a day before the murder.²⁰ Like much in this case, however, this document, which is dated 20 December 1586, three months after the murder, may not be what it seems: there is some likelihood that it is a legal fiction enacted to allow various parts of the Beraud estate to be liquidated (notably, the 'Grande Compagnie des libraires lyonnais', in which Beraud, Michel and Sybille de la Porte had shares). It does not seem that in 1586, Michel had a particularly bad reputation, although he was quickly to acquire one: but he certainly had led a somewhat adventurous or unstable career as a publisher. He was born in about

¹⁹ Julius Clarus, *Liber quintus receptarum sententiarum*, in *Opera* (Frankfurt: ex officina Wolfgangi Richteri, impensis omnium heredum Nicolai Bassaei, 1604), p. 138: (q. 20 n. 4) 'Ad torturam etiam quae indicia sufficiant, non potest dari certa doctrina: sed pariter relinquitur arbitrio iudicis [...] Ad condemnandum vero gravissima indicia requiruntur, et (ut Dd. appellant) indubitata, prout potest poni exemplum infra [q. 21 n. 40]. Scias tamen, quod in hoc articulo Doctores multum varie loquuntur. Nam aliqui dicunt, quod regulariter ex praesumptionibus violentis, vel indiciis quantumcumque indubitatis non debet aliquis in causa criminali condemnari [...] Alii dicunt, quod si agatur ad poenam pecuniariam, potest reus ex indiciis indubitatis etiam criminaliter condemnari. Et ita communiter teneri attestatur Grat. *cons 136 num 22 libr. 1* secus autem si agatur de poena corporali. Alii dicunt, quod ubi ex praesumptionibus proceditur, multum debet Iudex temperari suam sententiam, et maxime ne condemnet, nisi raro et modice ad poenam non pecuniariam, nec corporalem [...] Alii dicunt totum contrarium [...] Alii dicunt, quod quando indicia sunt indubitata, semper potest deveniri ad condemnationem, maxime in delictis occultis, et difficilibus probationibus, et tractatibus secretis, et in quib[us] veritas clarius haberi non potest [...] Et haec op[inio] nos servatur, quantum ad hoc, ut ex praesumptionibus deveniatur ad condemnationem, nam quotidie ex indiciis et praesumptionibus rei per Senatum condemnantur, non quidem in poenam mortis, neque poenam ordinariam ipsius delicti, sed in poenas etiam corporales, puta trirremium, fustigationis, ictuum funis, et huiusmodi, et in specie ita servatum fuit in quodam Antonio Maria Fayta, qui cum esset indiciis indubitatis gravatus de homicidio, fuit per decennium ad triremes condemnatus [...]'; *ibid.*, p. 150: (q. 21 n. 40) 'Si aliquis visus est ex aliquo domo cum gladio sanguinolento, et cum facie pallida, quae domus non habeat nisi unicum ostium, et intus reperiatur homo mortuus, tale indicium est sufficiens ad condemnationem. [...] Ego in practica semper vidi servari, quod hoc positum sit in arbitrio Iudicis. Nam aliquando vidi reos, contra quos extabant huiusmodi gravissima indicia, graviter torqueri, aliquando etiam vidi eos condemnari, non tamen poena ordinaria delicti, sed extraordinaria, iuxta ea, quae dixi supra [q. 20 n. 5]. Et ideo Iudex, considerata qualitate facti et personarum, amplecti quam opin[ionem] maluerit'.

²⁰ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, V, pp. 77–78.

1550 into a Lyon family which seems to have been linked to the book trade: his brother was to become a printer, and his widowed mother's second husband was the prominent merchant publisher Thibaud Payen. When Payen died in 1570 or 1571, her son Etienne inherited Payen's business, and adopted his printer's device; a symbolic act of some importance, as Tinghi's controversial decision to have his use of the Giunti device ratified by the French King shows.²¹ It is clear that he suffered from insufficient capital from the beginning, which he tried to palliate by sharing risk. Although by all accounts himself a Catholic, he entered to this end into association with protestants or families having strong links with Geneva: Louis Cloquemin from 1572 to 1577, and Barthélemy Honorat and Sybille de la Porte from 1579 to 1583.²² With them he became a speculative publisher of books across a wide range of disciplines which had first been produced elsewhere.²³ Michel published both under his own name, and conjointly with his associates: he presumably marketed these books in different places. Like Beraud, he reissued under his own name books that he had acquired through exchange or as settlement of debt.²⁴

I pass now from the murder to the estate of Beraud, and the problems of succession, which were to drag on for more than ten years, and led to three imprisonments for non-payment of debt, one in Lyon and two in Medina del Campo. Beraud left four heirs, each having an equal part:

²¹ Tinghi's permission to use the Fleur de Lys of Florence (a printer's mark otherwise exclusive to the Giunti) was successfully opposed by Giovanna Giunti in the Lyon courts in March 1578, Tinghi's two royal letters patent date from 5 July 1578 and 5 July 1580: see *ibid.*, VI, pp. 438–59.

²² *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 113–26; 408; VII, p. 348.

²³ One might cite his speculative reprinting of natural philosophy (Girolamo Cardano's *De subtilitate* in 1580, using as copy the Rouillé edition of Paris, 1559), of law (Matthäus Wesenbeck's *Paratitla* in 1583, previously published in Basle by Episcopius and Nicolai in 1563) of medicine (Johannes Jacobus Wecker, *Medicinae utriusque syntaxes* also in 1583, previously published in Basle by Episcopius and Nicolai in 1576) and of humanist writing (Marc-Antoine Muret's *Orationes xxv* in 1583, previously published in Paris by Loqueneux in 1577): see La Perrière, *Supplément provisoire à la "Bibliographie lyonnaise"*, pp. 147, 153.

²⁴ For an example see Gérard Morisse, 'Blas de Robles (1542–1592) primer editor de Cervantes', in *El libro antiguo español VI: de libros libreriás, imprentas y lectores*, ed. Pedro M. Cátedra, María Luisa López-Vidriero and Pablo Andrés (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca. SEMYR, 2002), pp. 285–320 (pp. 308–9). The edition in question of José Anglés's *Flores theologicarum quaestionum in secundum librum Sententiarum* was reissued by Jean-Baptiste Buysson in 1595–6; he may have been a creditor of Michel who received the sheets in settlement of debt. I am grateful to Clive Griffin for this reference.

his wife and three surviving children. One of these (Marguerite) was married to Alexandre de Villeneuve (or Vilanueva, or Villanova), a Lyonnais merchant grocer, who took an active part in the recovery of the monies of the estate. Its administration was handled by two prominent citizens of Lyon: Jean Compère, Docteur en droit, an advocate, who was tutor to the orphans; and Julien Regrey, a merchant draper, who was the godfather of Sibille Beraud. In July 1590, they were joined by Alexandre de Villeneuve, who was given the task of liaising with one of the most powerful Spanish merchants of the time, Simon Ruiz of Valladolid. He eventually accepted to become involved in the affairs of the succession through their mutual connection with Francisco (François) de Castro (Castres), a member of a Lyon mercantile family probably of Spanish origin: his actions were crucial in bringing about the settlement of the estate. The administrators began by establishing the outstanding debts and credits, and arranging to dispose of the stocks of books which were mainly, but not exclusively, stored in Lyon. For the Lyon stock, Beraud's former associate Etienne Michel initially offered 21,000 écus, an offer he raised on 5 July 1587 to 23,500 écus to match that of a bookseller in Salamanca called Claude Curlet; his offer was accepted on 16 December 1586, and he entered into possession both of Beraud's keys to the store or stores where the stock was kept, and the Company's account books which would permit him to collect debts owed to the estate by bookseller clients.²⁵ Also in 1587, he entered into an association with Adrian Périer, a Parisian bookseller recently arrived in Lyon, and became co-owner with him of a share in the Grande Compagnie des libraires lyonnais, which had first been owned by the Giunti, then Filippo Tinghi, then Symphorien Beraud, and then Etienne Michel; Sybille de la Porte and Barthélemy Honorat also held shares in the Company, which they disposed of in April and November 1589 respectively.²⁶ He seems to have paid about 5,000 écus on account close to the date of his acquisition of Beraud's share.

²⁵ Beraud, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, V, p. 78; IV, p. 408, 122, gives the name variously as Curlet, Curla or Carlet, see *ibid.*, I, p. 354 and VI, p. 452; Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Medina del Campo*, p. 455 records it as Curlet, and gives the place of residence. See also AHV 246, letters of Alexandre de Villeneuve dated 16.12.1591 and 14.1.1592.

²⁶ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, II, pp. 210–7. La Perrière, *Supplément provisoire à la "Bibliographie lyonnaise"*, p. 139, records that he was summoned with other merchant publishers to appear before the Consulat in Lyon on 12 July 1588, but there is no evidence that he was present in Lyon at the time.

In mid-1587, Michel left Lyon, and by March 1588 was in Medina del Campo to collect the monies owed there by the Boyers to the estate of Beraud (some 46,000 réaux or reales: about 4,000 écus). Boyer was later (in December 1590) to act for the estate against Mathieu Nesme in Medina del Campo (Nesme was mentioned by Alexandre de Villeneuve to Ruiz as a possible source of Michel money through garnishee). Michel appeared next in Venice, where on 8 August 1588 he executed a deed assigning books to a client (a member of the Giunti family) to the value of 248 écus which he held in common with the two Lyonnais publishers with whom he constituted a company between 1579 and 1583: 11 of the 54 titles, which were apparently never delivered, were probably part of the stock of the Grande Compagnie de libraires lyonnais to which Michel still had access.²⁷ These journeys show Michel to be in financial difficulty; Baudrier says that he was declared bankrupt in the course of 1587, and that in 1588 his wife obtained a 'séparation de biens' to relieve her of responsibility for his debts. But he was still apparently on good terms with Compère in March 1588, who agreed at that time to be the godfather of his son; and he was still active as a speculative publisher, for he was reported as being in Paris in 1589, where he attempted to publish with a Parisian colleague a controversial work by Roberto Bellarmino, and was prevented from doing so by the Procureur général.²⁸

It seems that at some time before January 1589, Compère and Regrey stopped trusting Michel and started pursuing him in law; Compère and Regrey first appointed a canon of the cathedral of Medina del Campo as their proxy in a bid to recover 18,000 écus from Nesme, who was holding some of the stock of Beraud books kept in the city.²⁹ He was apparently ineffectual, because some eighteen months later, they switched from him to the powerful merchant Simon Ruiz.³⁰ At some point before 23 July 1590, Michel had gained the reputation of being

²⁷ Ibid., p. 137.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 138–48.

²⁹ In a letter of 26 August 1591 (AHV 246), Villeneuve tells Ruiz that Nesme has 'muchas ballas', as well as a cédulle worth 9,600 écus from Benoît Boyer: see also *ibid.*, the letter of 20 October 1591, and Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, V, p. 487. On the non-delivery of the consignment of books, see La Perrière, *Supplément provisoire à la "Bibliographie lyonnaise"*, p. 140.

³⁰ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, II, pp. 211–2; V, p. 80 (the first proxy was a Canon of the Cathedral at Medina called Juan de Valencia; according to Villeneuve's letter of 4 April 1591, his powers were revoked before that date); La Perrière, *Supplément provisoire à la "Bibliographie lyonnaise"*, p. 140.

devious, dishonest and ruthless; he was suspected of hiding sums of money from the administrators of Beraud's estate.³¹ In Alexandre de Villeneuve's letter of that date to Ruiz, he calls him 'un cattivo homo et de malla fede.' He must have feared the effect of Michel's silver tongue on Simon Ruiz, because in succeeding letters he continues to denounce him in ever more emphatic terms, and ends up in July 1591 calling him 'el mas mal hombre que sia en el mondo.'³² In Villeneuve's entreaty to Ruiz, he stressed both his friendship with François de Castres,³³ and the Christian duty incumbent upon Ruiz to protect the widow and orphan. Accompanying Villeneuve's letter was a notarial document dated 13 July 1590 giving Ruiz leave to have Michel put in prison for non-payment of a debt of 18,600 écus, where Mathieu Nesme was to join him: at the same time, another proxy, Gianpietro Homodeo, was authorised to pursue Michel, seize his person, and bring him back to Lyon to answer to his creditors.³⁴ Michel was probably not apprehended until 1591; in the course of that year, Ruiz caught up with him, and had him thrown into jail in Medina del Campo. René Postellier, a prominent Lyon merchant publisher acting for the Beraud administrators, was given the power to release both Michel and Nesme on 10 October 1592;³⁵ this was reissued (for Michel alone) on 11 January 1593, and again on 12 November 1594, at which time he was offered, and apparently accepted, release on condition that he returned to Lyon to settle his affairs.³⁶ The voluminous correspondence between Alexandre de Villeneuve and Ruiz is also concerned with the recovery and liquida-

³¹ AHV 246, letter of Villeneuve dated 29 July 1591.

³² Ibid. On the 16 December 1590, he warned Ruiz not to 'attendare alle buone parole del detto Michel'; on 4 April 1591, he describes Michel as 'hombre muy malo et qual non tiene conscientia alguna'. In his letter to Ruiz of 10 February 1592, Villeneuve expressed the view that Michel deserved to be condemned to the galleys.

³³ This seems to not to have gone as Villeneuve hoped, as Castres did not release monies given by Ruiz to him to hand over to the Beraud administrators until a debt to him from the estate had been settled: see Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, V, p. 88. Villeneuve refers in a number of letters to Castres as a person who did not seem to be not worthy of the description 'honorable homme'. The number and whining tone of Villeneuve's letters must have irked Ruiz, because he did not bother to reply to them all.

³⁴ La Perrière, *Supplément provisoire à la "Bibliographie lyonnaise"*, p. 140.

³⁵ Villeneuve had urged Ruiz not to authorise Nesme's release until he had handed over the cédulle from Benoît Boyer in favour of the Beraud estate. See also Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, I, pp. 352–6. Postellier was the brother-in-law of Charles Pesnot.

³⁶ Ibid., II, p. 212; V, p. 80.

tion of Michel's stocks of books in Medina del Campo, and a number of other dealings. Meanwhile, in November 1590, Périer, Michel's current commercial partner, was imprisoned in Lyon at the request of the administrators of the Beraud estate. He argued that he would be unable to recover any monies from inside the prison, and was not only allowed to be released by Compère and Regrey, but even given bed and board by the latter. In January 1591 Périer tried to find out through a proxy where Michel was, and once located, to make him come back to Lyon so that their association could be dissolved; this suggests that Michel was not yet detained in Medina del Campo. Périer himself then fled from Regrey's house shortly thereafter 'usant de mauvaise foy'; Regrey had him caught and consigned to prison again, and forced him to liquidate some of his assets at ruinous rates; he also caused the share owned by Michel and Périer in the Grande Compagnie to be separated from the rest of the stock.³⁷ It was this share which was inventoried in December 1591, and seized with Périer's consent by Regrey and Compère. Alexandre de Villeneuve and the administrators of Beraud's estate had already seen it, because it is described in a memoir of December 1586 as 'many bales and piles of books'.³⁸ What its relationship is to the stock valued at 23,500 écus is unclear: but it seems to have been part of it. Périer was to remain in prison for 18 months, and on 20 March 1592 made a public declaration of his 'mauvais mesnage' with Etienne Michel, who had promised Périer when he left Lyon in July 1587 that he would send him bills of exchange to enable him to settle his debts, which of course he did not do. Périer must have deeply regretted his association with Michel. He eventually returned to Paris, whence he had come in 1586 or 1587, in 1596.³⁹ After his return to Lyon in 1594 or later, Michel himself apparently published only one more book in his name (associated with that of Hugues Gazeau), in 1597;⁴⁰ but although probably bankrupt, he is still described as a 'libraire de Lyon' in an act of 1602, which confirms, by reference to the 'séparation de biens' with his wife, his continued precarious financial situation.⁴¹

³⁷ Ibid., II, p. 213.

³⁸ AHV, 246, sent with the letter of Villeneuve dated 16 December 1591.

³⁹ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, II, p. 210.

⁴⁰ Giacomo Menocchio, *Commentariorum de praesumptionibus*: see appendix, no. 4.

⁴¹ It was still possible in France to be active as a publisher and be bankrupt, as the case of Toussaint du Bray shows: see Roméo Arbour, *Un éditeur d'oeuvres littéraires au XVII^e siècle, Toussaint du Bray, (1604–1636)* (Paris: Droz, 1992), pp. 137–56.

The liquidation of the assets of the Beraud estate was to take a further five or so years; but I can omit this rather tedious part of the story. I wish now to turn to the Inventory of 27 December 1591 which valued the Lyon book stock of Périer and Michel. The surviving, certified, copy was sent to Ruiz by Alexandre de Villeneuve in January 1592. Its preamble runs as follows:

An inventory of 545 bales of printed books found in two stores in this town of Lyon near the Church and Convent of the Jacobins, called la Compagnie, which 545 bales have been handed over by Etienne Michel merchant publisher of Lyon to Maître Jean Compère tutor of the children and heirs of Symphorien Beraud and Julian Regrey administrator of the goods and faculties of the said children to be surety and mortgage for part of the sum of 18,600 écus which Michel and his compagnon and associate Adrian Périer owe to the said heirs of Symphorien Beraud by contract dated 5 July 1587 received by Maître Jean Gravier Royal Notary in Lyon, as the said Compere and Regrey have made disclosure to us: at whose request the present inventory has been made to value the books for the case between the said Compere and Regrey and the said Etienne Michel pending against Etienne Michel in the towns of Medina del Campo and the royal chancery in Valladolid in the country and realm of Spain. This inventory has been made in the presence of Maître Pierre Austrein Conseiller du Roi Lieutenant particulier in the Sénéchaussée and Presidial Court of Lyon.⁴²

It is tempting to try to imagine the scene in the two stores, one of which is described in another document as so damp that the papers kept there were deteriorating,⁴³ in the dead of a Lyon winter. Four colleagues of Michel were able to see exactly what his claims for solvency were based on; a humiliating experience, even in absentia, for Michel, as he had confidently stated that the stock was worth the full sum that he owed to the Beraud estate.⁴⁴ Even the notarial description of 1586 refers to the implicit disorder in the warehouse by mentioning 'piles of books' as well as those stored in bales; Villeneuve scornfully referred to them as 'libri imperfetti et ingarbullati con molto di modo'.⁴⁵ As well as computations to the nearest half-folio, there are quite a few errors in calculation (about 13% of the figures are wrong, as well as the sub-total

⁴² See appendix, p. 252, for the French text.

⁴³ La Perrière, *Supplément provisoire à la "Bibliographie lyonnaise"*, p. 137.

⁴⁴ AHV 246, letter of Villeneuve dated 14 January 1592.

⁴⁵ Ibid., letter of 16 December 1590; similar comments appear in the letter of 16 December 1591.

of one of the pages); this cannot be put down to fraud, as Périer and Michel had two representatives present as well as the Beraud heirs; the task of counting and recording over 2,800,000 printed sheets, some of which were up to seventy years old, could not have been easy. It appears that most of the books were collated into single copies, which was of some assistance to the auditors of the stock: but reference to books 'by alphabet' suggests that there were also uncollated sheets.⁴⁶

It is possible to identify with some certainty many of the books listed, as their format and collation are given, and as they were nearly all given Lyon as their address, and had either the imprint of one of the Giunti family, or of Tinghi, or of Beraud, or of Beraud and Michel, or of Périer and Michel, or of Honorat, or of Cloquemin, or of Thibaud Payen, or of other Lyonnais publishers with whom the Compagnie had close links, such as Sebastian Gryphius and Hugues de la Porte: some seem to have been the result of exchange or settlement of debt, or were acquired speculatively at some point by the Grande Compagnie des libraires. They reflect the cultural capital on which the success of this part of the Lyon book trade was based. The largest component of the stock consists in standard folio works of law; many of these are named in the privilege that Tinghi sought and obtained from the French crown in 1578.⁴⁷ This list contains all the major texts of Roman and Canon law, all the standard glosses, a high proportion of the best known medieval commentators, and one or two moderns (Andrea Alciati, Giulio Clari); a vast and ambitious publishing programme, of which Tinghi

⁴⁶ See appendix, nos. 42 and 121.

⁴⁷ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VI, p. 453: 'spécialement toutes les oeuvres de Albericus de Rosate, toutes les lectures et conseilz d'Alciat, toutes les oeuvres de Bartole, toutes les oeuvres de Balde, toutes les oeuvres de Petrus Paulus, Parisius, Consilia Bertrandi, Consilia Cornei, toutes les oeuvres de Philipus Decius, toutes les oeuvres de Bartholomeus Socinus, toutes les oeuvres de Marianus Socinus, Consilia Barba[t]iae, le Cours civil avec les glosses, le Cours canon avec les glosses, Christophorus Portius super Instituta, les oeuvres de Ludovicus Romanus, les oeuvres de Jason Maynus, Consilia Ruyni, toutes les oeuvres de R[i]m[in]aldus, toutes les oeuvres de Turrecremata, toutes les oeuvres de Felin, toutes les oeuvres de Joannes Faber, les oeuvres de Dominicus de Sancto Geminiano, les oeuvres de Henricus Brichus, les oeuvres de Hippolytus de Marsiliis, les oeuvres de Joannes de Imola, les oeuvres de Lucas de Pena, les oeuvres de Mathaeus de Afflictis, les oeuvres de Rippa, toutes les oeuvres de Paulus de Castro, les oeuvres de Bartachinus, les oeuvres de Salicel, les oeuvres de Hostiensis, les oeuvres de Azo, les oeuvres de Zabarelle, le grand volume des Répétitions de divers autheurs, le grand volume des Grandz traictés de divers autheurs, les oeuvres de Cynus, la grande glosse ordinaire Singularium omnium doctorum, toutes les oeuvres de Julius Clarus'. See also above, note 21.

and Beraud between them only completed a small part. It is not clear to me whether the doctors of Canon Law whom Tinghi planned to reprint were any longer as much in demand after the Council of Trent as before; like the breviaries and missals which no longer had validity in the post-Tridentine world, and the schoolbooks of Gryphius which had passed out of fashion, this part of the inventory has the decided feel of dead stock.⁴⁸ There is quite a lot of Catholic pastoral theology and preachers' aids; a few retained authors, such as Francesco Giuntini and Crisostomo Javelli; some standard reference works (such as Calepino, and Cartari's *Imagines deorum*); also a certain amount of literature in the vernacular (popular romances such as *Amadis de Gaule*, translations of Plutarch, Lucan, Livy, Pliny and Dioscorides); some speculative large-scale publication of standard texts such as Aristotle and St Thomas Aquinas; and an illustrated Bible. Interestingly, nearly all the medical books published by Beraud and Michel are not to be found here.⁴⁹ In the list there are reissues of earlier texts with new titlepages, and reprinting of works from jurisdictions which did not extend to Lyon.⁵⁰ Together with these titles are found Michel's new ventures, not yet ready for release: a new edition of Seneca, some new legal authors, a speculative reprint of Galen.⁵¹ But even with these newly printed works, apparently stored as uncollated sheets rather than completed books, the stock cannot have been a very reassuring sight to the creditors.

At the end of the Inventory are the signatures of the booksellers chosen by each side to agree the quantities and valuation: these are René Postellier and Jean Huguetan (for Périer acting as Michel's proxy); and for Compère and Regrey, Jean-Baptiste Regnaud and Pierre Cavellat. Of these, at least one (Jean Huguetan) was a prominent huguenot, while Périer himself almost certainly a Catholic, for he married the widow of Gilles Beys who was also Christophe Plantin's daughter.⁵² There does not seem to be any separation of the religious communities in the publishing world. They agreed the value to be 12,812 livres 8 sols 7 deniers: 'reduit en escus sol d'or 4,270.16.2': still over 14,000 écus

⁴⁸ See appendix, nos. 37, 62, 65, 68, 75, 79, 99.

⁴⁹ There are exceptions, but from the earliest period of the stock: see nos. 109 (*Antidotarium*) and 95 (Brasavola's two books with the title *Examen*). But the commercially successful authors Laurent Joubert and Guy de Chauliac, published by Beraud in more than one edition, do not figure in the inventory.

⁵⁰ For examples, see appendix, nos. 15, 57.

⁵¹ For examples, see appendix, nos. 84, 128, 129.

⁵² See Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, II, p. 210; IX, pp. 330–37.

short of full satisfaction of Michel's debt, in spite of his assurances to the administrators of the Beraud estate that the stock in question was worth enough to act as guarantee for his full debt to them.

This is a copy of the deed, and it ends with a certification in both Latin and Italian, with notarial and other witnesses. Many of the documents relating to the case are multilingual: the Bonvisi bank at Lyon represented Ruiz, and wrote to him in Italian; Villeneuve wrote to him in both Spanish and Italian (and sometimes a mixture of the two); a Latin translation attested by a notaire is found on several of the documents, as on this one. Ruiz apparently could not read languages other than Castilian, for Villeneuve apologised to him for sending the Inventory not in that language, and invites him to have it translated in Medina. It is accompanied by a copy of the dissolution of the association between Symphorien Beraud and Etienne Michel dated 20 December 1586. The valuation was computed by the printed ream: books printed in Lyon between 1520 and 1560 are given a value of 20 sous the ream; between 1560 and 1579, 45 sous the ream; and between 1579 and 1589, 55 sous the ream. Incomplete books were given a value of 10 sous a ream. As a rough guide, paper prices at the time, which depended on weight, varied between 25 sous and 40 sous the ream.

The relevant figures are as follows:

1520–60	565 reams 6 quires 13 sheets (10% of the stock inventoried)
1560–79	328 reams 12 quires 2 sheets (6%)
1579–89	4049 reams 2 quires 13 sheets (71%)

There were 745 reams 3 quires of imperfect copies (both new ventures not yet completed, and defective copies: 13% of the total). The inventory does not identify the books which fall into these categories, except in cases of imperfect copies and very old stock, where the entry contains the word 'noir' (presumably gothic letter) or 'viel'.⁵³ This practice, which is found also in publishers' and booksellers' catalogues at the time, as a means of disguising those elements of the stock which were not recently printed but which might be candidates for reissuing with new title-pages,⁵⁴ makes the attribution of date to the various items very difficult.

⁵³ For examples, see appendix, nos. 48, 117, 120, 135.

⁵⁴ See G. Richter, 'Bibliographische Beiträge zur Geschichte buchhändlersicher Kataloge im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buches und seiner Funktion in der Gesellschaft: Festschrift für Hans Widmann* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann),

On the basis of surviving copies I have been able to locate, there seem to be many more books dating from before 1560 than the calculation suggests. This could with some plausibility be attributed to large-scale failures of survival of later editions to the present day; but it may also be that the earlier editions had been supplied with new titlepages and dates; it is known from colophons which do not match imprints that a certain number of titles had already been reissued.⁵⁵ The discrepancy may also indicate that those engaged in the inventory were happy with approximations of date. In any case, it is necessary to suppose that many of the works for which I can find only editions in the earliest period were later reissued or reprinted. Whether the booksellers charged with the inventory took account of this is not clear, but I rather doubt it. How far the books were marked down in value can be assessed from records of retail prices for some of the titles: the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, for example, here valued at 1 livre 8 sous (703 sheets), appears with a price of 15 livres in the documents associated with Cloquemin.⁵⁶ On this basis, Michel's claim that his books were worth 18,000 écus is made to seem less implausible.

The stock, including the incomplete books, was later seized, and there is evidence that sixty to eighty bales of the most presentable volumes were sent to Medina to be distributed to booksellers and sold at the October fair.⁵⁷ Other books were distributed to the creditors over the period 1592 to 1598. These, together with the new ventures, were reissued with new titlepages and preliminaries.⁵⁸ Two beneficiaries already in the book trade were Pierre Landry and Jean-Baptiste Buysson: but the merchant grocer Alexandre de Villeneuve was not. When he eventually received part of the settlement of the estate in the form of sheets (of the very popular sermons of Luis de Granada), he reissued them in his name qua publisher.⁵⁹ A number of titles also appear from this inven-

1974, pp. 183–229; R. Engelsing, 'Deutsche Verlegerplakate des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 9 (1969), 217–338; *Bücherkataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Reinhart Wittmann, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984); Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrmann, *The distribution of books by catalogue from the invention of printing to A.D. 1800, based on material in the Broxbourne Library* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965).

⁵⁵ For an example, see appendix, no. 32.

⁵⁶ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, IV, p. 41.

⁵⁷ AHV, 246, letters of Villeneuve to Ruiz dated 1 April 1592 and 29 April 1592.

⁵⁸ For examples, see appendix, nos. 4, 24, 26, 87.

⁵⁹ See Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, V, pp. 489–91; by November 1595, he had fallen out with René Postellier, who accused him of sequestering both the keys to the bookstore and the account books, against the interests of Adrian Pérrier: *ibid.*, p. 488.

tory (as well as from other warehouses in which Beraud must have kept books) with the imprint 'heirs of Symphorien Beraud'.⁶⁰

I should like now to highlight a number of features of the trade in learned books which are revealed by this affair and the inventory which records it: the first concerns collaborative ventures. As is clear from this example, it was extremely difficult to liquidate assets in the book trade. This is partly because stock was dispersed across Europe, and left in the hands of retail booksellers who would not necessarily settle accounts on a regular basis, and partly because many booksellers and publishers held shares in jointly-owned companies whose assets were principally in the form of book stocks. Tinghi was in three of these: the *Compagnie des libraires de Lyon*, the *Compagnie des héritiers de Jacopo Giunti*, and the *Grande Compagnie des libraires de Venise*, founded by Lucantonio Giunti I, not to be confused with the exporting association called the *Societas minima* through which a number of Venice and Padua printers and publishers sent books to Frankfurt in the last years of the sixteenth century.⁶¹ There are other associations we have already met, which can be recognized on imprints by combinations of names: Beraud and Michel is one, Michel and Cloquemin, Michel and Honorat, and Michel and Périer yet others. Very often, when an edition of some great work was undertaken (such as the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, or the *Summa* of St Thomas Aquinas), the imprints carry the names of individuals acting as members of the *Compagnie* to which they were associated; they can also bear the name of the printer rather than that of the publisher. Both practices can wrongly give the impression that there were multiple editions and great popular demand, whereas the contrary implication (that there was the need to spread risk because the market was not assured, or the text was so great that collaboration was needed even to achieve a short print run) seems to me more plausible. An example in the inventory which poses this problem is afforded by of Domingo de Soto's *De iustitia et iure* (appendix, no. 13); this appeared in 1582 with no less than six bibliographical addresses.⁶²

The role of factors is of interest. One Lyon publishing family (the de Gabianos) were known to train these, and release them for employment

⁶⁰ See appendix, nos. 20, 129; Arbour, *L'Ere baroque en France: répertoire chronologique des éditions de textes littéraires*, vol. 1 (Geneva: Droz, 1971), p. 183 (no. 1593/1451) lists also Pierre de Boaistuau, *Le theatre du monde*, Hiers of Syphorien Beraud, 1593.

⁶¹ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VI, p. 443; references to the *Societas* of Venice are found in the Frankfurt Book Fair Catalogues in the 1580s and 1590s.

⁶² *Ibid.*, VI, p. 442.

elsewhere;⁶³ but the majority remained in the same business, where they became in due course full partners, either by promotion or, more commonly, by marriage to the widow of their employer (Beraud is an example of the former case; there are many examples of the latter). Yet others went on to become independent booksellers and publishers in their own right, as did Gilles Beys, the son-in-law of Christophe Plantin who acted as his factor in Paris from 1564 to 1577 before striking out on his own.⁶⁴ Those who did this often changed the policy of their previous employer, in the belief that they had perceived an error in his strategy, or a new niche in the market. Beraud took over the Giunti stocks because he believed that he could sell them more successfully than they in Spain and Italy; Michel clearly also thought that there were unexploited markets in the same areas, and sought to exploit the gaps left in various geographical regions by reprinting works that he knew had sold well elsewhere. For his part, Gilles Beys seems to have thought that very small formats and translations into the vernacular of natural philosophy would be profitable. These and other strategies were often unsuccessful. Some publishers such as Périer put their failure down to external factors, such as the religious wars in France;⁶⁵ but it is possible to identify a factor internal to the book market itself, namely its progressive saturation. This can be seen most clearly in the crisis suffered by the learned book trade in the late 1610s and 1620s which is marked by a number of bankruptcies and distressed sales of large stocks; eventually even those ruthless exploiters of the collapse of rivals (such as the Wechel family of Frankfurt) became the victims of the excess of supply over demand.⁶⁶

There are various noteworthy aspects of the financial and commercial arrangements of the book trade revealed by the case under discussion. The evidence of the agreements between Beraud and the Giunti, and of the stock of books held by Michel, suggests that sales of learned books were very slow, and that throughout the century estimates of market uptake were very optimistic. These books sat in locked warehouses

⁶³ Ibid., VII, p. 207.

⁶⁴ See Ian Maclean, 'The readership of philosophical fictions: the bibliographical evidence', above, pp. 25–37.

⁶⁵ See Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, II, p. 216.

⁶⁶ See Ian Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books and conceptions of genre in northern Europe, 1570–1630', above, pp. 9–24.

all over Europe; how many there were in any given store was a secret known only to members of the association who owned them, and they were very loath to reveal what their assets were, as is evinced by the lengths the administrators of the estate of Beraud and other litigants had to go to obtain account books and keys to the warehouses. The bales of printed sheets were respected as assets, because they could they act as security for debts, and as forfeit for bills of exchange; but as the inventory of 1591 shows, their values declined, their preliminaries and final gatherings suffered destruction, and they deteriorated because of moisture and worms.⁶⁷ If placed in small numbers with booksellers, they seem not to have been paid for until a sale was achieved. Publishers were often asset-rich, but the goods they held were illiquid, and this led to problems of cash-flow. One paradoxical effect seems to have been greater and greater speculative exposure to the market: the only way they perceived to stay in business was to take more and more risks with slow-selling products, thereby contributing to market saturation. Through this practice, publishers, although on occasions technically bankrupt, continued to be active in their trade, having presumably made an assessment of their rate of return on investment, and the delays in the recovery of liquidity they would have to endure. As is well known, double-entry book-keeping is taken up by merchants in the course of the sixteenth century throughout Europe, having been a sort of trade secret known to the Italians before that,⁶⁸ it may have facilitated some of the calculations merchants had to make which previously had been difficult to compute, but as it was principally aimed at supplying information on an individual basis about transactions with a given client, it did not easily yield up information about profit and loss. Leon Voet has shown by a meticulous study of accounts of Christophe Plantin that he recovered the costs of an edition on average over three years, and thereafter showed a profit; but this calculation does not seem to be recorded anywhere by Plantin himself.⁶⁹ Various commercial pressures, including the stipulation made at some book fairs that only new

⁶⁷ See above, note 43.

⁶⁸ See Yasuhiko Kataoka, *The first manuscript in the world on double-entry book-keeping written by Benedetto Cotrugli* (Tokyo: Institute of Business Research, Daito Bunka University, 1998); (on Cotrugli's *Della mercatura et del mercante perfetto*; its author died in 1468).

⁶⁹ Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: a history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols (Amsterdam and London: Vangendt, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969–72), II, *passim*.

editions should be advertised there, encouraged the reissue of existing stock with new titlepages;⁷⁰ I believe that such reissues are another factor which has led book historians in the past to overestimate the size and vigour of the book market. They also reveal that some names in imprints are not those of publishers at all, but rather creditors seeking to realise some money from recovered goods.

A different picture emerges from the publication of religious service books, and of official legal documents. Plantin is known to have had the privilege (but not the monopoly) for printing missals and breviaries for Spain, and no doubt made a very great profit on them.⁷¹ But even here too rosy a picture of returns can be produced. Lapeyre discovered in Ruiz's papers a commercial assessment relating to liturgical books. It was computed in this document that there were about fifty bishoprics in Spain, each with a need for 1500 breviaries, not counting the needs of monks and nuns (put at about five hundred); about double this number was thought to be the requirement for missals and *diornales* (sorts of breviary). It was estimated that 40 presses could be established to provide in one year 40,000 breviaries and the same number of missals. The cost of production and the tax were computed (including the capital outlay for presses and paper); and from that the profit could be ascertained (about sevenfold, without labour or distribution costs).⁷² Interestingly, it was not sufficient to persuade the merchant for whom the document was produced to become involved in a publishing enterprise. He may have been looking for a far greater return; but he may also have noticed the flaw in the estimates, namely that there would be a very active market in second-hand missals and breviaries which would make it very difficult to maintain the rate of production. It is interesting to note that the first formal auction sales of second-hand books occur quite late (in the last decade of the sixteenth century, in the Netherlands), but it seems reasonable to suppose that the second-hand market must have played a role in the difficulties experienced by the learned book market from the 1520s onwards.⁷³

If the associations or companies of publishers had to be terminated because of death or disharmony, the resultant legal actions seem often

⁷⁰ See Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books'.

⁷¹ Voet, *The golden compasses*.

⁷² Lapeyre, *Les Ruiz*, pp. 571–3.

⁷³ See Pollard and Ehrmann, *The distribution of books by catalogue from the invention of printing to A.D. 1800*.

to have been highly complex and expensive, and can be misleading. I am fairly certain that the dissolution of the association between Beraud and Michel, which was dated in a document after Beraud's death to the day before his death, is a legal fiction allowing for their association to be brought to an end in the neatest and most efficient manner legally; but it may lead to the suspicion that Michel was complicit in some way in Beraud's death, although no-one seems to have suggested this at the time. The fact that the associates had to proceed by letters of credit, often through proxies, led to a great deal of suspicion of dishonesty: the internal regulation of financial disputes through arbitrators who were colleagues and publishers (and who in turn, because of fundamental disagreement, were themselves forced in some cases to appoint an arbitrator to settle the matters they had been appointed to deal with)⁷⁴ only worked if both parties engaged in the arbitration in good faith, which seems not always to have been the case. Non-appearance at agreed meetings, and non-compliance with court orders seem to have been as common a feature of commercial life as no doubt they are today.⁷⁵ The issue of good and bad faith, both between merchants and between merchants and their factors, is an important facet of the anthropology of trade at this time; it is of note however that the onus of proof lay with those wishing to prove bad faith. Had Villeneuve's letters to Ruiz been made public, he would have been open to an indictment for defamation.⁷⁶ This issue also reveals how alive its participants were to the market's operation and regulation, and should deter us from assuming that mercantile activity in the past was in some way less sophisticated or complex than that of the present. The laws relating to the settlement of disputes were clearly very sophisticated; the international nature of mercantile exchanges (multi-lingual documents and even versions of names, the use of proxy) is also very striking. So was the ability of merchants to act at a distance to enforce their rights and interests. In

⁷⁴ For a case of second-order arbitration, see Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, V, p. 587.

⁷⁵ For examples, see Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, V, pp. 86, 587, and above, note 26.

⁷⁶ See Ian Maclean, *Interpretation and meaning in the Renaissance; the case of law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 165–8, 186–202; cf. the legal maxim 'qui dicit malam fidem debet eam probari'. See also Philippus Francus, *Tractatus [...] in materia petitorii per modum disputationis*, §26 in *Tractatus iuris universi* (Venice: Societas Aquilae se renovantis, 1584), IV, f. 105v; Franciscus Balbus, *De praescriptionibus*, 3§15–16, *ibid.*, VIII, f. 79v.

the present case, Compère and Regrey were able to have Michel and Nesme apprehended in Medino del Campo through a third party whose involvement in the affair began with the husband of one of the heirs of Beraud calling in a debt of friendship.

The case of Beraud also reveals the relationship between commerce and confession at this time. There can be no doubt as to Tinghi's and Beraud's membership of the Catholic community of Lyon; and no doubt either of their commercial ties with protestant Geneva. Clearly, religious affiliation did not get in the way of trade, even though after 1563, the town council of Lyon seems to have been very intolerant of protestants, and regretted that printing workers who sought employment in Geneva because of the downturn in the printing trade in Lyon very often slipped into heresy (as they perceived it) as a result.⁷⁷ Nor, in the case of Beraud, did loyalty to the commercial community of Lyon stop him consorting with Genevan printers. A notable feature of this collaboration is the practice, engaged in by Tinghi first, then by Tinghi, Beraud and Michel under letters patent from the king of having titlepages separately produced with Lyon imprints for Geneva-printed books.⁷⁸ Baudrier even says that these books, which were stored in warehouses outside Lyon, were sold in bound form.⁷⁹ The Consulat (the council of twelve of Lyon) forbade this practice; they attributed the decline of the Lyon printing industry directly to it. On 14 July 1588, they summoned Pierre Landry, Guillaume Roville, Jean-Baptiste Regnaud with a number of other prominent merchant publishers to answer the charge that they had severely damaged the printing industry in Lyon by using Genevan printers and adding to their products a Lyon bibliographical address, to ensure that their works could be sold in Spain and Italy, and had caused an emigration of compositors and other print workers to Geneva. The merchant publishers replied that they had been forced to do so by the high costs and restrictive trade practices of the Lyon printers, who retorted in turn that they had been forced to put up their prices because of the rising cost of living.⁸⁰ The dispute raised the issue of jurisdiction; did letters patent from the King or the Paris Parlement override the decisions of the various competent

⁷⁷ Ibid., V, p. 298.

⁷⁸ Ibid., VI, p. 440 (joint submission with Sébastien Nivelles of Paris); *ibid.*, VI, p. 459 (letter patent from the King addressed to Tinghi, Beraud and Michel of 5 July 1580).

⁷⁹ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VI, p. 441.

⁸⁰ Ibid., V, p. 298 quoted below, pp. 273–4.

authorities in Lyon (the Sénéchaussée and the Tribunal de conservation des privilèges royaux des foires de Lyon)?⁸¹ This question gave rise to the widespread practice of having recourse to a variety of courts at this time, and shows the uncertainties in the minds of litigants about the precedence of one jurisdiction over another, and their willingness to be opportunistic for commercial advantage.

Another aspect of the confessionalisation of the book trade which might be mentioned here is censorship. Ruiz decided in 1572 no longer to deal in books imported from France, as 'so much corruption comes from that country that they are rightly examined very carefully before being allowed in [to Spain]'.⁸² But Ronald Truman has found a document of 1629 which suggests that the censorship on Spain was nothing like as efficient as is suggested by Ruiz's remark;⁸³ and the few book inventories in notarial documents in Valladolid which I have seen suggests the same.⁸⁴ It appears that the frontier between Spain and Northern Europe was more porous than has sometimes been believed. I do not think however that Beraud or Michel were engaged in any publishing enterprise which would have exposed them to the rigours of censorship or Inquisition. Both seem to me to be interested in making money out of the trade in books in ways which did not fall foul of such regulation; as the printing of a book in Geneva with a Lyon address shows, this not only had the benefit of allowing the publisher to save money, but also prevented the contents from being suspected of heresy. Some of their books also advertised the fact on their titlepages that they had been scrutinised by the Church before publication.⁸⁵ A final point I should like to make is that commercial imperatives seem often to have over-ridden confessional interests. Religious tensions in Lyon were high, after the turbulent period of protestant domination in the early 1560s and what the violent events which occurred there after the St Bartholomew's day massacre in Paris in 1572; one would

⁸¹ For evidence of appeals to this body, see *ibid.*, VII, p. 214, and La Perrière, *Supplément provisoire à la "Bibliographie lyonnaise"*, pp. 136–7.

⁸² Quoted by Lapeyre, *Les Ruiz*, p. 570: 'que como bien tanta corruzion desa tierra, mirase mucho primero que se pasen y con rason'.

⁸³ Ronald W. Truman, 'Fray Juan Ponce de León and the seventeenth-century *libreros* of Madrid', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 81 (2004), 1091–107.

⁸⁴ See Rojo Vega, 'Les livres des Espagnols à l'Époque moderne'; AHV Protocols 1629, f. 15VI.

⁸⁵ E.g. Giuntini's *Speculum astrologiae* of 1581 and 1583, which has as part of its rubricated title the phrase 'omnia sub censura Sancti Ecclesiae Catholicae Romanae' prominently displayed in red.

expect the book trade to be very cautious about collaboration across the confessional divide, but this does not seem to have been the case. One will not find cases of Catholic printers and publishers producing overtly protestant material, but the reverse is quite common.⁸⁶ After the introduction of the Index in Spain and Italy, even protestant authors writing on religiously neutral topics were condemned under a blanket act of censorship, as were publisher in suspect printing centres, such as Geneva and Basle;⁸⁷ the use respectively of Lyon and Cologne imprints allowed publishers such as Michel and Beraud who engaged in speculative publication of works which had succeeded commercially well in other market zones, to exploit parts of the book market which otherwise would have been closed to them, at least in open trade. Vestiges of the same practice may be found in the activities of Jean Mareschal, the Lyon bookseller who fled to Heidelberg, and in that of Giovanni Battista Ciotti of Venice and Lazarus Zetzner of Strasbourg, who caused books they commissioned from printers in Frankfurt to appear with a Cologne address, and even in Geneva booksellers such as the Chouets issued the same book with different titlepages for different confessional markets.⁸⁸ The case of Michel also shows this practice of disguising the true provenance of a book could be used for reissuing and pirating books; Michel in particular seems to have had a very clear views about the zones in which the activities of various publishing centres were efficient and profitable, but as his unsold stock shows, his strategy did not always work. This is another reason why we should be very cautious in attributing market demand to works which are printed at many publishing centres. Any attempt to interpret the data about learned book publication at this time quantitatively must, I believe, be engaged in with great caution.

⁸⁶ Although not universal: witness the attempts by the Genevan consistory to suppress the publication of certain scholastic theologians: see Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VI, p. 448.

⁸⁷ *Index des livres interdits*, ix: *Index de Rome 1590, 1593, 1596. Avec étude des index de Parme 1580 et Munich 1582*, ed. J.M. de Bujanda et al. (Quebec: University de Sherbrooke/Droz, 1994).

⁸⁸ Dr. Dennis Rhodes is preparing a bio-bibliography of Ciotti; see also his 'Some neglected aspects of the career of Giovanni Battista Ciotti,' *The Library*, 6.9 (1987), 225–39; on Zetzner and Mareschal, see Ian Maclean, 'Mediations of Zabarella in northern Germany, 1586–1623', above, pp. 39–58. The Chouets and other Genevan publishers very often use the Latin form 'Aurelia Allobrogum' in an apparent attempt to disguise the provenance of their wares.

APPENDIX:

THE INVENTORY OF ETIENNE MICHEL 27 DECEMBER 1591

This transcription has the entries in the inventory (but not the accompanying text) in bold; the proposed identification of the books and any notes appear in Roman and italic. The entries follow the following order: number of bales; title, or author, or both; format; number of copies per bale; number of printed folio sheets per copy; the outcome in terms of reams, quires and folios. In the transcription, the same abbreviations are used as in the manuscript: b for bale; f for feuille (folio sheet); r for rame (ream); m for main (quire); do (for ditto) appears in place of the format, but there are cases where it cannot be correct. { indicates that the works named are bracketed in the text as being part of the same bale. The total number of copies for any given work can be computed by multiplying the number of bales by the number of copies per bale, and adding this figure to any other occurrences of the same title: e.g. for Catari, *Imagines deorum*, there are two entries: one bale of 64; three bales of 110, making 394 copies in toto.

I have supplied numbers to the entries; where the same work occurs later in the inventory, it is given the earlier number, and the notes are not repeated. The letters A, B, C, i attached to the number refer respectively to the periods and categories given at the end of the inventory (1520–60; 1560–79; 1579–1589; ‘imparfait’), which determine the value of the folios in the bale. As no indication of date is given (except ‘viel’), I have been unable to identify with certainty the quantities recorded at the end of the document in each category, except in the case of imperfect copies, but even there, I have had to assume an error in calculation. An asterisk indicates that the folio count given in the inventory matches the page, folio, or collation count of the edition cited. In the notes, the identifications contain the source used:

- | | |
|------------|--|
| A | Herbert Mayow Adams, <i>Catalogue of books printed on the continent of Europe, 1501–1600, in Cambridge libraries</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) |
| Bau | Henri-Louis Baudrier, <i>Bibliographie lyonnaise : recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraries, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle, publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier</i> , 12 vols (Paris: F. de Nobele, 1964–5) |
| Baus | Yvonne La Perrière, <i>Supplément provisoire à la “Bibliographie lyonnaise” du président Baudrier</i> (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1967) |
| BL | British Library, London |
| Bod | Bodleian Library, Oxford |
| CCF | Catalogue Collectif de France |
| CranzS | F. Edward Cranz, <i>A bibliography of Aristotle editions, 1501–1600</i> , rev. Charles B. Schmitt (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1984) |
| Gültlingen | Sybille von Gültlingen and René Bagados, <i>Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle</i> (Baden-Baden: V. Koener, 1992–) |

- HAB Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
 HPB Consortium of European Research Libraries Hand Press Books Database
 (followed by the Library)
 KVK Universität Karlsruhe, Universitätsbibliothek, Karlsruhe virtueller
 Katalog (followed by the library grouping)
 PBN Paris, Bibliothèque de France

Discrepancies in addition and in format are noted, but otherwise descriptions are kept to minimum. The place of publication is Lyon except where otherwise stated. In cases of reprintings (which may also be reissues), I have accepted the later date. The name of the publisher appears in the usual vernacular form (where the printer also is named, this appears as on the imprint). The pagination given in bibliographies and library catalogues is indicated by f(olios), col(umns) and p(ages).

Inuentaire de Cinq cens quarante cinq balles, Liures imprimez trouué [sic] dans deux magasins en ceste ville de lyon pres l'Eglise et couuent des Jacobins appellé [sic] La compagnie, lesquelles Cinq cens quarante cinq balles Livres ont esté remises par Estienne Michel Libraire dudit Lyon a Me Jehan Compere tuteur des enfans et heritiers feu Simphorien Beraud et Jehan Regrey administrateur des biens et facultez desditz enfans pour leur seruir d'ypothèque assurance et risgarda de partie de la Somme de dixhuit mil et six cents escus en laquelle ledit Michel et Adrian Perier son compagnon et associé sont tenuz et obligez ausdicts heritiers Beraud par obligation du Cinquiesme Jour du moys de Juillet mil cinq cens quatre vingts et sept. Receue par Me Jehan Grauiet Notaire Royal audit Lyon, ainsi que lesditz Compere et Regrey nous ont fait apparoir, a la requeste desquels a esté fait ledit present Inuentaire aux fins de faire estimer apprecier et esualuer les Livres imprimez contenuz audit present Inuentaire pour leur seruir et ualoir ce que de raison, mesmes contre ledit Estienne Michel au proces qui est pendant d'entre lesditz Compere et Regrey en ladite qualité demandeurs contre ledit Michel deffendeur ez villes de Medina del Campo que reale chancellerie de Vallidoly pays et Royaume d'Espagne, lequel Inuentaire a esté fait en consequence des actes et procedures faites par deuant Me Pierre Austrein Conseiller du Roy Lieutenant particulier Ciuil et Criminel en la Seneschaussée et Siege presidial dudit Lyon.

**1C. deux b. Amadis de Gaulle 16e.–19e voll. a deux cent r 17 m 12
 vingt la b. f. 20**

Bau 5.39 *Le dix neufiesme livre d'Amadis de Gaule*, trans. Gabriel Chappuys, Jean Beraud, 1582, 16f, 447f, 3f. Bau 4.59 records another edition trans. Jacques Charlot, Louis Cloquemin, 1581, 16f, 445f, 2f. According to the entry for the former of these editions in *Index Aureliensis; catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum* (Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1962–), i.454, no. 104.460, 447f = 461f, which would make the whole work 480f, for which the correct inventory entry would be correct for 30f.; this may not be a complete edition, but has been taken to be such in the inventory.

2B*. **une b.** **Amadis in 16. 17e voll. a deux cent la b. f.27½** **r 11**
 Baus 145 *Le dix septième livre d'Amadis de Gaule*, Etienne Michel, 1578, 15f, 440f.

3B*. **une b.** **Raymundus Sebond. De nat. hominis 16.** **r 13**
 a cinq cens la b. f.13
 Bau 4.247, 288 Raymond Sabunde, *De natura hominis*, Thibaud Payen, 1568, 411p, 2f.

4C. **trois b.** **Menochius de praesumptionibus. fol. a trente** **r 19 m 16**
 la b. f.110
 Baus. 157 Giacomo Menochio, *Commenationum de praesumptionibus pars prima*, Etienne Michel, 1588, 32f, 486p, 1f. The collation does not match. The edition must have been published in Michel's absence. There are references to a later edition: Bau 5.336–7, Pierre Landry, 1593.

5C*. **une b.** **Decisiones Pedemontan. Fol. a quarante** **r 10 m 17 f 15**
 la b. f.136
 Bau 6.479 Octavianus Cacheranus, *Decisiones sacri Senatus Pedemontani*, Filippo Tinghi, 1579, fol, 4 f, 480p, 28f.

6A. **cinq b.** **Anania super decretales. do. a dix la b. f.318** **r 31 m 16**
 A A.1008 Joannes de Anania, *Super primo [-quinto] Decretalium*, 4 vols, excud. Petrus Fradin, 1553. Pierre Fradin printed for the Compagnie des Libraires

7A. **trois b.** **Odofredus do. a quatre la b. f.800** **r 19 m 4**
 A O.68–79 Odofredus, [*various commentaries on the Corpus Juris Civile*], 10 vols, excud. Blaisius Guido, Petrus Compater, Franciscus et Claudius Marchant fratres, Joannes Pullon, Per Georgium Regnault, 1550–2.

8A. **deux b.** **Fulgosij Lectura do. a six la b. f.597** **r 14 m 6 f 14**
 Bau 7.317; Raphael Fulgosius, [*various commentaries on the Corpus Juris Civile*], 3 vols, Hugues de la Porte and the heirs of Aimon de la Porte (excud. Stephanus Rufinus and Joannes Ausultus; excud. Claudius Servanius), 1546; A F.1143–4 *In primam Pandectarum partem commentariorum tomus primus*, Compagnie des Libraries (excud. Claudius Servanius), 1554.

7A. **une b.** **{Odofredus do. A trois. f.800}** **r 7 m 10**

9A*. **{Angelus s. Instituta do. a six f.185}**
 HPB (BVB) Angelus a Gambilionibus, *In institutiones commentarii*, Compagnie des libraires, 1557, 357f, 21f.

10A*. **une b.** **{Consilia Oldradi do a trentesix f.80}** **r 8 m 3 f 20**
 Bau 6.268 Olradus a Ponte, *Consilia*, heirs of Jacopo Giunti, 1550, 162f.

11A*. {**Anania Super 5o decretal. do. a neuf f.135**}

Bau 7.402 Joannes de Anania, *Super quinto libro Decretalium*, Jacques et Jean Senneton, 1546, 270f.

12C*. **une b** {**Soto de natura et gratia fol. a vingt f.48**} **r 10 m 18 f 15**
 A S.1497 Domingo de Soto, *De natura et gratia*, Giovanna Giunti, 1581, 183p.

13C*. {-**idem de iustitia et iure. fol. A onze f.185**}

Bau 5.62–3; Baus 152; A S.1487–92 Domingo de Soto, *De iustitia et iure*, Symphorien Beraud, Etienne Michel, 1582, 24f, 344f; also with the addressses of Barthélemy Honorat, Giovanna Giunti, Alessandro Marsili, Charles Pesnot, Guillaume Rouillé, 1582. An example of a edition shared beyond the membership of the Compagnie des Libraires.

14C*. {**Summa de exemplis. 4o. a trente. f.85**}

Bau 5.72 Joannes de Sancto Geminiano, *Summa de exemplis et rerum similitudinibus locupletissima, verbi dei concinatoribus, cunctis literarum studiosis maximis usui futura*, Symphorien Beraud et Etienne Michel (in off. Q Philippi Tinghi), 1585, 10f, 330f.

15C*. **une b.** {**Cardanus de subtilitate 8o. a trente f.48½**} **r 13 m 6 f 12**
 Baus 147 Girolamo Cardano, *De subtilitate*, Etienne Michel, 1580, 718p, 1f, 28f; a speculative reprinting using Guillaume Rouillé 1559 as copy, possibly printed in Geneva.

16C*. {**Responsa Philippi. fol. a vingt f.70**}

Bau 5.56–7 Joannes Philippus, *Responsa*, Symphorien Beraud et Etienne Michel (in off. Q Philippi Tinghi), 1584, 10f, 226p, 19f. Michel held the privilège, dated 14 June 1579.

17C*. {**Paratitla Wesenbecii 4o a quarantesept f.81**}

Baus 153 Matthäus Wesenbeck, *In pandectas iuris civilis et codicis Iustiniani lib xii commentarii...illi sub paratitlorum nomine iam saepius prodeunt*, Etienne Michel and Symphorien Beraud, 1585, 8p, 494p, 34p, 100p, 10p; earlier editions by Louis Cloquemin and Etienne Michel in 1576 and by Michel alone in 1583. KVK (SWB), Hugues Gazeau and Etienne Michel, 1597, variously 296p, 1434p.

18C*. {**Roland furieux 8o et suite a soixantecinq f.74**} **r 15 m 2 f 15½**

Bau 4.144–5; Baus 150, 152 Ludovico Arioso, *Roland furieux*, trans. Gabriel Chappuys, Etienne Michel, 1582, 8f, 702p, 1f; id., *La suite de Roland furieux*, Etienne Michel 1583, 4f, 408p; both editions shared with Barthélemy Honorat. The correct total for the whole bale is r 14 m 18 f 15½.

19C*. {Mondes de doni 8o a quarantesept f.56 ½}

Bau 4.145; Baus 152 Antonio Francesco Doni, *Les mondes celestes*, trans. Gabriel Chappuys, Etienne Michel, 1583, 12f, 735p, 122p, 21p; an edition shared with Barthélemy Honorat.

20C*. une b. Histoire de Lutius florus 8o a deux cens r12 m 15 f 9
vingtquatre la b. f.28½

BL KVK (RERO) Publius Annii Florus, *l'Histoire romaine [...]*, trans, L. Constant, Geneva [de l'imprimerie de Jacques Berjon], 1580, 28f, 198f, 1f; heirs of Symphorien Beraud, 1609, 198f. Possibly printed in Geneva on commission for Etienne Michel or Symphorien Beraud.

20C*. une b. -idem a deux cens quarantequatre la r 13 m 18 f 4
b f.28½21B*. deux b. Repetitio Gutterij fol. a quarantesept la r 25 m 15 f 5
b a 46 la b. f.140

HAB Joannes Gutterius (Juan Gutierrez), *Repetitionum et allegationum novum commentarium*, Salamanca, Juan de Canova, 1570, 4f, 494p, 29f. The correct figure is 47, not 46, per bale.

22C*. une b. {Concordantiae Bibliae. 4o. a vintgneuf. r 10 m 14 f 162
f.136½}

Bau 9.396 *Concordantiae Bibliae*, Guillaume Rouillé [and Jean-Baptiste Regnaud] 1586, 548f.

23C*. {Decisiones diversorum. tom. primus. fol. a seize f.88}

Baus 156 *Decisiones gravissarum et subtilissimarum quaestionum quae in utroque foro versantibus occurrunt a variis auctoribus collectae*, 3 vols, Etienne Michel 1588; vol. 1, 4f, 357p.

24C*. une b. {Tractatus de Coniecturis. fol. r 12 m 5 f 4
a vintgtrois f.178}

Bau 5.73; 5.329, 333, 336 Franciscus Mantica, *Tractatus de coniecturis ultimorum voluntatum*, Symphorien Beraud and Etienne Michel (in off. Q Philip. Tinghi), 1585, 6f, 346p, 29f; Pierre Landry, 1590 6f, 646p., 27f reissued in 1592 and 1593).

13C*. {Soto de iustitiae et Jure.fol. a unze f.185}

25C*. une b. {Thesaurus bibliorum 8o. a cinquanteneuf r 14 m 8 f 10
f.55}

HPB (ICCU Rome) William Allot, *Thesaurus Bibliorum*, Symphorien Beraud and Etienne Michel, 1584–5, 418p, 22p. Other editions listed include one in 1580 by Alessandro Marsili and another in 1583 by Ludovicus Garanaeus (a Saragossa printer, giving Lyon as the address: Bau 1.174–5). The total for the bale should be r 13 m 10 f 4 (see below, 26).

26C*. {**Sylva Gratanensis 8o. a trenteung f.57**}

Bau 5.75–6 A G.89, 990 Luis de Granada, *Sylva locorum communium*, Paris, Adrian Périer, 1586; Saviniani Pesnot, 1586; B 5.335, Pierre Landry, 1593, 8f, 868p, 6f. The multiplication of the sheets has been done on the basis not of 31, but 39, to achieve the total count for the bale.

27C*. {**Summa sacramento. a victoria 16o a centtretequatre. f.13**}

Bau 2.169 Franciscus a Victoria, *Summa sacramentorum Ecclesiae*, Alessandro Marsili, 1583, 390p, 13f.

28C. **une b.** {**Tite live en fra. fol. a trois f.336**} **r 10 m 15 f 13**

PNB Livy, *Les decades*, 2 vols, Paris, a shared edition by Nicolas Chesneau, Abel L'Angelier, and Jacques Dupuis, 1583.

29B*. {**Pline en fra. fol. a dix f.438**}

Bau 7.429–30; A P 1594 *L'Histoire du monde*, 2 vols, Claude Senneton, 1562, 6f, 678p, 1f, 84f; 16f, 745p, 1f, 52f.

30C*. **une b** {**Opera Junctini. fol. a quatre f.633**} **r 11 m 16 f 24**

Bau 5.60–1; A J.435–6 Franciscus Junctinus, *Speculum astrologiae*, 2 vols, Symphorien Beraud, 1581, 1583 (a reissue), 10f, 1313p, 3p; 1170p, 20f. Previously published by Tinghi in 1573, 1575 and 1577 (Bau 6.459–60, 464–4, 470–2).

31C*. {**Imagines deorum 4o. a soixantequatre f.53**}

Bau 4.139; Baus 149, Vincenzo Cartari, *Imagines deorum*, trans. Antoine du Verdier, Etienne Michel, 1581, 359p, 28f; an edition shared with Barthélemy Honorat. The calculation should read r 34 m 19 f 15.

32C*. **une b.** **Dioscorides en fra. 4o a septante la b. f.74** **r 10 m 7 f 5**

Bau 4.58 Dioscorides, *Les six livres de la matiere medicale*, Louis Cloquemin, 1580 (a reissue of an earlier edition by veuve Arnoullet), 8f, 574p, 1f.

33. **une b.** **Horae Romanorum in 16o a cinq cens** **r 14 m 15 f 12½**
nonante et ung la b f.12½

Bau 4.234 Hanns Bohatta, *Bibliographie des livres d'heures* (Vienna: Gilhofer and Ranschburg, 1909), H 89, *Hortulus animae, denuo purgatus in quo horae beatissimae Virginis Mariae secundum usum Romanorum continentur*, Thibaud Payen, 1546, 20f, 215f, 4f; Thibaud Payen, 1553 (Rosenthal Cat. 64, no. 817). I am grateful to Cristina Dondi for this reference (see also below, 50).

34C. **une b.** {**Consilior. Rol. a valle tom. 3 fol.**} **r 14 m 8 f 21½**
a vingt et ung f.106}

Bau 5.69; Baus 157 Rolandus a Valle, *Consilia sive responsa*, 4 vols in 2, Symphorien Beraud and Etienne Michel, 1585, 1588.

35A*. {**Alciatus super Codice. 8o. a quarante neuf f.46½**}

HPB (ICCU Rome) Andrea Alciati, *Index super commentariis Codicis*, Jacopo Giunti, 1536, 40p, 700p.

- 36B. {-idem in Pandectas 80.a trentequatre f.41½}
HPB (ICCU Rome) Andrea Alciati, *In Digestorum seu Pandectarum librum xii commentarii*, Jacopo Giunti, 1547, 387p, 21p.
- 37A*. {Paraphrasis in vallam 80.a soixante f.13½}
CCF Marseille Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrasis seu potius epitome in Elegantiarum libros Laurenii Vallae*, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1556, 199p, 8f. The Erasmus Online Catalogue records an edition by Thibaud Payen in 1551.
- 38A*. {Alciatus de rub. iuris Canonici. 80. a seize f.31}
HAB Andrea Alciati, *Commentarii in rubricas Iuris Canonici*, Jacopo Giunti, 1542, 8p, 416p, 164p.
- 39B. une b. {Rudimenta medic. ab Anguilera. fol. r 11 m 14 f 14
 a trentehuit f.83}
Bod Antonius ab Aguilera, *Praeclarae rudimenta medicinae*, Alcalá, Juan Villanueva, 1576, 164f. The correct figure for the bale should be r 11 m 13 f 9. This bale is possibly the product of Tauschhandel or debt settlement.
- 40*. {Martines de anima fol. a cinq f.155}
Bod Petrus Martinez de Toledo y Brey, *In tres Libros Aristotelis de anima commentarii*, Siguenza, excud. Joannes Gratianus, 1575, 10f, 561p.
- 41A*. {Sauonarola in Ruth. 4o. a vingt f.76}
HPB (ICCU Rome) Girolamo Savonarola, *Homiliae in totum libellum Ruth [...]*, Salamanca, Juan de Canova, 1556, 300p.
- 42B. {Zegobiensis in euangelia.fol.a ung imparfait f.130}
Bod Johannes Segobiensis, *De praedicatione evangelica*, Alcalá, excud. Joannes Gratianus, 1573.
- 43B*. {floresta en espagnol. In 12o. a quinze f.17} /2/
Melchior de Santa Cruz de Duenas, *Floresta española de apothegmas*, Toledo, Francisco de Guzmán, 1574, cited by Pedro M Cátedra and Anastasio Rojo Vega, *Bibliotecas y lecturas de mujeres, Siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004); another edition, Salamanca, Pedro Lasso, 1576, +¹² A-Q¹² (see Lorenzo Ruiz Fidalgo, *La imprenta en Salamanca (1501-1600)*, (Madrid: Arco Libros, 1994), II, 824) I am grateful to Clive Griffin for these references. Also Bod Alcalá [por Gaspar de Ortega] impressa por Sebastián Martinez, 1578, 204f (Tabla 2f).
- 44A*. deux b. Baduellus in Ciceronem pro Milone. r 24
 80.a deux cens quarante la p f.25
Bau 8.258 Claude Baduel, *Annotationes in Ciceronis Pro Milone [...]*, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1552, 394p+1f

- 45B*. **quatre b. facius De rebus gestis Alphonsi. r 54 m 14 f 10**
4o a cent vingt la b f.57

Bau 8.297, 304 Bartholomaeus Facius, *De rebus gestis ab Alphonsi primo Neapolitanorum Rege commentariorum libri x*, heirs of Sebastianus Gryphius, 1560, 1562, 312p, 8f, 4f, 106p, 5f

- 46A*. **deux b. Ferrarius super feudis. 8o. a deux cens r 11 m 18**
la b.f.29

Bau 8.276–7 Joannes Ferrarius Montanus, *In usu feudorum*, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1555 452p, 4f. The correct figure is r 23 m 16; only one bale has been counted.

- 47A*. **une b. Axiomata legum 8o. a deux cent r 7 m 19 f 2½**
octantecinq f.17½

Bau 8.210–1 [possibly Matthaeus Gribaldus], *Axiomata legum*, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1547, 279p. The correct calculation should be r 9 m 19 f 12½.

- 48A. **cinq b. Corpus Canonicum do r.n.viel a cinq r 35 m 6**
la b. f.706

Corpus iuris canonici; r.n. is presumably rouge et noir (i.e. rubrication): Hugues de la Porte made a speciality of publishing this (multiple editions by him between 1535 and 1560: Bau 4.304ff.). Bau 7.341 says that some copies of the edition of 1572 ‘portent la marque de la Compagnie des libraires’.

- 49B*. **deux b. Socinus Junior in secund. partem lib r 30 m 2 f 14**
primi decret. a trentequatre la b. f.223

HPB (Jesus College, Oxford) Mariano Socino, *Super secunda parte libri quinti Decretalium*, Parma, Seth Vioti, 1574, 14f, 397f. The correct calculation should be r 30 m 6 f 14.

50. **une b. Horae S. Johann. Hyerosolimit. 16o. r 10 m 5 f 5**
a cinq cens treize la b. f.10

Bohatta, *Bibliographie des livres d’Heures*, 1476: *Hore beate Marie virginis secundum usum Hierosolymitanum*, Lyon, 1516, 8vo, a-m⁸ (the only known surviving copy of this recension of the book of hours). Cf. below, 79.

- 51B. **douze b. Socinus in Ciuile do. A douze r 77 m 9 f 11**
la b. f.269

Bau 1.35 Bartolomeo Socino, *Ad ius civile commentaria*, ex off. Matthaei Bernardo et Stephani Servanii, 1564. ‘do’ does not refer to 160 but fol.

- 52A. **six b. Decretum do. r n. vieil a douze la b. r 39 m 9 f 3**
Decretum Gratiani; See above, 48; possibly by Hugues de la Porte, who specialised in the printing of canonical legal texts.

- 52A. **une b. -idem contenant neuf rames r 9**

- 53A*. **une b. Nouuella super sext. Do. a quarante r 6 m 6 f 18**
quatre la b f.72

Bau 6.266 Joannes Andreae, *In sextum Decretalium librum novella commentaria*, heirs of Jacopo Giunti, 1550, 131f, 1f, 10f.

- 54A. **une b. Ancharanus super Clementinis. do. r 6 m 2 f 10**
A soixante la b. f.51

KVK (BVB) Petrus de Ancharano, *Super Clementinis*, heirs of Jacopo Giunti, 1549, 93f.

- 55A. **une b. Geographia Ptolemej.fol. a vingtdeux r 4 m 16 f 14**
la b. f.122

Bau 12.256 Ptolemy, *Geographia*, Hugues de la Porte, 1541, 149p, [1]p, 50 maps, 50f, 48f. The calculation should read r 5 m 7 f 9.

- 56A*. **six b. Jacobus de Arena. do. a vingt la b f.170 r 40 m 16**

HAB Jacobus de Arena, *Commentarii in universum ius civile*, Jacques de la Porte, 1541, 309p, 30p.

- 57A. **six b. Cronica volaterranj fol. a trentehuit r 73 m 17 f 11**
la b. f.162

Bau 8.259 Raphaele Maffei Volaterrano, *Commentariorum urbanorum*, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1552, 18f, 1218p, 1f.

- 58C. **huict b. Opuscules de Plutarque fo. E. Michel. r 93 m 6 f 6**
a vingtquatre la b. f.243

Baus 146 Plutarch, *Ceuvres morales et meslees*, trans Jacques Amyot, Etienne Michel, 1579, 4f, 842p, 1f, 82f.

- 59C*. **deux b. Images des dieux fra. 4o. a septante r 24 m 14 f 20**
la b.f.852

Bau 4.140–1; Baus 150 Vincenzo Cartari, *Les images des dieux des anciens*, trans. Antoine du Verdier, Etienne Michel, 1581, 8f, 637p, 21f; an edition shared with Barthélemy Honorat. The correct calculation should be r 23 m 18 f 20.

- 60C*. **cinq b. Imagini di Dei do. ytal. a cent septante r 56 m 19**
la b. f.332

Bau 4.140; Baus 149 Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini dei dei de gli antichi*, Etienne Michel 1581, 28f, 47[6]p; an edition shared with Barthélemy Honorat.

- 31C*. **trois b. Images deorum 4o.lat.a cent dix la r 34 m 19 f 20**
b. f.53

- 61C*. **trois b. Blason des Armoiries. fol. a cent vingt r 46 m 16**
la b. f.65

HPB (Yale) Jérôme de Bara, *Blason des armoiries*, Barthélemy Vincent, 1581, 12p, 248p, 2p.

62A*. **une b.** **Ovidij amatoria.8o. a deux cens** **r 11 m 18**
 trentehuit la b. f.25

Bau 8.271–2 Ovid, *Amatoria*, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1555, 397p, 1f.

63B*. **une b.** **Andria Terentij latfra. 8o deuxcent** **r 12 m 19**
 quarante la b. f.27

Bau 2.282 Terence, *Andria*, Thibaud Payen, 1561 427p, 2f. The calculation should read r 12 m 19 f 5.

64. **une b.** **Breuiar. Roman. Pii quinti 8o a centdix** **r 12 m 4 f 20**
 la b. f.56

The breviary of Pius V was not published before 1568.

65A*. **une b** **Dialectica Aristotelis 8o a cent octante** **r 12 m 4 f 20**
 la b. f.34

CranzS Aristotle, *Dialectica*, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1554, 541p.

66A*. **une b.** **Pandectae medicinae.fol.a soixante** **r 10 m 16**
 la b. f.90

Bau 4.225–6: Bau 6.194 Matthaeus Silvaticus, *Pandectae medicinae*, Thibaud Payen and Jacopo Giunti, 1541, 180f.

67A*. **une b.** **{ferrarius super instituta.8o a cinquante** **r 10 m 7**
 la b. f.312}

Bau 8.268 Joannes Ferrarius, *In IIII Institutionum libros annotationes*, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1554, 470p, 16f, 1f. The correct calculation should read r 10 m 1.

68A*. **{Physica Aristotelis.8o a quarante la b. f.50}**

Bau 8.270 CranzS Aristotle, *Physica*, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1554, 1559 800p.

69A*. **{Bellum Gramaticale 8o.a cinquante la b. f.[1]2½}**

Bau 4.239; 8.110,123 Andreas Guarna, *Bellum grammaticale*, Thibaud Payen, 1548, 39p; previously Sebastianus Gryphius, 1538, 1539, 39p; also Jean II Frelon 1551. Although the '1' of '12½' appears to have been struck through, the calculation has been based on 12½f, not 2½f.

70B*. **{Lucanus in 8o a cinquante la b f.17}**

Bau 8.302 Lucan, *De bello civili libri decem*, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1561, 269,1f.

71i. **une b.** **{Cicero pro domo sua 4o a cent cinquante f.7}** **r 11 m 2**

72i. **{-idem de legibus 4o a deux cent cinquante f.9}**

73i. **{-idem ad Brutum 4o a deux cent cinquante f.9}**

PBN Probably three parts of Cicero, *Opera*, Sibylle de la Porte, 1588. Although not described as such, calculated as 'imparfait'.

74A*. **trois b.** **Loriotus de apicibus Iuris. fol.a** **r 35 m 5 f 15**
soixante la b. f.98

Bau 8.280 Petrus Loriotus, *De iuris apicibus tractatus viii*, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1555, 18f, 708col, 1f.

75A*. **une b.** **Ovidij epistolae. 8o a quatre cent la** **r 11 m 4**
b. f.14

Bau 8.136 Ovid, *Heroides Epistolae*, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1540, 223p.

14C*. **six b.** **Summa de exemplis 4o a septante la**
b. f.85 **r 71 m 8**

76C*. **trente b.** **Regulae Iuris fol. a seize la** **r 373 m 8 f 20**
b. f.389

Baus 155 *Regularum utriusque iuris tam civilis quam pontificii tomus primus*, 2 vols, Etienne Michel, 1587, 2f, 792p, 592p, 84f.

30C*. **trente et une b.** **Iunctini opera fol. a dix la** **r 392 m 9 f 5**
b. f.633

77B. **une b.** **Tractatus cautellarum. fol.** **r 13 m 8**
a cinquante la b. f.134

Bau 6.473–4 *Tractatus cautellarum omnium*, Filippo Tinghi, 1577, 4f, 4[47]p, 22f. The collation does not match.

78B*. **trentesix b.** **Summa hostiensis. fol.** **r 233 m 15 f 17**
a dixsept la b. f.191

Bau 6.467 Henricus de Segusio, Cardinal Hostiensis, *Summa aurea*, Filippo Tinghi, 1576 386f. The calculation should read m 233 m 17 f 17.

78B*. **quatorze b.** **-idem.fol. a dixhuit la b. f.191** **r 96 m 5 f 7**

78B*. **une b.** **-idem fol. a quinze la b. f.191** **r 5 m 14 f 15**

78B*. **une b.** **-idem fol. de douze et deux** **r 7 m 1 f 17**
rames et demye

It is not clear what the reference to ‘deux rames et demye’ is; possibly 1250 sheets constituting incomplete copies? If so, they do not seem to have entered into the calculation of ‘imparfait’.

79A. **douze b.** **Missale S Iohan. Hyersolo.** **r 120**
fol. a vingt la b. dix rames chasq. balle

Bau 6.255 Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale *Missale S Ioannis Hierosolymita*, heirs of Jacopo Giunti, s.d. (possibly 1551), 22f, 374f; heirs of Jacopo Giunti, 1553.

- 80C*. **huict b. Breuiari. predicatorum. 8o a cent dix la r 100 m 6 f 10
b. f.57**

A L.974 *Breviarium Praedicatorum*, Symphorien Beraud and Etienne Michel, 1586 (ex off Q Philippi Tinghi), 440f. The collation does not quite match.

- 81C*. **unze b. Quaestiones disputatae D. Thomae fol. r 154
a quarante la b. f.175**

Bau 5.75: 6.332: Baus 1586 St Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae*, Symphorien Beraud and Etienne Michel, 1586, 4f, 346f; previously published by the heirs of Jacopo Giunti.

- 82C*. **unze b. Tractatus de Attentatis. fol. a quarante r 141 m 13 f 15
la b. f.161**

HPB (ICCU Rome) Robertus Lancellotus, *Tractatus de attentatis*, Symphorien Beraud and Etienne Michel (in off Q Philippi Tinghi), 1585, 12p, 546p, 98p.

- 34C. **seize b. Consilia Rolandj a valle. fol. a quatorze r 163 m 19 f 9
la b. f.366**

- 83C. **une b. Dictionar. puerorum 4o latfra. r 12 m 8 f 10 /3/
a nonante la b. f.69**

Baus 146 Orazio de Toscanella, *Dictionariolum puerorum*, Etienne Michel, 1578, 405p. The collation does not match.

- 84i. **dixneuf b. Opera Senecae. in 8o imparfaictz. r 266
a cinquantecinq la b. quatorze rames la balle**

Bau 5.90–1 Seneca, *Scriptorum quae extant*, 2 vols, heirs of Symphorien Beraud, 1592.

- 85C*. **trois b. Emanuelis Costae opera. fol. a trentesix. r 38 m 17 f 15
la b. f.180**

Bau 5.66 Emanuel Costa, *Opera*, Symphorien Beraud and Etienne Michel, 1584, 720p.

- 86C. **quatre b. Pline en fra. fol. a douze la b. f.438 r 42 m 14**

A P.1594 Pliny, *L'Histoire du monde*, 2 vols, Charles Pesnot, 1581. The calculation should read r 42 m 0 f 24.

- 87C*. **huict b. Sermones Gratanensis. 8o tomus primus. r 97 m 5 f 15
a cent soixante la b. f.38**

Bau 5.68; 5.489–90 Luis de Granada, *Conciones*, 4 vols, Etienne Michel and Symphorien Beraud, 1585; National Library of Scotland tomus primus, 1585, 573p; 8 vols, Alexandre Villeneuve, 1598.

88C*. **quatre b. Opuscles de Plutarque. fol. grosse lettre. r 40 m 2 f 10
a quatorze la b. f.360**

Baus 55; Bau 5.90 Plutarch, *Œuvres morales et meslees*, Etienne Michel, 1587, 7f, 674f, 44f; heirs of Symphorien Beraud, 1592, 2f, 674f, 24f. Not 58 (see collation). 'grosse lettre' presumably refers to a larger point.

89C*. **trois b. Consilia Grammatici. fol. a quarante la r 38 m 17 f 15
b. f.162**

B 5.66 Thomas Grammaticus, *Consilia et vota, seu iuris responsa*, Symphorien Beraud, 1584, 665p; previously published by the heirs of Jacopo Giunti in 1550.

90B. **six b. Breuiar. Carmelitarum. 8o a nonante la r 77 m 4 f 10
b. f.71½**

HPB (ICCU Rome) *Breuiarium Carmelitarum*, Venice, Giunti, 1568, 64p, [887]p, [1]p, [112]p.

68A*. **trois b. Aristotelis physica Argiropilj. 8o deux r 22 m 8
b. a cent douze et une balle a 89**

The bale at 89 has not been included in the total.

25C*. **une b. Thesaurus bibliorum. 8o a cent dix la b. f.55 r 12 m 2**

91C*. **deux b. Toletj dialectica. 8o a cinq cens la b. f.14 r 28**

Bau 2.170 Petrus Toletus, *Opera*, Alessandro Marsili, 1586, 224p (the first part of *Opera* has the title *Introductio in Dialecticam*).

92C. **une b. Quadrains de Pibrac en musique. 4o a cent r 12 m f
la b. f.60**

Georg Draut, *Bibliotheca exotica* (Frankfurt: Balthasar Ostern, 1625), p. 210: Paschal de L'Estocart, *Cent et vingt six Quadrains du sieur de Pibrac mis en musique*, Lyon, 1582.

93C. **une b. Figures de la bible. 8o a deux cens r 14 m 18 f 21
quarante la b. f. 31**

Bau 4.143; Baus 151 Gabriel Chappuys, *Figures de la bible declarees par stances*, Etienne Michel, 1582, 114f; id., *Figures du nouveau testament declarees par stances*, Etienne Michel 1582, 46f; an edition shared with Barthélemy Honorat, 1581. The calculation is correct for 241 copies, not 240.

94A. **une b. Ephemerides Taboetij. in 4o a cent r 16 m 9 f 7
soixante huit la b. f.49**

B 4.278 Constantius Taboetius, *De quadruplicis Monarchiae primis authoribus... Ephemerides historicae*, Thibaud Payen (sumpt. Francisci Pomani), 3 vols, 1559, 52p, 40p, 40p. As the collation does not match, it is possible that there is a confusion here with Franciscus Junctinus, *Ephemerides Ioannis Stadii*, Symphorien Beraud and Etienne Michel, 1585 (Bau 5.70), but that collation also does not match.

- 103A. **{-idem de rubricis Juris Ciuilis. 8o a r 0 m 18 f 12
quatorze f.33}**

Gültlingen 4.40 (336) *Index locupletissimus in rubricas iuris civilis*, Jacopo Giunti, 1546, 32f (possibly attached to *Lectura super secunda parte Digesti novi in tit. De verborum obligationibus*, Jacopo Giunti, 1546, 646, 48p).

- 104A*. **{Aristotelis rhetorica hermolaj Barbarj. r 2 m 1 f 10
8o a quarantecinq f.23}**

Bau 4.277 Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, trans. Hermolaus Barbarus, Thibaud Payen, 1558 359p, 4f.

- 105A*. **{faber in logicam. 8o a cinquante sept r 3 m 17 f 13
f.34½}**

KVK (BSZ) Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (Lefèvre d'Étaples), *Introductiones artificiales in Logicam*, ed Judocus Clichtove, Jacopo Giunti, 1545, 274p The correct calculation for this number of copies should be r 5 m 2 f 11½; or if the calculation is correct, there should only be 44 copies in the bale.

- 106A*.une b. **{de rat. conscrib. Epistolas. 8o a cent r 5 m 17 f 15
quarante f.21}**

Bau 4.272 Desiderius Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis opus*, Thibaud Payen 1557, 335p; previously published by Sebastianus Gryphius and Thibaud Payen (Bau 4.231, 8.124, 134, 162, 176)

- 107A*. **{corona florida. 8o a septante huict f.26 r 2 m 9 f 23
[a 48 la b.]}**

Bau 6.194; 12.434 HPB (ICCU Rome) Antonius Gazius, *Florida corona*, Jacopo Giunti, 1541, 8f, 198f, 2f. The number in the bale has been corrected.

- 108C*. **{Epigrammata Verderij 8o a octante deux r 1 m 17 f 18
f.112}**

PBN Claudius Verderius (Du Verdier), *Peripetasis epigrammatum variorum [...]*, Paris, Mathurin Prévost, 1581, 182p.

- 109B*. **{Antidotarius medicinae 16o a cinquante f.13 r 1 m 6**

Bau 2.283 *Antidotarium sive de exacta componendorum miscendorumque medicamentorum ratione*, Thibaud Payen, 1561 398f, 9f.

- 53A*. une b. **{Nouella Johan. Andreae s. sexto. do. r 3 m 17 f 19
a vingtsept f.72}**

- 56A*. **{Jacobus de Arena do a huit f.170} r 2 m 14 f 10**

- 110A. une b. **{Practica Petri Jacobi 8o a vingt f.33} r 1 m 6 f 10**

Bau 6.184 Petrus Jacobus, *Practica*, Jacopo Giunti, 1539, 16f, 263f, 1f.

111A*. {De bona curso. 8o a centquarante r 5 m 10 f 24
six f.19

KVK (GBV) Hubertus De Bonacurso, *Preludia et exceptiones*, Jacopo Giunti, 1543 4f, 144f, 4f.

53A*. {Nouella Johan. Andreae. 8o.a vingtsept r 1 m 11 f 8
f.29½}

The calculation should be r 1 m 14 f 16½.

112A. {Laurentius Valla 8o a trente six f.35} r 2 m 6 f 10

Bau 2.269 Lorenzo Valla, *Elegantiae linguae latinae*, Thibaud Payen 1554 552p, 19f. Frequently published by Sebastianus Gryphius (Bau 8.65 etc.). The calculation should be r 2 m 12 f 15.

94A. une b. {Ephemerides Taboetij 4o a cinquante r 57 m 3 f 22
trois f.49}

113C*. {Consilior. Feudal. tom. secundus fol. r 10 m 3 f 21
a cinquante deux f.98}

Bau 5.68–9 *Consilia feudalialia, ex variorum doctorum scriptis diligentissime collecta*, Symphorien Beraud and Etienne Michel, 1585, 4p, 303p, 14f, 72p, 5f.

114C*. quatre b. Lexicon theologicum.fol.a trentequatre r 46 m 4 f 20
la b. f.170

HPB (St. John's College, Oxford) Joannes Altenstaig, *Lexicon theologicum*, exc. Joannes Symonetus (1580) 1579, 4f, 670p, 1f.

79B. cinq b. Tractatus cautellarum.fol. a cinquante la r 67
b f.134

13C*. sept b. Soto de iustitia et Jure.fol. a trente la r 77 m 14 f
b. f.185

115C. sept b. Javelli opera fol.a quatorze la b. f.461 r 88 m 13 f 23

Bau 5.57 HPB (ICCU Rome) Chrysostomus Javellus, *Opera*, 3 vols, Symphorien Beraud, 1580; published in the same year by Charles Pesnot (Bau 3.148), Barthélemy Honorat (HPB Magdalen College, Oxford) and Antoine de Harsy.

116C*. deux b. Bannes. In primam et secundam r 27 m 15 f 9
d. Thomae fol. a vingsix la b. f.267

Baus 156 Domingo Bañes, *Scholastica commentaria in primam [secundam] partem angelici doctoris d. Thomae*, Etienne Michel, 1588, 14f, 880col, 12f; (vol. 2) 4f, 1070 col, 18f vol. 2 fits the collation.

116C. huict b. -idem in secundam fol. a cinquante la r 116
b. f.145

- 117A. **deux b. Decius in Ciuile. In 4o petit papier viels r 18 /4/
contenant les 2 b. dixhuit rames**

Bau 2.268 Philippus Decius, *Commentaria in prim. et secund. Dig.*, Jacopo Giunti, 1550, but folio, not 4to. The 'petit papier' may indicate small sheets, and explain the attribution of format.

- 118i. **une b. Tractatus de pignoribus. fol. Imparfaitz. r 9 m 2
a vingtsix la b. f.175**

Bau 5.73–4, *Tractatus de pignoribus et hypothecis, ex diversis u.i. doctoribus decerpti*, Symphorien Beraud and Etienne Michel, 1585, 724p ; previously by Filippo Tinghi in 1575 and 1578 (Bau 6.465–6), and by Giovanna Giunti in 1579 (Jesus College, Oxford).

- 119i. **une b. Calepinus.T. Linguarum.fol. imparfaitz r 7
contenant sept rames la b.**

Baus 155 Ambrogio Calepino, *Dictionarium decem linguarum*, Etienne Michel 1586; previously published by Sebastianus Gryphius in 1553 (Bau 8.67), Thibaud Payen in 1565 (Bau 2.286), and Filippo Tinghi in 1578 (Bau 6.474).

- 119i. **une b. -idem contenant six rames quatre mains r 6 m 4**

- 119i. **une b. -idem contenant six rames dix mains r 6 m 10**

- 119i. **une b. -idem contenant six rames six mains r 6 m 6**

- 119i. **une b. -idem contenant six rames r 6**

- 120i. **deux b. Corpus Ciuile fol.noir a porta. Imparfaitz r 20
du volumen. contenant dix rames la b.**

Corpus iuris civilis: multiple editions by Hugues de la Porte and Antoine Vincent between 1538 and 1572 (B 7.305ff.).

- 121i. **douze b. Decisiones Neapolit. De afflictis. vn alphabet. r 132
chasque b. contenant vnze rames**

Bau 6.460–1; 482 *Decisiones sacri regii consilii neapolitani ab Matthaeo de Afflictis*, Antonio Capycio, Thoma Grammatico collectae, Filippo Tinghi, 1581, 4f, 863p, 43f; previously published in 1574. 'alphabet' may signify not yet colated into single copies.

- 121i. **trois b. -idem. fol. per. alphab. contenant les trois r 28 m 13 f 15
b. vingthuit r. treize mains quinze f.**

see note above.

- 89i. **une b. Sermones Granatensis. 8o imparfaitz. r 12
a vingtsix la b. rames 12**

- 122i. **une b.** **Aristotelis opera. fol. imparfaitz. contenant** **r 8**
 huit rames
 Bau 4.139; Baus 146, 149 Aristotle, *Opera*, Etienne Michel, 1578, 2 vols 1581; edition shared with Barthélemy Honorat.
- 123i. **une b.** **Deffectz Summa Sti Thomae. fol. contenant** **r 8**
 huit rames
 Bau 142; Baus 150 St Thomas Aquinas, *Opera*, 3 vols, Etienne Michel, 1581; an edition shared with Barthélemy Honorat. Previously published by Filippo Tinghi in 1575 and 1577 (Bau 6.464–5, 472–3).
- 24C. **sept b.** **Regularum Juris to. tertius fol. Per alphab.** **r 84**
 a douze rames la b.
 Baus 155 Etienne Michel (see above, 76). This is a new volume in the process of being printed.
- 124C. **quatre b.** **-idem 3us tomus.fol.contenant trentequatre** **r 34**
 rames les quatre b.
- 114i. **une b.** **Lexicon Theologicum. fol. imparfaitz. contenant** **r 9**
 neuf rames
- 125i. **quatre b.** **Decisiones Canonic. fol. cayers apart. contenant** **r 36**
 neuf rames la b.
 Bau 6.477 Aegidius Bellamera, Gulielmus Cassiodorus, Capella Tholosana, Joannes Mohedanus, *Sacrosanctae decisiones canonici*, Filippo Tinghi, 1578, 786p. Possibly a new edition in the course of being printed.
- 125i. **cinq b.** **-idem contenant quarante sept rames les cinq b.** **r 47**
- 23i. **unze b.** **Parties Decisiones diuersorum. fol. contenant** **r 110**
 dix rames la b.
- 23i. **six b.** **-idem tertius tomus. fol. Contenant dix** **r 60**
 rames la b.
- 23i. **deux b.** **-idem tomus primus. fol. Contenant dix** **r 20**
 rames la b.
- 126A. **une b.** **{Lectura Cornej do. a deux f.318** **r 5 m 5 f 11**
 A C.2662 Petrus Philippus Corneus, *In primum [secundam] Codicis partem; in secundam Digesti veteri partem*, heirs of Jacopo Giunti (excud. Jacobus Faure), 1553.
- {divers liures vieilz.contenant quatre rames}

- 127A. **une b.** Albericus, Immolensis et Baldus do. contenant **r 4**
quatre rames

The Giunti presses printed a number of editions of Albericus a Rosate, Baldus de Ubaldis and Johannes de Imola in the 1540s and 1550s. All three names are cited in the Tinghi royal privilege of 1578.

- 128i. **dixhuit b.** Cayers divers de Galeni opera. fol. commencé **r 108**
a imprimer contenant six rames la b.

- 128i. **cinq b.** -idem contenant quarante neuf rames les **r 49**
cinq b.

- 52A. **une b.** Socinus in Ciuile.do. contenant six rames **r 6**

- 129i. **quatorze b.** Decisiones Boerij. fol. commencé a imprimer. **r 134**
contenant cent trentequatre rs. les 14 b.

Bau 5.91 Boerius, *Decisiones burdegalenses*, heirs of Symphorien Beraud, 1593, 4f, 867p, 21f.

- 130i. **unze b.** Surij tomus tertius. fol. commencé a **r 132**
imprimer. contenant douze rames la b.

Possibly Lorenzo Surio, *De vitis Sanctorum* (Venice 1581 in multiple volumes; an epitome was published at Lyon by Thomas Soubbron in 1594: Bau 4.358); less likely id., *Tomus tertius conciliorum omnium* (Cologne, 1567).

- 131i. **une b.** Summa syluestrina. 4o Imparfaitz. contenant **r 12**
douze rames

Bau 5.63 Sylvestro Mazzolini, *Summa Sylvestrinae*, 2 vols, Symphorien Beraud, 1585. Previously published by other members of the Compagnie des libraires

- 132i. **une b.** Pintj opera fol. Imparfaitz contenans dix **r 10**
rames

Baus 154; A P.1262–3 Hector Pinto, *Opera omnia latina*, Etienne Michel, 1584; Barthélemy Honorat, 1584; heirs of Barthélemy Honorat, 1590.

- 121i, 133C. **une b.** Decisiones Neapolitan. fol. et Stella in Lucam. **r 10**
Imparfaitz de dix rames la b.

Bau 5.58, 65; 6.381; Baus 152 Diego de Estella, *In sacrosanctum Jesu Christi evangelium secundum Lucam enarrationum libri duo*, Symphorien Beraud, 1580; Etienne Michel, Giovanna Giunti, 1583.

- 14i. **une b.** Summa de Exemplis. 4o imparfaitz de neuf **r 9**
rames la b

- 123i. **une b.** Opuscul. Sti Thomae. 1a secundae. fol. **r 10**
imparfaitz de dix rames la b.

123i. une b	Summae Sti Thomae pa secundae. fol. imparfaitz de dix rames la b	r 10
89i. une b.	{Consilia Grammatici. fol. imparfaitz neuf rames}	r 9
85i.	{Opera Emanuelis Costae.fol. imparfaitz}	
30i. une b.	Speculum Junctini. fol. Imparfaitz de sept Rames la b.	r 7
83i. deux b.	Tractatus de Attentatis. fol. imparfaitz. contenant unze rames la b.	r 22
83i. une b.	-idem.fol. imparfait. de neuf rames cinq mains la b.	r 9 m 5
134i, 123i. une b.	Feuilles diuerses de Pinellj opera. fol. et Summa Sti Thomae. fol. de douze rames HPB (ICCU Rome) Aires Pinhel, <i>Omnia opera</i> , Filippo Tinghi, 1576.	r 12
134i, 123i une b.	-idem contenant dix rames	r 10
135A. une b.	Fulgosius, Socinus, Riminaldus, Corp. Ciuille et Canon. Noir. fol. vielz. de six rames	r 6
119i. une b.	Parties diuerses de Javelli opera. fol. imparfaitz de unze rames	r 11
81i. une b.	Parties de quaestiones disput. D. Thomae. fol. dix rames	r 10
81i. une b.	-idem imparfaitz contenant neuf rames	r 9 /5/
134i. deux b.	Parties diuerses de Pinelli opera. fol. contenant dix rames la b.	
122i une b.	Deffectz de Aristotelis opera. fol. contenant sept rames la b.	r 7
117A. deux b.	Decius in Ciuille. 4o petit papier vielz contenant dix rames la b.	r 20
135C. six b.	Bible en fra.fol. a rigletz. Beraud et Michel a douze la b. f.337	r 48 m 10

Bau 5.70 *La sainte bible contenant le vieil et nouveau testament*, 3 vols, Symphorien Beraud and Etienne Michel, 1585, 8f, 637p, 1f, 504p, 295p, 25f. The collation does not match. 'a riglets' means ruled.

r 95 m 10 f 14
 r 1253 m 6 f 1
 r 1280 m 18 f 12½
 r 2072 m 0 f 14½
 r 356 m 9 f 5

r 5688 m 4 f 22

[These are the totals for pages 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 of the document respectively, which appear at the bottom of the relevant pages. The third figure should read 1281 m 2 f 12½; the fourth figure has been mistranscribed, and should read r 2702 m 0 f 14½.]

Nous soubsignez Jehan Baptiste Renault Rene Postelier Jehan Huguetan et Pierre Cauellat marchants libraires a lyon nommez conuenuz et accordez, sçauoir nousditz Baptiste Renault et Pierre Cauellat de la part de Me Jehan Compere aduocat ez Cours de Lyon tuteur des enfans et heritiers feu Simphorien Beraud viuant marchand libraire audit Lyon et Julien Regrey administrateur des biens et facultez desditz enfans et nousdits Rene Postelier et Jehan Huguetan de la part d'Adrian Perier libraire audit Lyon compagnon associé d'Estienne Michel et son procureur, suyuant le pouuoir à nous donné et la nomination faite par laquelle nous auons estez commis et le serment par nous presté et fait paradeuant Me Pierre Austrein Conseiller du Roy Lieutenant particulier ciuil et criminel en la seneschaussée et siege presidial de ceste ville de Lyon ainsi qu'il appert par les actes et ordonnances de iustice, du septiesme, dixiesme et douziesme du present moys de decembre 1591 pour apprecier et eualuer les liures imprimez contenuz au present inventaire desquels nous auons exactement veuz et visitez ensemblement, et consideré la qualité, defectuosité et imperfection d'iceulx, et des temps et annez de leurs impressions, lesquels nous auons reduitz a la Rame, esualué et apprecié unaminement a la forme et maniere que s'ensuit,

Liures de lyon imprimez depuis l'année 1520	
iusques a l'année 1560 contiennent Rames 565 m 6 f 13	
prisé la Rame vingt sols	565. l 6 s 6
Et depuis l'année 1560 iusques a l'année 1579 r. 328	
m 12 f 21 prisé la rame quarante cinq sols	739. 8. 9
Et depuis l'année 1579 iusques a l'annee 1589 r. 4049 m 2	
f 13 prisé la rame cinquante cinq sols	11135. 1. 10
Et les liures imparfaitz lesquels ne se peuuent	
parfaire contiennent Rames 745 m 3 prisé la rame dix solz	372. 11. 6
	<hr/>
	12812. 8. 7d

Laquelle somme de douze mille huit cens douze liures huit solz sept deniers	
a quoy nous auons estimé et eualué lesditz liures reduitz en escus sol dor	
montant la somme	4270. 16. 2 dor

Et ainsi le certiffions par nos seings manuels cy mis ce iourd'huy vingtseptiesme iour dudit moys de Decembre mil cinq cens quatre vingts et unze.

[signatures of Pierre Cavellat, Jehan Huguetan, Rene Postelier and Jean-Baptiste Renault]

[new hand]

coram me petro delaforest auctoritatis apostolica et regia notario tabellione publico et ciue lugduni subsignato et testium /6/ subscriptorum comparuerunt suprascripti D[icti] Petrus Cauellat Johannes Huguetan Johannes baptista Regnaud et reneus postellier mercatores librorum D[icti] lugduni qui dicerunt et declarauerunt medio eorum iuramento virtute auctoritate eis attributa debitae apreciauerunt et estimaerunt in eorum consientiis mercantias librorum supra declaratas prout in cartis et paginis supra descriptis continetur recognouerunt et recognoscunt fecisse eorum manibus propriis subscriptiones et chirografa suprascripta et apposita, De quibus declarationibus et iustifica[tio]nib[us] suprascripti D[icti] Johannes Compere et Julianus regrei D. n. petierunt instrumentum q[uo]d obtuli et confeci sub hac forma eis valeturum tempore et loco opportunis. Actum et datum lugduni in officina dicti notarii a meridie die octaua mensis ianuarii millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo secundo presentibus petro et iohanne forestano clericis dicit lugduni testibus voccatis et rogatis.

[signature of Pierre Delaforest]

[new hand]

Noi sotto scripti facciamo fede coma il soprascritto m°. Piero delaforesta e notaro reale di questa citta di liono et a le sue scritture si da plena et indubitata fede in indicio et fora questo di 10 di genaio 1592 in liono a circonsitione

[signatures of Aless[and]ro Scarlatti and Stefano Bonvisi] [Bau 6.249 records an Alexandre Salotti as the representative of Filippo Tinghi in 1573.]

CHAPTER TEN

COMPETITORS OR COLLABORATORS?

SEBASTIAN GRYPHIUS AND HIS COLLEAGUES, 1528–1556

According to Lucien Febvre et Henri-Jean Martin, Sebastian Gryphius was the ‘prince’ of Lyonnais printer-publishers.¹ He worked in Lyon during the golden age of printing and publishing in that city, and a very great number of scholars were the beneficiaries of his labours. As well as being someone who facilitated the operation of the learned book trade, he was also a shrewd businessman who started with little or no capital, and was one of the few printer-publishers of his generation to prosper from such beginnings. My purpose in this paper is to investigate some of the strategies he employed to bring this about; the principal piece of evidence I shall use is the Beraud inventory of 1591 (see above, pp. 251–72), produced during the Age of Iron of the Lyonnais book trade, which was still suffering from the effects of the turbulent years between 1560 and 1572, marked by the struggle for confessional ascendancy and the atrocity known as the ‘Lyonnaise vespers’ of 1572, which saw the persecution and murder of Huguenots following the even more sinister events of the St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre in Paris. Later still in the century, damaging competition from Genevan printers who were undercutting their Lyon counterparts provoked the ruling council (*Consulat*) of Lyon to summon a group of *marchands libraires* in July 1588, including Etienne Michel, Pierre Landry, Guillaume Rouillé or Roville, Antoine de Harsy et David de Gabiano.² They appeared before the *Consulat* in the presence of journeymen-printers to hear the following accusation made against them:

That to the great detriment of the City and the said journeymen-printers, they have destroyed the printing industry in Lyon and have transferred their printing activities to Geneva, and, what is even worse, that they declare on the title pages of the books they have printed in Geneva that they have been printed in Lyon, so that they can be put on sale in Italy,

¹ *L’Apparition du livre*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1971, p. 291.

² Natalie Zemon Davis, ‘Strikes and salvation at Lyon’, in ed., *Society and culture in Early Modern France*, London: Duckworth, 1965, pp. 1–16.

Spain and other Catholic countries, this constituting fraud and the suppositious use of a name [...] and that as a result printing, which use to have high status and reputation in this City of Lyon, will be altogether lost and in order to earn their living, the said journeymen-printers will be forced for as long as this state of affairs lasts to leave Lyon and to go to Geneva, where in the course of time they become heretics.³

The *marchands-libraires* produced the counter-accusation that the printers had imposed ruinously high tariffs on them; neither side mentioned the civil and religious troubles which severely affected the book trade throughout France at that time. Gryphius had died in 1556 before the first outbreak of religious hostilities in 1562, and so was spared having to operate in this venomous religious atmosphere, or having to decide whether or not to engage in unscrupulous commercial practices, to which Henri-Louis Baudrier attributes the decline of Lyon as a great printing centre.⁴

Some clues about Gryphius's publishing activities, as well as those of his colleagues in the Grande Grande Compagnie des Libraires de Lyon, survive in the Beraud inventory, through which we can glimpse the harsh commercial realities of the period, and contrast them with the much more favourable conditions that pertained in the earlier part of the century. Together with other evidence, the inventory will also allow us to form a judgement about Gryphius's relations with his richer colleagues in the Grande Compagnie des Libraires and with others closer to him in wealth and commercial practice, such as Thibaud Payen. We shall principally be concerned with the 565 reams of sheets, relating to books dating from between 1520 and 1560 in the inventory, of which 259 reams came from the presses of Gryphius and his heirs.

Before looking at these books in detail, it is pertinent to examine at the career of Gryphius himself and his relations with colleagues

³ Henri-Louis Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise: recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle, publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier*, 12 vols., Paris: F. de Nobele, 1964–5, v.298, vii.240–2; 'Qu'au grand détriment de la Ville et desdits imprimeurs, ils ont détruit l'imprimerie lyonnaise et l'ont transportée à Genève et que, pis est, font mettre à la première feuille des œuvres imprimées à Genève, qu'elles l'ont été à Lyon, afin qu'elles puissent avoir cours en Italie, en Espagne et autres pays catholiques, ce qui est une fausseté et supposition de nom [...] que par la l'impression qui souloit avoir un grand cours et réputation en cette ville de Lyon, sera du tout perdue et seront les compagnons imprimeurs, encore que cela dure, contraints, pour gagner leur vie, d'abandonner Lyon pour aller à Genève, où par une succession de temps, ils se rendent heretiques.'

⁴ *Ibid.*, v.41.

and authors. In her contribution to the *Histoire de l'édition française*, Nathalie Zemon Davis calls him a *marchand imprimeur*, a rank which she distinguishes from a *maître imprimeur*, who did not print, publish and sell books on his own account.⁵ It is however known that he began as an employee of the Grande Compagnie des Libraires de Lyon, who were patrician members of the bourgeoisie of Lyon, some of whom were long established in the city, and some had just arrived there from Italy: Aymé and Hugues de la Porte, Simon and Antoine Vincent, Vincent de Portonariis, Bathazard and Luxembourg de Gabiano, Jacques and Jean Senneton. This group of well-connected publishers regularised their various commercial arrangements with each other on 19 February 1519 by forming two companies—the 'Grande Compagnie des lectures' and the 'Grande Compagnie des textes', which came soon to be known together as the 'Grande Grande Compagnie des libraires de Lyon': a trade association of astonishing durability (it survived through many vicissitudes into the eighteenth century).⁶ From its beginnings, it maintained very close links with Italy, and specialized in the publication of large-scale legal texts in folio, producing not only the monumental *Corpus Juris Civilis* and the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, but also the compendious commentaries by the great jurists of the later Middle Ages. This specialization proved very profitable from the outset. According to Baudrier, Gryphius, who was first employed in the printing trade in Venice, came to Lyon at the behest of certain members of the Grande Compagnie, and from 1523 printed for them, using their stock of gothic type. After some five years, he had amassed enough savings to set himself up on his own as a printer and *libraire*, and bought a set of Roman and italic type which had probably remained over from the stock used by Balthazard de Gabiano and others in the earlier part of the century to produce pirated copies of the Aldine octavo editions of the classics.⁷ According to Natalie Davis, on the other hand, he continued working as a *maître imprimeur* until 1536, 'when fortune finally smiled on him, and the *marchand libraire* Hugues de la Porte, recognizing his remarkable talent, came to a commercial agreement with Gryphius and

⁵ 'Le monde de l'imprimerie humaniste: Lyon', in *Histoire de l'édition française*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and Jean-Pierre Vivet, Paris: Promodis, 1982, i.255–78.

⁶ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, vii.27.

⁷ Ibid., viii.14–16, vii.2–3, viii.418–38. See also William Kemp, 'Counterfeit Aldines and italic-letter editions printed in Lyons 1502–10: early diffusion in Italy and France', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, 4 January 1997.

advanced him a considerable sum of money. This contract, which was reconfirmed periodically over the next twenty years, did not give rise to a publishing company, but rather constituted a sort of investment in Gryphius's business ventures. It was beneficial to both parties, and Gryphius died with a fortune of between 25,000 and 30,000 écus, being held in high esteem.⁸ It is clear from another piece of evidence that Hugues de la Porte was a close friend of Gryphius, as he agreed after Gryphius's death to lend his name to a legal fiction by which a large part of Gryphius's estate was given not to his widow but to his illegitimate son Antoine, who had inherited his printing business.⁹

It is possible that neither Baudrier nor Davis have given a fully accurate account of Gryphius's financial arrangements. It is very difficult to determine with any precision the moment when he acquired a degree of independence and ceased relying on commissions from *marchands libraires*. He continued to use the gothic font of the Grande Compagnie des Libraires to print substantial folio volumes of Civil and Canon Law for them until 1535; but from 1528 he began to print in italic letter for authors such as Erasmus and Jacopo Sadoletto, the Bishop of Carpentras, with whom he was on very cordial terms.¹⁰ We learn from a letter written on 31 August 1529 by Andrea Alciati, the most famous jurist of his generation, that Michel Parmentier or Parmentier, a Lyonnais bookseller, was in possession of the only copy of Alciato's treatise *De verborum significatione*, which had been entrusted to him by the author. He asked Parmentier to send it to his favoured printer, Andreas Cratander of Basle, but expressed the fear that Parmentier had already come to an agreement with Sebastian Gryphius to have the text printed in Lyon. This shows that Gryphius's activity as a *marchand imprimeur* began at or before this date.¹¹ It is worthy of

⁸ *Histoire de l'édition française*, p. 262: 'quand la chance lui sourit enfin: reconnaissant [ses] talents exceptionnels, le marchand-libraire Hugues de la Porte conclut un accord avec Gryphius, auquel il avance des fonds importants. Reconduit périodiquement au cours des vingt années qui suivent, cet accord ne donne pas naissance à une Grande Compagnie d'édition, mais représente plutôt une sorte d'investissement dans les affaires de Gryphius. Il fut bénéfique aux deux parties, et Gryphius mourut "riche de vingt-cinq ou trente mil escus au sol, homme bien perlaud et renommé"'. I have been unable to determine the meaning of 'perlaud'.

⁹ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, vii.262.

¹⁰ Alciato was also on good terms with Sadoletto, whom he described as his friend: see Andrea Alciato, *Le Lettere*, ed. Luigi Barni, Florence: le Monnier, 1953, p. 12 (no. 5, 19 December 1520).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96 (no. 55, 31 August 1529): 'subvereor enim nescio quid, nempe ne cum

note that the legitimacy of this edition was contested even in France; the Royal *privilège* granted to Parmentier on 13 March 1529 includes the revealing clause 'notwithstanding some letters contrary to this present.'¹² This shows that Gryphius had engaged with Parmentier in a commercial struggle to secure a very desirable author for themselves against unknown competitors—very possibly the Grande Compagnie des Libraires. I shall return to Alciati below, as he is an author whom Gryphius shared with his former employers; it is sufficient here to note that evidence such as this suggests that Gryphius's transfer of status from commissioned printer to *marchand imprimeur* was not sudden, but occurred over several years. But there can be no doubt that from 1536 onwards, he alone determined his publishing policy, and ceased printing for the Grande Compagnie des Libraires, who by then had turned to other printers such as Thibaud Payen. From that date, too, if not before, Gryphius's reputation for accuracy was established, and he came to be known for a range of specialties, including philosophical textbooks, humanist scholarship, living Italian authors, and editions of the Church Fathers.¹³

This brings me to the fraught question of profitability in relation to publishing policy in Gryphius's day. In 1985, in a paper on the Wechel publishing house given at the Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance in Tours, I alluded to the work of Robert Kingdon on the Estiennes and on Christophe Plantin, in which he concluded that profits from the sale of liturgical books allowed these publishers to print, or to have printed, worthy works of scholarship whose profitability was not assured, as a service to the Republic of Letters.¹⁴ Any conjecture

Gryphio inita societate Lugduni [librum] excudant, quod ego illi non concessi, nisi si te [Bonifacium] vertisse solum a Basilea intellexisse. Nescio itaque quo me vortam; si res est integra non putarem moram in Parmenterio futuram quin bona fide redderet; si non est, quid agam? Liber in eius est potestate, qui si ipse velit, omnino perire potest, quandoquidem aliud mihi exemplum est nullum [...]. Alciato had begun much earlier to wonder to whom he should confide the exemplar of his *De verborum significatione* (ibid., pp. 44–5, no. 23, 5 November 1522); he gave it to Parmentier in 1529 through the intermediary of Boniface Amerbach (ibid., p. 88, no. 50, 28 March 1529). See also Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, x.387–405.

¹² Alciat, *De verborum significatione*, Lyon: Sébastien Gryphius, 1530, fol., sig. a2^v: 'nonobstant quelzconques lettres à ce contraires.'

¹³ Ugo Rozzo, «La cultura italiana nelle edizione lionese di Sébastien Gryphius», *La Bibliofilia*, 90 (1988), 161–95.

¹⁴ Robert Kingdon, 'The business activities of printers Henri and François Estienne', in *Aspects de la propagande religieuse*, ed. Gabrielle Bertoud, Geneva: Droz, 1957, pp. 258–75.

about the relationship of finance to publishing policy has to address some very complex issues—the initial selection of copy, the modes of financing, the numbers of copies produced, the choice of format, risk-spreading with other publishing houses, the acquisition (or not) of a *privilège*, distribution and marketing, the costs of transport and storage, and so on—and there are very few surviving archives supplied with the relevant data to allow us reach reliable conclusions. In 1985, I used the sale catalogues of the Wechel publishing house produced between 1579 and 1618 to test the following three hypotheses: (1) all learned books had to be seen potentially to be profitable for a publisher to agree to produce them; (2) all learned books were recognised as financial risks, and possibly in need of subsidy; (3) there was a mixture in publishers' lists of financially risky books and books producing lucrative returns the profits from which were used to support worthy but less marketable products of the Republic of Letters.¹⁵ At that time, I was inclined to accept this last hypothesis, but have since come to see the first as much more plausible. The rich archives of the Plantin-Moretus publishing house, carefully analysed by Leon Voet in his monumental study of 1969–72, have been very recently re-examined by Katharine Bowen et Dirk Imhof, and their conclusions support the same hypothesis.¹⁶ This might be taken to be hard-headed if not cynical if considered in the light of the prefaces and other paratextual material of books, in which reference is often made to service to the Republic of Letters and the need for scholarship to be freely available to all: as the saying of the day goes, 'scientia donum dei est, unde vendi non potest.'¹⁷ The third hypothesis tends however to be confirmed by the letters of application for *privilèges*, in which one finds reference to 'fair returns' for the

¹⁵ Ian Maclean, 'L'Economie du livre érudit: le cas Wechel (1572–1627)', in *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, éd. Pierre Aquilon, Henri-Jean Martin and François Dupeyronnet-Desrousilles, Paris: Promodis, 1988, pp. 230–9.

¹⁶ Léon Voet, *The golden compasses: a history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols., Amsterdam: Vangendt, and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969–72; Katharine L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and engraved book illustrations in sixteenth-century Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

¹⁷ Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the market: books as gifts in sixteenth-century France', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, v.33 (1983), 69–88. An excellent example of the rhetoric by which *marchands libraires* portrayed themselves as the disinterested servants of the Republic of Letters is to be found in the preface of the *Communium opinionum syntagma*, Lyon: Symphorien Beraud, 1581,*2^{r-v}, written by Béraud about his deceased associate Philippe Tinghi.

labours of the printer and publisher.¹⁸ From the list of unsold books which will be discussed below, only the work by Claude Baduel can be unequivocally cited as an example of uncommercial publication by Gryphius.

The profitability of a given book is of course not determined altogether at the time of its production; but in order even retrospectively to establish what it is, a decision has to be made about the timescale over which profit is calculated. It is not clear what the general assumptions and practices relating to such calculations were in Gryphius's time. The fairs at which books were sold offered publishers one possibility of taking stock; those of Frankfurt and Leipzig took place twice yearly, whereas the Lyon fairs were twice as frequent. The importance of the fairs reside in the fact that the majority of sales were to other publishers, and often took the form of *Tauschhandel* or exchange of goods, which alleviated the perennial problems of cash-flow from which even very successful publishing entrepreneurs suffered.¹⁹ Another possible moment at which profits were calculated was the time of the annual imposition of local taxes. The method of book-keeping—single-entry or double-entry—might also have an effect on the calculation of the financial health of a publishing house.²⁰ As we have seen in the case of Beraud, another important moment was the proving of a will which produced a valuation revealing debts and assets, and showed in nearly all cases the very high degree of illiquidity in the form of stocks of unsold books. It might be argued, however, that if publishers were intent not on accumulating wealth but merely on staying in business, they would only be forced to look at their financial viability when this was threatened. Many bankruptcies or near-bankruptcies did in fact occur. This does not seem to have resulted always in suspension of commercial activity.²¹ The evidence provided by sixteenth-century publishers themselves about their financial viability is equivocal. On the one hand, there were those such as Thomas Platter who claimed that publishers were very well off; on the other, there are the many cases of bankruptcy, especially

¹⁸ See Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books and conceptions of genre in northern Europe', above, p. 15.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁰ On this see Christian Coppens, 'The Plantin-Moretus archives: an index to Jan Denucé's inventory of 1926', *De Gulden Passer*, 76–7 (1998–9), 333–60.

²¹ One case of a bankrupt publisher continuing to trade commercially in books is given by Roméo Arbour, *Un éditeur d'œuvres littéraires au XVII^e siècle: Toussaint Du Bray (1604–1636)*, Geneva: Droz, pp. 137–56.

towards the end of the century, and cases of publishing houses moving from apparent prosperity to penury in a very short space of time.²² Gryphius was certainly quite well off at the time of his death (but it is not known how much of his fortune was in the form of unsold stock); he was however far from being as well off as such *marchands libraires* as Hugues de la Porte or the Giunti family. Only very considerable financial resources could protect a publisher from ruin, as the collapse of the business of Etienne Michel demonstrates. It is worthy of note here that Michel was the heir of Gryphius's colleague Thibaud Payen, who probably was rich as Gryphius himself; and that the heirs of Gryphius continued only eight years more in business.

The evidence I shall be use to investigate the profitability of Gryphius's enterprises and the nature of his relations with his Lyonnais colleagues or competitors will be the inventory of 1591, the books written by Alciati which were printed at Lyon by various publishers between 1518 and 1554, and additional information from Alciato's letters to his Basle contact Boniface Amerbach among others. I begin by listing the unsold stock in the possession of the Grande Compagnie des Libraires de Lyon. I take this to be either a settlement of debt by Gryphius, or an exchange of books between him and the Grande Compagnie according to the principles of *Tauschhandel*. As we have seen, the imprint is not given in the inventory of 1591, so identifications of editions can only be made from the information provided about author, title, format and number of pages; in fact, nearly all the books can be identified from what is recorded about them. The Gryphius stock may be divided into two categories:

(1) law books by modern authors:

1. Joannes Ferrarius, *In usu feudorum*, 1555, 452p, 4f: 400 copies
2. Joannes Ferrarius, *In IIII Institutionum libros annotationes* with *Ad titulum Pandectarum De Regulis iuris integer commentarius*, 1554, 470p, 16f, 1f: 50 copies
3. [no name of author], *Axiomata legum*, 1547, 279p: 285 copies
4. Petrus Lorientus, *De iuris apicibus tractatus viii*, 1555, 18f, 708col, 1f: 180 copies
5. Simon du Corroy, *Pandectae legis evangelicae*, 1547, 1549, 1555, 313p, 24f: 169 copies

²² See Maclean, 'L'Economie du livre érudit'.

(2) Schoolbooks and works by humanists:

1. Erasmus, *Paraphrasis seu potius epitome in Elegantiarum libros Laurentii Vallae*, 1556, 199p, 8f: 60 copies
2. Claude Baduel, *Annotationes in Ciceronis Pro Milone [...]*, 1552, 394p, 1f: 480 copies
3. Bartholomaeus Facius, *De rebus gestis ab Alphonsi primo Neapolitanorum Rege commentariorum libri x*, heirs of Gryphius, 1560, 1562, 312p, 8f, 4f, 106p, 5f: 480 copies
4. Raphaele Maffei Volaterrano, *Commentariorum urbanorum libri*, 1552, 18f, 1218p, 1f: 228 copies
5. Ovid, *Heroides Epistolae*, 1540, 223p: 140 copies
6. Ovid, *Amatoria*, 1555, 397p, 1f: 238 copies
7. Aristotle, *Dialectica*, 1554, 541p: 180 copies
8. Aristotle, *Physica*, 1554 ou 1559, 800p: 40 copies
9. Lucan, *De bello civili libri decem*, 1561, 269, 1f: 50 copies

To this list should be added the following works which were produced by several publishers including Gryphius in the same format and with the same number of sheets:

1. Andreas Guarna, *Bellum grammaticale*, Thibaud Payen, 1548; Gryphius, 1538, 1539; Jean II Frellon 1551; 39p: 50 copies
2. Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis opus*, Thibaud Payen, 1557, 335p; previously printed by Gryphius and Payen: 140 copies
3. Lorenzo Valla, *Elegantiae linguae latinae*, Thibaud Payen, 1554, 552p, 19f; previously printed by Gryphius: 140 copies

We may note first that Gryphius undertook to publish law books by living modern authors, which seems to make him a competitor of the Grande Grande Compagnie des libraires, who specialized in such publication. But this is not in fact the case. The market seems to have been divided up between the two publishing ventures according to a surprising principle based on format. When Gryphius began to publish the works of Alciati at the instigation of Michel Parmentier who held the *privilège*, he does so in folio, following the author's expression of preference for this format.²³ He subsequently remained

²³ *Lettere*, p. 119 (no. 65, 27 October 1530, to Boniface Amerbach).

faithful to this format,²⁴ and his erstwhile employers adopt octavo for their publications by the same author.²⁵ By a sort of chiasmic logic, the reverse happens in respect of other modern (including late medieval) legal authors: Gryphius published them in octavo, whereas the Grande Grande Compagnie continued to use the folio format, as they did for their editions of *Corpus juris civilis et canonici*. The great fifteenth- and sixteenth-century jurists Philippe Decius, Jason de Mayno, Bartolommeo et Mariano Socini, Paul de Castro, and Joannes de Imola all appeared in folio, and this choice of format was still a feature of their publishing policy in the 1580s.²⁶

Here is the list of Alciati editions produced between 1530 and Gryphius's death:

(1) Published by Gryphius in folio:

1. *De verborum significatione*, 1530 (two states), 1535, 1537, 1542, 1548/9
2. *Ad rescripta principum commentarii. De summa trinitate. De sacrosancto ecclesia. De aedendo. De in ius vocando. De pactis. De transactionibus*, 1530, 1532, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1541, 1547

²⁴ Sybille von Gültlingen, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle. Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon. Vol. 5: Sébastien Gryphius*, Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1997, v.201 (no. 1264–6) states that the 1554 editions of the *Parenga* are in folio; in the Catalogue of the British Library, they are described as quartos.

²⁵ Alciato does not seem to realize that Vincent de Portonariis is an associate of the Giunti in the Grande Grande Compagnie: *Lettere*, p. 191 (no. 122, 25 June 1543).

²⁶ See Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, vi.453 (the *privilège* granted to Tinghi in 1578): 'spécialement toutes les oeuvres de Albericus de Rosate, toutes les lectures et conseilz d'Alciat, toutes les oeuvres de Bartole, toutes les oeuvres de Balde, toutes les oeuvres de Petrus Paulus, Parisius, Consilia Bertrandi, Consilia Cornei, toutes les oeuvres de Philipus Decius, toutes les oeuvres de Bartholomeus Socinus, toutes les oeuvres de Marianus Socinus, Consilia Barba[t]iae, le Cours civil avec les glosses, le Cours canon avec les glosses, Christophorus Portius super Instituta, les oeuvres de Ludovicus Romanus, les oeuvres de Jason Maynus, Consilia Ruyni, toutes les oeuvres de R[i]m[in]aldus, toutes les oeuvres de Turrecremata, toutes les oeuvres de Felin, toutes les oeuvres de Joannes Faber, les oeuvres de Dominicus de Sancto Geminiano, les oeuvres de Henricus Brichus, les oeuvres de Hippolytus de Marsiliis, les oeuvres de Joannes de Imola, les oeuvres de Lucas de Pena, les oeuvres de Mathaeus de Afflicitis, les oeuvres de Rippa, toutes les oeuvres de Paulus de Castro, les oeuvres de Bartachinus, les oeuvres de Salicel, les oeuvres de Hostiensis, les oeuvres de Azo, les oeuvres de Zabarelle, le grand volume des Répétitions de divers auteurs, le grand volume des Grandz traictés de divers auteurs, les oeuvres de Cynus, la grande glosse ordinaire Singularium omnium doctorum, toutes les oeuvres de Julius Clarus.'

3. *Paradoxorum ad Pratum, libri VI. Dispunctionum, libri IIII. De eo quod interest liber unus. In tres libros Codicis, libri III. Pratermissorum, lib II. Declamatio una. De stip[ulationis] divisionibus commentariolus*, 1532, 1535, 1537, 1543
4. *In Digestorum sive Pandectarum lib XII. Qui de rebus creditis primus est: rubr. de certum petatur commentarius longe doctissimus atque utilissimus, ab autore nunc primum recogn[itus] et in lucem ed. eiusdem interpretatio in l. bona fides ff depositi*, 1538, 1542, 1548
5. *Parergon iuris libri III*, 1538, 1543, 1554
6. *Parergon iuris libri VII posteriores*, 1544, 1554
7. *Reliqua opera, quae typis nostris hactenus non fuerunt excusa*, 1548

To this list should be added the following posthumous work by Alciato;

8. *Parergon iuris libri duo ultimi, 11 videlicet et 12*, 1554, in octavo

(2) Books published by the Grande Compagne des Libraires in octavo:

1. *De verborum significatione*, Giunti, 1536; Thibaud Payen, 1540, 1542 (for the Grande Compagnie), Giunti, 1546; see also *Elenchi dictionum, quae enodantur in libris quatuor De verborum significatione*, Vincent de Portonariis, 1536
2. *Index completissimus super commentariis codicis*, Vincent de Portonariis, 1536
3. *Paradoxorum ad Pratum libri sex...*, Giunti, 1537, 1545
4. *Iudicarii processus compendium, atque adeo iuris utriusque praxis, in gratiam studiosorum nunc primum typis excusa*, Vincent de Portonariis, 1537. This work was declared by Alciato not to be by him; it may have been pirated from the Cologne or Paris edition (*Index Aureliensis*, 102.902, 102.909)
5. *Parergon libri tres*, heirs of Simon Vincent, 1538; Giunti, 1539
6. *Commentaria in rubri. Iuris canonici*, Giunti, 1538
7. *De praesumptionibus tractatus*, Giunti, 1542
8. *De singulari certamine seu duello tractatus*, Antoine Vincent, 1543, Giunti 1544, Thibaud Payen, 1545
9. *In Digestorum sive Pandectarum lib XII. Qui de rebus creditis primus est: rubr. de certum rubr. de certum petatur commentarius longe doctissimus atque utilissimus*, Giunti, 1546
Lectura super secunda parte ff. novi in titu[lum] de verborum obligationibus, Giunti, 1546 (previously printed in folio in 1519 by Jacques Sacon for Vincent de Portonariis from an unauthorised copy)

10. *In secundum tomum Pandectarum iuris civilis (quod vulgo Infortiatum vocant) commentarius*, heirs of Jacques Giunti, 1550
11. *In aliquot titulos tomi tertii Pandectarum iuris (quod Digestum novum vocant) commentarii, hactenus nusquam editi*, heirs of Jacques Giunti, 1550/1
12. *Ad rescripta principum commentarii*, Giunti, 1536

There are the following two exceptions to the format rule:

(1) The *Paradoxa* appeared in 1529 in folio with Vincent de Portonariis's mark; it seems to be the reprinting of the edition of 1523, and came out with before any contracts between Gryphius and Alciati on the one hand and Gryphius and the Grande Compagnie des libraires on the other.

(2) The *De quinque pedum praescriptione, liber unus. De magistratibus, civilibus et militaribus officiis liber unus* appeared in 1529 in octavo from the Gryphius press; it is possible that it was reissued in 1530. The letter in which Alciati expressed his desire for his works to come out 'decumana forma' bears the date 27 October 1530.²⁷

(3) *In Digestorum sive Pandectarum lib XII. Qui de rebus creditis primus est: rubr. de certum petatur commentarius longe doctissimus atque utilissimus* was printed by Jean and François Frellon in 1538 in folio, probably for the Grande Compagnie: Gryphius's edition of the same year is not strictly the same work, as it has supplementary material.

It is worthy of note that in the 1591 inventory, there are a good number of unsold copies of Alciati in the octavo editions issued by the Grande Compagnie des Libraires,²⁸ but not a single folio volume with the Gryphius imprint. This allows us to infer in his case that these editions were all reprinted once the stock was exhausted, and that this happened four or five times, revealing a very satisfactory commercial outcome. Only the last edition produced in such series might result in unsold stock. Another possible explanation for the sequence of dates would be that the publisher deliberately produced on first printing a

²⁷ *Lettere*, p. 119 (no. 65, to Boniface Amerbach).

²⁸ E.g., 49 copies of Alciato's *Index super commentariis Codicis*, Jacques Giunti, 1536, 40p, 700p; 34 copies of his *In Digestorum seu Pandectarum librum xii commentarii*, Jacques Giunti, 1547, 387p, 21p; 73 copies of his *Commentarii in rubricas Iuris Canonici*, Jacques Giunti, 1542, 8p, 416p, 164p; 18 copies of his *In secundum tomum Pandectarum iuris civilis [...] commentarius*, heirs of Jacques Giunti, 1550, 595p, 73p; 27 copies of his *In Dig. librum xii De rebus creditis*, Jacques Giunti, 1547, 387p, 19p; 14 copies of his *Index locupletissimus in rubricas iuris civilis*, Jacques Giunti, 1546, 32f.

given work title pages bearing a sequence of dates (for example, 1536, 1538, 1543) presumably to release his unsold stock later on to the market without revealing the calculation he had made about the likely sales, and to attract purchasers by making out the work to be fresh off the presses. There is one very clear example of this, as Isabelle Pantin has shown in her study of the Parisian printer Pierre Cavellat.²⁹

There are four other cases of unsold Gryphius stock in the Beraud inventory:

(1) Johannes Ferrarius Montanus [Eisermann d'Amelburg], a Lutheran professor of law at Marburg from 1526, who wrote *Adnotationes in IIII institutionum Justiniani libros*, printed in octavo in 1532 by Gryphius (probably not for himself but for the Grande Compagnie, as there is an edition or reissue which appeared in 1536 or 1537 with the mark of Vincent de Portonariis). Ferrarius was also the author of *Ad titulum Pandectarum De Regulis iuris integer commentarius*, printed in octavo in 1537 with two title pages, one with the address of Jacques Giunti, the other with the address of Gryphius. This was reprinted or issued in 1546, and a new edition containing both works appeared in 1554.³⁰ As well as these works, Gryphius published his *De appellationibus* in octavo in 1542,³¹ his *De iudiciorum praeexercitamenta* and his *In usum feudorum* in 1555. This would appear to be strong evidence of an agreed collaboration between the Grande Compagnie and Gryphius.

(2) Pierre Lorient, a protestant jurist who taught at the University of Valence, had two works produced by Gryphius: the *De gradibus affinitatis*, in 1542 and again in 1554, in folio: and his *De iuris apicibus*, also in folio, first in 1545, then again in 1555. After Gryphius's death, Antoine Vincent published his *Ad secundam ff. veteris partem commentarii* in 1557. This may indicate that the previous editions also had the financial support of the Grande Compagnie.

(3) In spite of the claim made by Baudrier, the *Axiomata legum* are not by Matthaeus Gribaldi.³² He was like Lorient a professor of law at

²⁹ See Isabelle Pantin, 'Les problèmes de l'édition des livres scientifiques: l'exemple de Guillaume Cavellat', in *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, pp. 240–52.

³⁰ See the copies described in ICCU, HPB, and in the catalogue of the Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

³¹ COPAC records another Lyon edition of 1549.

³² Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, viii.210–11 transcribes the following manuscript note in his copy of the *Axiomata*: 'Matt. Gribaldus initio libri secundi de ratione studii legalis dixit se edidisse librum Axiomatum iuris.' It is true that Gribaldi mentions a book written by him with the title 'Axiomata' in his *De methodo et ratione studendi*

the University of Valence, who like his colleague most probably had his publications financed by the Grande Compagnie. The *Axiomata* are a anonymous textbook ('a docto aliquo et Iuris Civilis non mediocriter perito') in the pedagogical genre known as 'Flores legum' which was first published Christian Egenolph of Frankfurt in 1546, reprinted speculatively by Gryphius a year later outside the jurisdiction which protected Egenolph's book. It was aimed at a student market, and clearly did not do very well; but it demonstrates that Gryphius was willing to engage in unauthorised reprinting if he believed that there was a profit to be made by it.

(4) I have not been able to trace the link between the Celestine Simon Du Corroy and Gryphius. Other jurists published by Gryphius, such as Andrea ab Exea, were the clients of Du Corroy's patron Cardinal François de Tournon (ab Exea was also an acquaintance of Alciati).³³

The triangular relationship between Lyon, Basle and Alciati is worthy of some comment. Alciati's correspondence demonstrates very clearly the jurist's great admiration of his principal Basle publisher, Andreas Cratander. In a letter dated 25 March 1532, he is compared to Gryphius, and comes off the better.³⁴ Two aspects of the Basle printing industry displeased Alciato, however. The fact that Basle was full of heretics upset him; and he states also that Italian merchants were more likely to come to the Lyon fairs than to go to Switzerland, which he saw as an advantage, as it would ensure a better distribution of his works in his native country.³⁵ He made this statement in 1531, some sixteen years after his first experience of the world of international publication.

libri tres, which came out first in 1541 (see the edition of Lyon: Louis Cloquemin and Etienne Michel, 1574, p. 308), but the reworked text, which makes up the second book of his *De methodo et ratione studendi*, is altogether different from the *Axiomata* of 1547. Publications of the genre of 'Flores legum' began in 1487; there are many editions up to 1522.

³³ Alciati, *Lettere*, p. 109 (no. 62, 3 September 1530).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126 (no. 70, 24 juillet 1531), p. 129 (no. 72, 25 March 1532): 'Accepi Cratandrum perfecisse editionem operum meorum, fueruntque mihi nuper transmissa ab amico Paradoxa. Laudo diligentiam, characteres, chartam, omnia. Satisfecit egregie expectationi meae Cratander, quo fit ut Gryphio iratus sim, qui de eius exemplo confestim et ipse illa edidit, me inconsulto. Adde quod insigniter in ipsa prima epistola bis erravit, ut ab hoc possim depraendere, nec pari quidem cura eum usum esse.'

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 111 (no. 62, 3 September 1530): 'quia suspecta mihi incipit propter hosce haereticos Basilea, transferre me amorem ad Gryphium oportuit, sive quod germanus vir summae fidei est, sive quia inter excussores istos hic plurimum studiorum tenet, et quod mea refert, oculatus est'; p. 121 (no. 66, 5 January 1531) 'inde [i.e. Lyon] mercatores Itali acciperent, qui frequentes Lugdunum conveniunt, Basileam non aequē.' See also *ibid.*, p. 114 (no. 63, 29 September 1529).

His first work had appeared in Strasbourg in 1515; thereafter he was published in Milan (1517–18), Lyon (1519) and Basle (1523). It took him several years to grasp the commercial realities of the book trade and to gauge the effects of Lutheranism. These factors do not wholly explain Alciato's eventual preference for Lyon. The fact that Gryphius ended up by being Alciati's preferred publisher (at least for his legal works)³⁶ reflects the author's perception of him as an accurate and painstaking printer whose books were attractively produced. Gryphius repaid Alciato's confidence in him by refusing to publish a polemical work written by Francesco Florido against Alciato and some of his friends in 1540.³⁷

A question arises about the student texts of Aristotle produced by Thibaud Payen in the 1591 inventory, and one or two others not represented there, which appear to be in direct competition with Gryphius. There is no doubt that Payen accepted commissions from the Grande Compagnie. Like Gryphius, he rose to the status of *marchand imprimeur* in the latter part of his long career which ended in 1569 or 1570. It was he who agreed to publish Girolamo Cardano's commentary on Ptolemy in 1555, which appeared one year after the Basle edition, but was almost certainly given to Payen to print in 1551–2, causing Cardano to describe French publishers as 'egregios procrastinatores'.³⁸ This commission is somewhat surprising, as Gryphius had previously published works by Cardano, and generally remained faithful to his authors, as did Cardano to his publishers.³⁹ It is not possible to know whether Gryphius passed on the contract to Payen, or whether Cardano himself approached Payen. In a different sphere, Payen and Gryphius both published textbooks of Aristotle's logic and physics, but these seem to be aimed at different markets: Payen's produced texts with commentaries by medieval authors (Averroes et Zimara) which were still favoured by certain universities, whereas Gryphius printed the notes of humanist exegetes, which were popular in Paris and elsewhere.

³⁶ He entrusted the first authorized edition of his *Emblemata* to Chrétien Wechel of Paris, in 1534.

³⁷ Alciati, *Lettere*, p. 180 (no. 114, 11 February 1540).

³⁸ See Ian Maclean, 'Cardano and his publishers, 1534–1663', above, p. 141. Natalie Davis does not agree, however, about Payen's status as *marchand imprimeur*: see 'Le monde de l'imprimerie humaniste: Lyon'.

³⁹ On Gryphius and Cardano, see Cardano, *De libris propriis*, ed. Ian Maclean, Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2004, pp. 52, 73–4. The works in question are the *De animorum immortalitate* (1545) and the *Contradicentia medica* (1548).

It is pertinent finally to comment on the remaining relevant titles in the 1591 inventory.

(1) The school textbooks of Ovid must be the remnant of editions which sold well in their time, but which had been superseded.

(2) The work by Claude Baduel is a rather different case: Baduel had been a proofreader in Gryphius's printing house, before becoming a protestant and entering a somewhat turbulent university career which led him to Nîmes and Grenoble, where he engaged in a bitter personal feud with the formidable Catholic Guillaume Bigot who eventually succeeded in ousting him from his post. He took refuge in Lyon in 1550, and while there persuaded Gryphius to publish his *Annotationes seu potius epitome in Elegantiarum libros Laurentii Vallae*.⁴⁰ I believe this to be one of the rare cases where sentiment got the better of Gryphius's hard commercial sense.

(3) The manuscript of *De rebus gestis ab Alphonsi primo Neapolitanorum Rege commentariorum libri x* by Bartholomaeus Facius was brought to Lyon around 1560 by the humanist Giovanni Michele Bruto, who persuaded Gryphius's heirs to publish it in 1560. Bruto was however accused of changing the text (an accusation which Antoine Gryphius vigorously denied in a note at the end of the work). The accusation had a deleterious effect of sales, and two years later Gryphius's heirs were forced to reissue the text with a new titlepage and an accompanying work by Francesco Contareni—the *De rebus in Hetruria a Senensibus gestis libri tres*—to try to recoup their losses (unsuccessfully, it would appear from the number of copies extant in 1591).⁴¹

(4) The *Commentariorum urbanorum libri* by Raphaelae Maffei Volaterrano, published by Gryphius in 1552 had first appeared in 1509, and had already been reprinted twice in Basle, in 1530 et 1544. This seems to me to be another case (with the *Axiomata legum*) of Gryphius attempting opportunistically to produce a reprint in his own preferred market zone (France, Spain and Italy), but without success.

The evidence of the 1591 Inventory and the Alciato correspondence leads me to the conclusion that Gryphius entertained good commercial relations with his Lyon colleagues. The only clear case of conflict is that with the protestant Etienne Dolet who was to be burnt as a heretic in

⁴⁰ *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, s.v. Baduel, Claude.

⁴¹ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, viii.297, 304; Antonella Cagnolati, 'Giovanni Michele Bruto e l'educazione femminile: La Institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente (1555)', *Ann. Univ. Ferrar. Sez. III Filosofia*, Discussion Paper no. 64 (2001).

1542. Their acrimonious relations have been charted by Gerard Defaux, who alludes to factors other than commercial ones, notably scholarly and religious rivalry.⁴² But with his former employers and with figures such as Payen, harmony seems to reign, or at the very least non-aggression pacts seem to be in place. It may be that Gryphius was an open, tolerant and friendly person whose word people felt able to trust; it may also be that the book market in Lyon in his day was so prosperous that everyone could flourish in it, provided that they adopted the right publishing policies. This was clearly no longer the case in 1591, when commercial conditions were much harsher and all aspects of political, civic and religious life were marked by intolerance and conflict. It cannot be known how Gryphius would have fared in such circumstances; fortunately for him, he did not have to live in such troubled times.

⁴² Gérard Defaux, 'Clément Marot et ses éditions lyonnaises: Etienne Dolet, Sébastien Juste et François Juste', in *Intellectual Life in Renaissance Lyon*, ed. Philip Ford and Gillian Jondorf, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 81–112.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ALBERICO GENTILI, HIS PUBLISHERS, AND THE VAGARIES OF THE BOOK TRADE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND GERMANY, 1580–1614

Of all the titlepages of Alberico Gentili's books printed during or shortly after his lifetime, only one records who actually paid for the book to be produced and marketed. This was the composite edition of the three parts of the *De iure belli commentationes* which appeared in 1589 from the press of John Wolfe, with the mention 'expensis I.C.M.'; the financier was Giacopo Castelvetro, a Modenese exile and a prominent member of the literary scene in London.¹ Other mentions of printers on Alberico's books, who may or may not be publishers on their own account, simply state in whose workshop or through whose initiative it was produced ('excudebat', 'typis', 'in [or ex] officina', 'apud'), or through whom the book was available for purchase (also 'apud'). In respect of Alberico's printers and publishers whom we shall meet, it is very rare to find any reference in the text to the financing of the edition; and the clues which may be gleaned from other sources (such as dedications and book fair catalogues) are scarce.

This is both surprising and unsurprising. Surprising, because Alberico as an author and grateful client of a sequence of patrons is scrupulous in recording who helped him in any way; unsurprising, in that the finances of the book trade at this time were taken for granted by most of those involved in the business, even if a significant number of books at this time record in the imprint on the titlepage who paid for the edition ('sumptibus'; 'aere'; 'expensis'; 'impensis'). It was assumed that everyone was aware that there were various sorts of printers in the market, some of whom were able and willing to assume the costs of producing

¹ I.e. '[acobi] C[astelvetri] M[utinensis]'. On Castelvetro, see Kathleen T. Butler, 'Giacomo Castelvetro, 1546–1616', *Italian Studies*, 5 (1950), 1–42; H.A. Dick, 'Renaissance expatriate: Giacomo Castelvetro the elder', *Italian Quarterly*, 7 (1963), 3–19; and R.J. Roberts, 'New light on the career of Giacomo Castelvetro', *Bodleian Library Record*, 13 (1990), 365–9. I should like to express my gratitude to John Barnard, Graham Rees and Julian Roberts, who kindly read a draft of this paper and made many useful corrections and additions.

a text, others not. It was common for the dedicatee of the book to offer financial support to the author, but only retrospectively; it was therefore necessary to provide in advance the money for the paper (at least 30% of the total costs) and the labour in the workshop. Moreover, once the book was produced (in nearly all cases, in an unbound form), it had to find its way to a potential market, and perhaps be protected from unfair competition in a market zone which would be defined by the jurisdiction cite in the licence or privilege (which was itself expensive). This presupposed advertisement, most obviously through a book fair, which implied also the transport of a sufficient number of copies to the fair and their distribution, not to speak of the complex issue of the relationship of publishers between themselves (which might be take the form of collaboration, or hostile competition, or a sort of non-aggression pact), and the disposal of unsold copies. The fair's rules about books would also have to be respected, which often entailed the (often spurious) claim that the book in question was a new edition. Authors themselves would hope to have negotiated some sort of reward from the printer or publisher, if only in the form of free copies; they might also have had to play a role in the printer's workshop as a proof-reader of their own text. If their work was sent abroad for printing, they were unable to eliminate the errors arising from the compositor's misreading of his manuscript. Nor was printing their only option; they would also have had the choice of disseminating their work through multiple manuscript copies taken from a scribal exemplar (a popular mode of publication in Elizabethan London and Oxford, notably in the circles of which Alberico was part).²

² On all these points, see Ian Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books and conceptions of genre in northern Europe, 1570–1630', above, pp. 9–24 (and the references there to other works on the operation of the book market); on manuscript publication in Elizabethan London, see Henry Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the circulation of manuscripts, 1558–1640*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996; on Oxford and scribal culture see *The Oxford dictionary of national biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004 (hereafter ODNB, citing also the name of the author of the entry), s.vv. John Rainolds (Mordechai Feingold), Tobie Matthew (William Joseph Sheils), Edward Dyer (Steven W. May); see also Paul E.J. Hammer, 'The use of scholarship: the secretariat of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, c. 1581–1601', *The English Historical Review*, 109 (1994), 26–51 (46), on the use made of manuscript circulation by the Earl of Essex. Even Jacopo Castelvetro, who invested so much in print (see notes 1 and 67) engaged in one act of MS publication (his *Breve racconto di tutte le radici, di tutti l'erbe, e di tutti i frutti che crudi e cotti in Italia si mangiano*: Dick, 'Castelvetro', records that there were six MSS produced between May and September 1614.

When Alberico arrived in London in 1580, deprived of the manuscripts composed in the 1570s which he had lost through the stressful circumstances of his flight, he had to come to terms with all these material facts.³ Over a career as an author which spanned two and a half decades, he dealt with these financial and organisational constraints, as did his brother, who gained a foothold in the printing universe before he did. In this paper, I shall trace Alberico's career as an author in the context of the practicalities of publication in London, Oxford, and later Hanau, and highlight some issues which may have had a bearing on the reception of his works by his contemporaries. The questions I shall consider are the following: (1) how did he find his way to his publishers, and who paid for his publications? (2) What were the connotations of the publisher's name in the eyes of Alberico's contemporaries? (3) What did the dedicatee's name (and the contents of the dedication) indicate about the work's religious, political and intellectual orientation to contemporary readers? (4) How does the particular case of Alberico and his publications relate to the wider trade in books between England and Germany?

There are no surviving documents which provide an unequivocal answer to the first question; but there is a great deal of circumstantial evidence which when taken together makes certain inferences very plausible. The second question is easier to answer, especially as publishers at this time often issue catalogues of their books, which tell both their contemporaries and the modern scholar much about the nature of their religious and political commitments. In respect of the third question, there is a well-known rhetoric and set of commonplaces conventionally found in most dedications to patrons: the illustrious nature of the dedicatee and of his family, the lowliness of the author and the modest scale of his gift, his hope that the great name that he is associating with his work will protect it from unfair criticism, and various allusions to the patron's generosity, mainly in the hope of receiving liberality rather than in the recognition of its having been already bestowed on

³ Bodley MS d'Orville 616, ff. 100^r, 90^r, 92^r are dated respectively 'Heidelbergae 8 Maij 1580'; 'Neostadij die 21 Maij 1580' and 'Coloniae 4 Junij 1580'. Alberico's arrival in London must postdate his trip through Germany. Diego Panizza, *Alberico Gentili, giurista ideologo nell'Inghilterra elisabettiana*, Padua: la Garangola, 1981, p. 18, refers to a MS dated Antwerp, 19 June 1580, and another dated London, 1 August 1580. Ibid., p. 16, refers to the holograph note on MS d'Orville 609, f. 3^r which records that Alberico began his writing career on 4 October 1574.

the author.⁴ Phrases which speak of the patron fostering letters may or may not therefore indicate financial support for a given publication, as we shall see. I shall set out to answer the final question by producing a narrative in three parts about the engagement of English printers and publishers with Germany, which, like the answer to the first question, will rely heavily on circumstantial evidence.

LONDON: PRINTERS AND PATRONS, 1580–1585

After his flight from San Genesio in 1579, Alberico shared some of his peregrinations with his younger brother Scipione, who like himself was to become a teacher of law. Scipione evinced at an early age an interest in humanism and Italian poetry, and like his elder brother ventured into the field of religious writing.⁵ According to van der Molen, Alberico arrived in London with letters of recommendation from his father to Giambattista Castiglione, an Italian protestant exile who had already spent more than a decade in the city.⁶ Scipione, who soon joined him in the English capital, was the first to exploit Castiglione's connections with the Italian community in London, with their printer, John Wolfe, and with another prominent printer of foreign extraction, Thomas Vautrollier. Through them Scipione was to publish a number of works between 1581 and 1586, including Latin translations of Torquato Tasso, a poem celebrating the birth of Sir Philip Sidney's

⁴ A useful survey of these topoi can be found in Wolfgang Leiner, *Der Widmungsbrief in der französischen Literatur (1580–1715)*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1965. For phrases which may indicate financial support, see *De nuptiis*, Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1601, 8vo, sig.): (4' (addressed to Sir Thomas Egerton): 'humanitatem tuam, qua literarum studiosos omnes amplecteris', and below, notes 45 and 56.

⁵ The brothers remained very attached to each other throughout their lives, and Scipione became Alberico's literary executor and the protector of one of his sons.: see *Alberico Gentili: vita e opere*, ed. Pepe Ragoni, San Ginesio: Centro Internazionale Studi Gentiliani, 2000, p. 46; G.H.J. van der Molen, *Alberico Gentili and the development of international law: his life and works*, Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1937, pp. 42–59; Michael Piccartus, *Laudatio funebris Scipionis Gentilis*, Nuremberg: e typographeo Magdalenae viduae Georgii Leopoldi Fuhrmanni, et heredum eius, [1617]; Thomas Erskine Holland, *An inaugural lecture on Albericus Gentilis*, London: Macmillan and Co., 1874, pp. 39–41.

⁶ van der Molen, *Alberico Gentili*, p. 44; See Clifford Chalmers Huffmann, *Elizabethan impressions: John Wolfe and his press*, New York: AMS Press, 1988, pp. 7–9. Castiglione edited the first Italian book published by John Wolfe in England: Jacobus Acontius's *Una essortatione al timor di Dio*, 'In Londra: appresso Giovanni Wolfio, Servitore de l'illustrissimo Signor Filippo Sidnei', n.d. (c. 1580).

daughter (in the printing of which Castelvetro was involved),⁷ and two verse paraphrases of the Psalms.⁸ Vautrollier printed the first of these works, the *Paraphrasis aliquot Psalmorum Davidis, carmine heroico* in 1581; it was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, to whose 'propensus in nostram [sci. Italicam] nationem animus' Scipione refers; and he mentions Castiglione in a way which suggests that he may have financed the short publication.⁹ Vautrollier was a Huguenot refugee who was granted letters of denization in 1562, and began printing on his own behalf in 1569. He maintained strong links with the continent, and was one of the handful of English-based printers to print large-scale Latin works (including the *Institutio Christianae Religionis* of Calvin and Luther's Sermons) and to declare books at the twice-yearly Frankfurt Book Fair. He was absent in Edinburgh from 1583 to 1585, which may explain why Scipione turned to Wolfe for his subsequent English publications; on his return, Vautrollier would print Alberico's *De legationibus*, also dedicated to Sidney, in which Alberico alludes to the lofty circle of courtiers, politicians, scholars, secretaries and writers by which it had been his good fortune to be taken up through Sidney's mediation.¹⁰

Foremost among these was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; as the champion of the moderate puritan faction in Oxford, he was an active sympathiser with the exiled French and Italian communities in London, and as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, closely connected with its then Vice-Chancellor Tobie Matthew, later Bishop of Durham and

⁷ See Roberts, 'New light on Castelvetro', 366.

⁸ The full list of Scipione's London publications is as follows: *Paraphrasis aliquot Psalmorum Davidis, carmine heroico*, London: excudebat Thomas Vautrollerius typographus, 1581, 4to (dedication to Philip Sidney, London 23 June 1581); *In xxv Davidis Psalmos epicae paraphrases*, London: Johannes Wolfius 1584 4to; Torquato Tasso, *Solymeidos, liber primus*, trans. Scipione Gentili, London: excudebat Iohannes Wolfius, 1584, fol.; Torquato Tasso, *Solymeidos libri 2 priores*, trans. Scipione Gentili, London: apud Iohannem Wolfium, 1584, 8vo; *Plutonis concilium ex initio quarti libri Solymeidos*, London: apud Iohannem Wolfium, 1584, 4to (dedication written 'in Walsinghamas aedes'); *Nereus sive de natali Eoizabethae illustriss. Philippi Sydnaei filiae*, London: apud Iohannem Wolfium, 1585, 4to; *Annotationi di Scipio Gentili sopra la Gierusalemme liberata di Torquato Tasso*, in Leida [London: John Wolfe], 1586, 8vo.

⁹ *Paraphrasis aliquot Psalmorum Davidis, carmine heroico*, sig. *3r: 'Hoc autem ut hisce primitiis meis primo facerem, non abnuitt, immo et pluribus verbis confirmavit vir magnificus D. Io. Baptista Castilioneus, quem ego propter suum erga nos amorem tanquam alterum parentem colo et observo.' However, Castiglione is said by Huffmann, *Elizabethan impressions*, pp. 15–16, to have lived in poverty. See also ODNB (Sidney, by H.R. Woudhuysen).

¹⁰ *De legationibus*, London: excudebat Thomas Vaurollier, 1585, 4to, sigs. * 2^r–4^r. See also ODNB (Vautrollier, by Andrew Pettegree).

Archbishop of York.¹¹ Through these two figures, Alberico incorporated his Perugia doctorate in Oxford, and obtained a position there teaching law.¹² Through Sidney and Leicester, Alberico found his way to Sir Francis Walsingham and after the death of Sidney and Leicester, to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. He also encountered their influential Secretaries Arthur Atey and Thomas Smith, both humanist scholars with distinguished careers at Oxford behind them, and a range of their clients, including Sir Thomas Heneage, Edward Dyer, John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, and John Bennett.¹³ Leicester rewarded Alberico with a gift of £5 on 12 January 1585, probably for the dedication of Alberico's first work (there is evidence that he treated this sum as the standard recompense for such homage).¹⁴ There are no surviving records of payments by Philip Sidney to Alberico or to Scipione, who dedicated a number of works to him; but the reference to him by both brothers as a supporter of learning may indicate that he provided finance for printing, and he may well have been a posthumous influence (as a friend of the Wechel family) in Alberico's eventual choice of publisher.¹⁵

¹¹ On Matthew, see ODNB (William Joseph Sheils). No work was dedicated by Alberico to Tobie Matthew until the *Ad tit. C. de maleficis et mathematicis et ceter. similibus, commentarius* of 1593, possibly because Alberico felt the need to celebrate only his noble patrons in this way, but perhaps also because there seems to have been a falling out of Leicester and Matthew by 1587, when, according to ODNB s.v. John Piers (Claire Cross), Leicester opposed Matthew's elevation to the Bishopric of Durham.

¹² Bodley MS d'Orville 615 and 614 contain his lecture notes for the years 1584 ('de iurisdictione') and 1587 ('De verborum obligationibus'). He did not choose to develop either of these series into publications.

¹³ On these figures, see *The history of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1559–1603*, ed. P.W. Hasler, London: HSMO, 1981, i.363–4 (for Atey), and the relevant articles in ODNB by Simon Adams, (Leicester), Simon Adams, Alan Bryson and Mitchell Leimon (Walsingham), Paul E.J. Hammer (Essex and Smith), Michael Hicks (Heneage), Steven W. May (Dyer), Claire Cross (Piers), and Sheila Doyle (Bennett). Smith seems to have been a particularly close friend (Alberico calls him his 'alter ego': see the dedication to *De iure belli*, London: apud Iohannem Wolfium, 1589). Other Oxford figures named in these dedications include John James (ODNB, F. Jeffrey Pratt), William Awbrey, Francis Bevans and John Case (ODNB, Edward A. Malone).

¹⁴ See Simon Adams (ed.), *Household accounts and disbursement books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester 1558–1561, 1584–86*, Camden Fifth Series, 6, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 212: *ibid.*, p. 230 (£5 for John Case's 'for presenting a booke to your lordship' [the *Speculum moralium quaestionum*, on which see below, pp. 304–5]; p. 259 (£5 for Robert Grene for the same reason).

¹⁵ Sidney did not spend very much on his own books, from the evidence of a surviving reference in the *Report of the MSS of Lord de l'Isle and Dudley present at Penshurst Place*, 6 vols, London: Stationery Office, 1925, vol. i.246 (a record of £106 10s 8d spent on apparel, and £2 18s on books and other necessities, in the course of 1570–71). On his friendship with André Wechel, see R.J.W. Evans, *The Wechel presses*:

Before the appearance of the *De legationibus* in 1585, both Alberico and Scipione had works printed by John Wolfe, who was in touch with all the Italian exiles in London at the time, including Castiglione.¹⁶ Castiglione put Alberico into touch with other exiled Italians, including Petruccio Ubaldini, the corrector in Wolfe's printing shop, and Giacopo Castelvetro, who edited Scipione's translation into Latin of the first canto of the *Gierusalemme liberata* and paid for the publication of the *De iure belli* and other works published by Wolfe.¹⁷ Wolfe was connected both with the Sidney circle (on one publication he is described as a 'Servitore de l'Illustrissimo Signor Filippo Sidnei'¹⁸ and the highly cultured group of exiled Italians; through them, he was to publish a number of controversial Italian authors including Machiavelli, an author later quoted approvingly by Alberico.¹⁹ He was also instrumental in the printing of works by Giordano Bruno, whom Alberico almost certainly met in Oxford in 1583, and whom he was later to encounter in Wittenberg.²⁰ The publication of texts in Italian may initially have been prompted by a desire to evade the licensing powers of the Company of Stationers, with whom Wolfe was in conflict at the beginning of his career as publisher, although he later cooperated with them and protected his copyright by registering most of his books with them, usually about a fortnight after printing had been completed. Wolfe also came opportunistically to see the potential for profit from books in Italian in the European market, in which the activities of the Inquisition in Italy and other acts of censorship made

humanism and Calvinism in central Europe 1572–1627, Past and Present, supplement no. 2, Oxford, 1975.

¹⁶ Castiglione edited for Wolfe the first of his Italian texts published in London (Aconcio's *Essortazione al timor di Dio*, (n.d., c. 1580). see Huffmann, *Elizabethan impressions*, pp. 28–34; Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious printing in England, 1550–1640*, New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973, pp. 5–18, 187–8.

¹⁷ Julius Caesar Stella, *Columbeidos libri priores duo*, London: apud Johannem Wolfium, [also 'Lugduni'] 1585, 4to, sig. A2^v: (Castelvetro to Sir Walter Raleigh): 'expeditio illa tua [...] in animum duxi meum, Caesarium hoc poema [...] in lucem emittere'; he also financed the publication of Tasso and Guarini (see Dick, 'Castelvetro', 9–12). See also. John Tedeschi, 'Italian reformers and the diffusion of Renaissance culture', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 5 (1974), 79–94 (88): 'John Wolf [...] relied heavily on the texts and financial subsidies provided by a Modenese exile, Giacopo Castelvetro.'

¹⁸ See above, note 6.

¹⁹ See Michael Wyatt, *The Italian encounter with Tudor England: a cultural politics of translation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 195–9; Panizza, *Alberico Gentili*, p. 93.

²⁰ van den Molen, *Alberico Gentili*, p. 52; Mordechai Feingold, 'Giordano Bruno in England, revisited', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), 329–46.

texts by Machiavelli and Aretino difficult to obtain.²¹ Alberico, as an author of Italian extraction, fitted well into Wolfe's strategy; the jurist's unfashionable defence of the 'mos italicus' in law which constituted his first publication (the *De iuris interpretibus dialogi* of 1582) may also have pleased Wolfe, with his predilection for controversial books. There was moreover another sort of book published by Wolfe which chimed well with Alberico's in general approach: these were conciliatory works, produced principally by irenic Calvinists, who believed that the path to reconciling the sharp divisions between scholastic and humanist approaches to philosophy, law and medicine on the one hand, and to the reunification of the different confessions of Christianity on the other, lay through patient and dispassionate exploration of the issues dividing philosophers, lawyers, theologians and scholars.²² It would be wrong to suggest however that Alberico shared these conciliatory beliefs as far as the Church of Rome was concerned, towards which he harboured an implacable hostility.²³

Wolfe's incursion into the Frankfurt book market (which does not imply that he was himself actually present at the fair)²⁴ began in 1581 and lasted until he ceased printing on his own behalf in 1591; it represents what might be called the first phase of English involvement in the fair.²⁵ Books in the English language did not come into question, except very peripherally, because of the insular status of this vernacular; but as early as 1575, William Byrd and Thomas Tallis had called for the advertisement of English music abroad through the fair,²⁶ and Wolfe was able to engage with it by advertising works in both Italian and Latin. He seems to have done this for Alberico a somewhat laboured way: the *De iuris interpretibus dialogi* were advertised in successive fairs and given different dates of publication (1582 and 1584, but no

²¹ See Huffmann, *Elizabethan impressions*, pp. 3–43. See also Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press censorship in Elizabethan England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

²² For an example of a University embracing this approach, see Barbara Bauer (ed.), *Melanchthon und die Marburger Professoren (1527–1627)*, 2 vols, Marburg: Universitätsbibliothek, 1999. An example of Wolfe's publications in this mode is Giovanni Battista Aurelio, *Esamine di varii giudici*, 1587, on which see Huffmann, *Elizabethan impressions*, p. 22.

²³ See notably his *De papatu Romano Antichristo assertiones ex verbo Dei et SS. Patribus* Bodley MS 607 d'Orville ff. 1–95^v, and Diego Panizza, *Alberico Gentili*, pp. 15–53.

²⁴ Roberts, 'New light on Castelvetro', 367 thinks it unlikely that he would himself have attended the Fair.

²⁵ See ODNB s.v. Wolfe (I. Gadd).

²⁶ See John Harley, 'New light on William Byrd', *Music and Letters*, 79 (1998), 475–88.

copy imprinted with the later date is known to have survived). The second book to appear there, the *Lectionum et Epistolarum libri IV*, was advertised in two separate parts. One historian has suggested that the variation in dates, repeatedly produced for the continental market by British publishers and printers at this time, resulted from reprinting after initial sales in Britain had left too few copies to be sent to Frankfurt.²⁷ But reissues rather than reprintings may be in question, to judge by the surviving copies; which would lead to the reverse explanation, namely that the (quite numerous) unsold copies were released on to the Frankfurt market with titlepages of different dates as though they were sequential editions.²⁸ The London market for scholarly books in Latin appears to have been quite small, as does the Oxford market, as we shall see; Wolfe needed the sales in Frankfurt to remain in business, and was lucky enough to have some very sellable titles.

A book that was not advertised in the Frankfurt Book Fair catalogue, but was known to at least one contemporary bibliographer through a bookstall broadsheet ('nomenclatura'), was the *Legalium comitiorum Oxoniensium actio Francisco Bevanno doctore dignitatem suscipiente*. The fact that the Alberico's epigrammatic couplet in the preliminaries to the book announces that it was issued 'Iussu Auctoris' probably indicates that Alberico both authorized the *actio* for inclusion in the formal ceremony ('comitium') at which doctors were awarded their degrees, and that he paid for its publication. The respondent was his pupil Francis Bevans, and the dedicatee his colleague Griffin Lloyd.²⁹ It seems likely that the occasion on which these texts were delivered was the comitium of 1584, at which the Earl of Leicester was present as Chancellor of the University.³⁰ The printing of such texts was uncommon at this time, and Alberico did not always take the trouble to have

²⁷ David Paisey, 'German Book Fair catalogues', *The Library*, 4.4 (2003), 417–27 (421–2).

²⁸ There is some evidence of publishers printing simultaneously books with different dates as a marketing ploy: see Isabelle Pantin, 'les problèmes de l'édition des livres scientifiques: l'exemple de Guillaume Cavellat', in *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, ed. Pierre Aquilon and Henri-Jean Martin, Paris: Promodis, 1588, pp. 240–52 (p. 242), and Ian Maclean, 'Concurrence ou collaboration? Sébastien Gryphe et ses confrères lyonnais (1528–1556)', in *Quid novi? Sébastien Gryphe, à l'occasion du 450e anniversaire de sa mort*, ed. Raphaële Mouren, Lyon: ENSIBB, 2008, pp. 15–32 (p. 28).

²⁹ *Legalium comitiorum Oxoniensium actio Francisco Bevanno doctore dignitatem suscipiente*, London: excudebat Iohannes Wolfius, 1585, 8vo.

³⁰ The dedication to *De legationibus* makes reference to Alberico speaking at Leicester's behest on that occasion.

them appear in this form;³¹ he did however publish three other *actiones* delivered at comitia: the *De iniustitia bellica Romanorum* of 1590, which was the first text he dedicated to a new patron, the Earl of Essex; and the two *Laudes academiae Perusinae et Oxoniensis*, probably delivered in 1602 and 1603. He also transformed a further three *actiones* into much more substantial commentaries which were published in 1588–9 and 1593.³²

GERMANY AND WITTENBERG, 1586–1587

Alberico acknowledges in his dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham of the *Disputationum decas prima* of 1587 that it was he who obtained for him the Secretaryship of the ‘proverbially rich’ Sir Horatio Palavicino (whom he already knew: book 2 of the *Lectiones et epistolae* was dedicated to him on 3 April 1584) when Palavicino was sent by Elizabeth I on an embassy to the Saxon court in 1586.³³ It has been suggested that Alberico’s departure to Germany prompted by the opposition he encountered at Oxford to his election to the Regius Chair of Civil Law arising from the suspicion that his religious belief was not sincere, and that his outlook was marked by ‘italica levitas’.³⁴ As Mordechai Feingold has pointed out, the dons displayed ‘xenophobia and heightened protestant sentiments’ towards newcomers and visitors, especially Italians, whom they suspected of atheism, popery and an undue sense of cultural superiority. Alberico, by enjoying the patronage of Leicester the Chancellor and the support of Tobie Matthew, the Vice-Chancellor, certainly fared better than others such as Giordano Bruno, who made an unhappy visit to Oxford in 1583.³⁵ But it seems clear that Alberico’s

³¹ Bodley MS d’Orville 612, ff. 203ff. contain other ‘quaestiones vesperiarum’ written by Alberico for the comitia at which three of his pupils were awarded their doctorates, probably in 1591.

³² van der Molen, *Alberico Gentili*, p. 53, refers to a letter from Alberico to John Bennett, indicating that he would take part in the Comitia of 1588 and treat the subject of the law of war, which was the origin of the 1590 publication. The *actiones* adapted into commentaries are the *De iure belli commentationes* of 1588–9 and the *Ad tit. C. de maleficis et mathematicis et ceter. similibus, commentarius. Item argumenti eiusdem. Commentatio ad L. III. C. de professor. et medic*, Oxford: excudebat Iosephus Barnesius, 1593. On the dating of the *Laudes academiae*, see appendix.

³³ See the relevant article in ODNB (Ian W. Archer).

³⁴ Diego Panizza, *Alberico Gentili*, p. 51, citing the letter of Gentili to John Rainolds dated 8 February 1594 (MS 352 Corpus Christi College Oxford, pp. 277–8).

³⁵ Mordechai Feingold, ‘Giordano Bruno in England, revisited’, *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), 329–46 (330).

appointment to the Regius chair of civil law in succession to Griffin Lloyd was resisted, and only came about during his absence through the influence of his powerful London patrons.³⁶

While away in Germany, Palavicino (and probably also Alberico) stayed in Frankfurt, where on 7 September (around the time of the Book Fair) Giacopo Castelvetro delivered letters to him from Walsingham.³⁷ A little later Alberico (and probably also Palavicino) visited the University town of Wittenberg, where he met his brother Scipione, who was engaged in disputation there. As in the case of England, Alberico seems very quickly to have found his way to important contacts in what at the time was a university teeming with students,³⁸ as well as to the most interesting intellectual and political circles: Giordano Bruno told his inquisitors in Venice in 1592 that he met Alberico there, and that he had helped him with Aristotelian dialectics.³⁹ While in Wittenberg, Alberico published two works with the leading university printer, Hans Krafft. The first of these, the 127-page *De diversis temporum appellationibus*, was dedicated on 20 September to the young Dukes Ernst II and August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (the former was twenty-three years old, the latter nineteen); the second work, entitled *De nascendi tempore*, was a short tract of some twenty pages, dedicated on 15 October to the court official accompanying them, Hans Hartmann von Erffa.⁴⁰ Neither mentions Palavicino, and there are no clues in either work as to who paid for them to be produced. They were not advertised at the Frankfurt book fair in the spring of 1587, from which it may be safely inferred that Hans Krafft was not the publisher who financed the printing; a further indication of this is the fact that these editions were not known to Georg Draut, the indefatigable bibliographer who included in his *Bibliotheca classica* of 1611 and 1625 information not only from the twice-yearly composite book fair catalogues but also from the broadsheet advertisements which booksellers and publishers attached to their

³⁶ Diego Panizza, *Alberico Gentili, Giurista ideologo nell'Inghilterra elisabettiana*, pp. 50–2.

³⁷ Butler, 'Castelvetro', 11 (referring to *Calendar of State Papers, 1586–8, Foreign*, pp. 81, 87).

³⁸ See Walter Friedensburg, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg*, Halle: Niemeyer, 1917.

³⁹ van der Molen, *Alberico Gentili*, p. 52.

⁴⁰ Detlev Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln. Neue Folge*, Band I.1, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann 1998, Tafel 25; for Erffa, see the relevant entry in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Leichenpredigtakalog, at <http://www.hab.de/katakoge/datenbanken>.

stalls.⁴¹ Given that Palavicino's embassy was to German princes, it is not impossible that he financed a flattering gift to a ducal family, and added a smaller oblation to the person responsible for their conduct at the university. The house of Braunschweig-Lüneberg subscribed to the Formula of Concord, as did the University of Wittenberg and the Electors of Saxony; such a gnesiolutheran stance was not consistent with Alberico's patrons' beliefs or even his own. It is probably best to see these dedications in the context of Palavicino's embassy. The texts themselves were republished later in different contexts, and have no confessional inflection.

OXFORD AND LONDON, 1587–1593: FRANEKER, 1600

Sir Francis Walsingham eventually secured for Alberico the Regius chair of Civil Law at Oxford, for which he was nominated on 7 June 1587; but he did not begin publication with the University printer until 1590. Before that, he saw three more works through the London presses of Wolfe. The first of these, the *Disputationum decas prima*, was dedicated to Walsingham; these short essays do not seem to have been sent to the Frankfurt Book Fair, as they are not recorded by the bibliographers who compiled their lists from both 'nomenclaturae' and the twice-yearly fair catalogues. The disputations are on the syntactic and terminological interpretation of legal texts, and belong to one of the topics in civil law in which Alberico evinced a deep interest. The next work to be printed was *Condicionum liber* which was declared at the Frankfurt Book Fair; it was dedicated to John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, another client of Leicester whom Alberico records having met through John Bennett at Oxford.⁴² This book on conditionals, of which a number of drafts are

⁴¹ Georg Draut, *Bibliotheca classica, siue, Catalogus officinalis, in quo singuli singularum facultatum ac professionum libri, qui in quavis fere lingua extant... recensentur*, Frankfurt: impensis Balthasaris Ostern, 1625, 4to; on 'nomenclaturae' and other details of the operation of the book fair, see Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, vol. 1, Leipzig, Verlag des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler, 1886; Johann Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, vol. 2, Leipzig, Verlag des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler, 1908; Sabine Niemeier, *Funktionen der Frankfurter Buchmesse im Wandel von den Anfängen bis heute*, Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz, 2003; Peter Weidhaas, *Zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Buchmesse*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 2003; David Paisey, 'German Book Fair catalogues'. The *De diversis temporum appellationibus* does appear in Draut, but only the subsequent edition published by Antonius in 1607.

⁴² *Condicionum liber*, London: excudebat Johannes Wolfius, 1587, 8vo, sig. A2^r.

found in Alberico's surviving manuscripts, was eventually expanded into three books, the last two of which remained unpublished; the second book was dedicated to his son Robert, presumably some time after 1600.⁴³ The third of this series of London editions, the *De iure belli commentationes tres* were composed between 1587 and 1589.⁴⁴ It was the first book dedicated by Alberico to the Earl of Essex, whose support of intellectual activities (perhaps even in the unusual form of a publication subsidy) is noted in the dedication.⁴⁵ As in the case of the *Epistolarum et lectionum libri IV*, the strategy adopted by Wolfe in marketing the work in Frankfurt seems very laboured. It was printed over eleven months, and released in four issues, two of which were declared in the twice-yearly composite catalogue of the fair.⁴⁶ These two issues contain notes from Wolfe to the reader, promising future publications, including a new improved edition of the *De legationibus*, a reprinting of the *Condicionum liber*, and the commentary on the Digest title *De verborum significatione* whose surviving manuscript tells us that it was composed by 29 September 1581.⁴⁷

Much can be learned from these two notes about Wolfe's bibliographical practice and his sophisticated perception of selling books on the continent. He had decided to use a false Venetian address for his scandalous Italian products; a book in Italian emerging from Venice rather than London no doubt looked altogether more authentic, and an Italian address in London for a controversial work was a sort of protection to the printer.⁴⁸ Why he chose a false imprint for one of the four issues of the *De iure belli* ('Lugduni Batavorum, apud Iohannem de la Croy') is altogether less clear. It may have been the case that he was seeking to imply that the work enjoyed the protection of

⁴³ Bodley MS d'Orville 606: ff.2^off. (addenda libro primo), 122^off. (liber tertius), 140^off. (liber secundus) 211^r (liber secundus ad Robertum f.).

⁴⁴ *De iure belli commentationes duae*, Leiden: Johannes de la Croy [i.e. London, John Wolfe], 1589, 4to, 'typographus lectori': 'Has duas de Iure belli commentationes, tertia brevi subsequutura est, quam separatim edere curamus, utpote diversis a bellicis actionibus, de pace enim ac foederibus est: ut ipse ab ore auctoris excepi: cuius vel de legationibus libros denuo excudendos decrevimus, sed multo quam antea auctiores et cultiores. Et commentarium ad titulum Digestorum de Verborum significatione, atque diu expectatum de Condiçionibus, opus.' The printer's note to the *De iure belli commentationes tres*, London: apud Johannem Wolfium expensis I.C.M. 1589, is almost identical.

⁴⁵ Ibid., (dedication to third part): 'nam et quod nos litteratos ames foveasque.'

⁴⁶ For full details, see appendix.

⁴⁷ MS d'Orville 605.

⁴⁸ As did one his London colleagues (John Charlewood), who published Giordano Bruno for John Wolfe (STC 3936, 3938).

some licence or privilege; if so, it is the first sign of a reaction to the problems that English publishers were to encounter with unauthorised reprinting, about which more will be said below. If this is so, it makes his decision to print and advertise the other three issues of this work using his authentic London address very difficult to understand.⁴⁹ But he clearly did appreciate the Frankfurt rule that a reprint of a work for which a licence already existed (as was the case of the *De legationibus*, first published by Vautrollier) needed to make the point that it was 'auctor et cultior'.⁵⁰ He had learnt from the practice of other publishers that it was beneficial to seize any opportunity to advertise his future publications. The promised reprinting of the *Condicionum liber* never appeared, possibly because Alberico had not completed the additions to the text to his own satisfaction; the edition of the *Commentarius ad titulum Digestorum de verborum significatione* was also not produced until after Alberico's death. Its delayed appearance may be explained by the announcement in the autumn fair catalogue of 1589 of a significant work on the same topic in the prestigious format of folio entitled the *Commentarii ad tit. Digest. De verborum significatione, trium illustrium Iuris interpretum, Alciati, Brechaei, Fornerii*.⁵¹ Wolfe felt no doubt that this publication had stolen Alberico's thunder, and would compromise the hope of a good sale.

Back in Oxford, Alberico's first publication with the University Printer Joseph Barnes was in 1590. By that time Barnes had been in business as the 'celeberrimae academicae typographus' for four years. His career was launched with a loan from the University of £100, and the active encouragement of the Earl of Leicester. Barnes's first publication was the 1585 *Speculum quaestionum moralium* by John Case, a Fellow of St John's whom Alberico was to mention approvingly in the introduction

⁴⁹ I am not alone in finding this puzzling; see Roberts. 'New light on Castelvetro', 368: 'It has been suggested that booksellers who attended the Fairs would not be deceived by Wolfe's (and Castelvetro's) false or frivolous imprints. However, false or blank imprints on the less reputable authors such as Machiavelli, Aretino and Thomas Erastus appear as often as the genuine imprints on Alberico Gentili. Together they make John Wolfe the most international English printer of this day.'

⁵⁰ This rule appears in the titles of the composite fair catalogues: 'libr[i] qui hoc semestri, partim omnino novi, partim denuo vel forma, vel loco, a prioribus editionibus diversi, vel accessione aliqua locupletiores, in lucem prodierunt'. Wolfe's republication of a work produced by Vautrollier, who was dead by this time is not necessarily to be seen as an aggressive act towards a London colleague.

⁵¹ Lyon: apud Franciscum Fabrum, fol.

to his *De nuptiis*.⁵² Case's *Speculum* was advertised at the Frankfurt Book Fair, suggesting that the Oxford market by itself was too narrow in Barnes's view to support his publishing enterprise.⁵³ Alberico's first book with Barnes was the short *De iniustitia bellica actio*, another contribution to a comitium (that of 1588), and the second of Alberico's works to be dedicated to the Earl of Essex (Sidney having died in 1586, and Leicester in 1588).⁵⁴ Like the *Legalium comitiorum actio* of 1585, it may well have been paid for by Alberico himself. 1590 was also the year in which Essex agreed to be Godfather to Alberico's son Robert, who was no doubt named after his sponsor at the baptismal font.

Alberico's second Oxford book (containing expanded versions of a further two of his contributions to comitia)⁵⁵ was the much longer *Ad tit. C[odicis] de maleficis et mathematicis et ceter[ibus] similibus, commentarius, item argumenti eiusdem. Commentatio ad L[egem]. III. C[odicis]. de professor[ibus] et medic[is]* which appeared in 1593. This is one of the very few works on Civil Law to be published in England in this period. Given the small uptake to be expected at home, Barnes was almost certainly counting on sales on the continent, but the work was not advertised at the Frankfurt Book Fair. It was dedicated to Tobie Matthew, who was quite clearly a close friend by this time; a later dedication hints that Matthew (who collected the Fair catalogues, and was an enthusiastic supporter of libraries) may have contributed to the costs of its production.⁵⁶ It was through Matthew that Alberico was to

⁵² S. Gibson and D.M. Rogers, 'The Earl of Leicester and Printing at Oxford, *The Bodleian Library Record*, 2 (1941–9), 240–5; Harry Carter, *A history of the Oxford University Press, vol. 1: to the year 1780*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, pp. 19–23; *De nuptiis*, Hanau: apud Haeredes Guilielmi Antonii, 1601, sig.): (5'; also *De abusu mendaci*, p. 185.

⁵³ David McKitterick, *A history of the Cambridge University Press*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922, p. 86, records that Barnes was among a number of English publishers to advertise at the Book Fair in the late 1580s. But Paisey, 'German Book Fair Catalogues', 420–1, records only two declarations by Barnes at the Frankfurt Book Fair, in 1585 (the *Speculum quaestionum moralium*) and 1600 (the *Lapis philosophicus*).

⁵⁴ See above, note 32.

⁵⁵ *Ad tit. C[odicis] de maleficis et mathematicis et ceter[ibus] similibus, commentarius*, Oxford: excudebat Iosephus Barnesius, 1593, 8vo, sig. A2^v: 'dua[e] mihi recitation[es] confectae in Vesperii, quas nominamus Comitiorum.'

⁵⁶ The phrase indicating financial support appears in *Ad primum Machbaeorum disputatio*, Hanau; apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1604, p. 9 has a reference to Matthew's 'per omne genus officiorum liberalitas'. Tobie Matthew was deeply interested in the Frankfurt Book Fair, and owned a run of composite fair catalogues: see Julian Roberts, 'The Latin trade', in *The history of the book in Britain: vol. 4 1557–1695*, ed. John

publish his *Ad primum Machbaeorum disputatio* as an adjunct to the edition of I Maccabees by Johannes Drusius of Franeker, the celebrated scholar of oriental languages. Drusius was well known in England, having taught at both Cambridge and Oxford, and seems to have been on intimate terms with Archbishop Whitgift; when he became a friend of Alberico is not clear.⁵⁷ The first chapter of Alberico's disputation is addressed to Matthew, and sets out why a jurist might be permitted to comment on a non-canonical text: this may well be a résumé of the now lost disputation *De potiore interprete Decalogi in secunda tabula*, in which Alberico defended (possibly against John Rainolds) the right of jurists to comment on the second table of Mosaic law.⁵⁸ He later added a chapter from his unpublished work *Parerga* entitled *De linguarum mixtura disputatio parergica*, which appeared in the second edition of his disputation on I Maccabees in 1604. It is no coincidence that his defence of his theological writings and his personal profession of faith appear around this time; his foray into what others saw as another discipline had attracted some very adverse comment.⁵⁹ These works, and Alberico's outspoken comments in disputations on actors and on marriage (published respectively in 1599 and 1601) were polemically addressed to his detractors in Oxford; but they almost certainly gave him an international reputation as a writer on theological issues.⁶⁰

Barnard, D.F. McKenzie with the assistance of Maureen Bell, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 141–73 (153n). For a thorough account of Matthew's involvement with books and libraries, see Andrew Cambers, 'Archbishops and their Books: Ecclesiastical Libraries in Post-Reformation Britain', initial report, October 2006, at <http://www.york.ac.uk/crems/downloads/CambersReport.pdf>.

⁵⁷ See Abraham van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 8 vols, Amsterdam: Israel, 1969, s.v. Drusius. In the *De latinitate veteris Bibliorum versionis male accusata*, Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1605, p. 6, Alberico describes Drusius as a friend.

⁵⁸ On the non-publication of this text, see below, pp. 312–13. Parts of it may survive in the following chapters of Book one of *De nuptiis*: 9 'De theologia et religione'; 10 'Peritiores in secunda tabula Iurisconsulti'; 11. 'Absurde tolli secundam tabulam Iurisperitis'; 12 'De lege ultima secundae tabulae'.

⁵⁹ See Panizza, *Alberico Gentili*, pp. 69–74.

⁶⁰ *Disputationes duae: I. De actoribus et spectatoribus fabularum non notandis. II De abusu mendaci*, Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1599, 8vo; see also *Th' overthrow of stage-playes, by the way of controversie betwixt D. Gager and D. Rainoldes wherein all the reasons that can be made for them are notably refuted; th' objections aunswered, and the case so cleared and resolved, as that the iudgement of any man, that is not froward and perverse, may easilie be satisfied. Wherein is manifestly proved, that it is not onely vnlawfull to bee an actor, but a beholder of those vanities. Wherevnto are added also and annexed in th'end certaine latine letters betwixt the sayed Maister Rainoldes, and D. Gentiles, reader of the civill law in Oxford, concerning the same matter*, [Middelburg:

HANAU, 1594–1614

It is now time to turn to the last phase of Alberico's publications, when he would have to trust to a foreign printing house to produce his text accurately; this coincides with the second, unhappy, phase of the involvement of English publishers in the Frankfurt book fair. I have already indicated that there were three possible relationships between publishers of the Latin trade at this time: aggressive competition, collaboration, and non-aggression pacts.⁶¹ One person who fell foul of aggressive competition was Joseph Barnes. He knew that he had protection for his publications in England, but was unable to control the continental, especially the German, trade, which was able to reprint speculatively all of the works issuing from his presses in which it perceived a potential profit. This is easiest to demonstrate not from Alberico's case but from that of the Oxford philosopher John Case, whom we have already met. Case was an assiduous commentator on the parts of the Aristotelian corpus that were taught throughout Europe as parts of the arts course. Barnes began publishing his works and sending them to the Frankfurt fair, probably because the Oxford market was too narrow to support a reasonable print run (at one point, Barnes even successfully petitioned the University to make obligatory on all determining bachelors the purchase of Case's *Sphaera civitatis*).⁶² Barnes therefore depended on the Frankfurt sales: but did not realise that hard-headed and unscrupulous local publishers kept an eye out for likely best-sellers to university markets that were not protected by law in Germany. As a result, all of Case's principal works from the *Summa veteris interpretum in universam dialecticam Aristotelis* of

Printed by Richard Schilders], 1599, 4to; and *De nuptiis*. The only other work published at Oxford after this date by Alberico is an eight-page letter in support of his friend John Howson's views on divorce, produced in 1603, probably at the author's expense, as an alternative to the manuscript circulation of the letter which was still common in the university city at that time: *Ornatiss. V. Iohanni Hovsono Doctori Theologi Doctiss. Domino meo &c* [Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1603], 8vo. See also above, note 2.

⁶¹ For an earlier example, see Ian Maclean, 'Competitors or Collaborators? Sebastian Gryphius and his colleagues in Lyon', pp. 273–89.

⁶² Anthony à Wood, *Athenae oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (1813–20), 4 vols, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969, i.689: '*Sphaera civitatis* [...] was printed by Joseph Barnes, printer to the University of Oxford; but the said book undergoing several impressions afterwards beyond the seas, Barnes put up a petition to the university in 1590, desiring that every bachelor of arts that should hereafter determine, should take off one copy of the said book from his hands, which was granted.'

1584 onwards suffered unauthorized reprinting by Frankfurt or Hanau printers, including the two houses connected with Alberico himself: the Wechel presses and Wilhelm Antonius. It has even been claimed that Barnes was 'so frustrated [...] by pirated editions that he refused to print Case's works for nearly eight years after *Sphaera civitatis*'; but in fact these were not pirated editions, simply unauthorised reprintings ('Nachdruck'); and English printers did not always give up the fight, sometimes republishing the same works in the wake of the Frankfurt reprintings. In 1592, Barnes himself reprinted Case's *Summa veterum interpretum* after Johann Wechel of Frankfurt had produced it in 1589, and did so again in 1598 after Nicolas Bassée of Frankfurt produced a new edition of 1593.⁶³ The German printer most concerned with Alberico, Wilhelm Antonius, reprinted Case's *Thesaurus economiae* in 1598, after Barnes had produced its first edition in 1597; it is worthy of note that the Antonius edition, and not that of Barnes, figured in the printed catalogue of the Bodleian Library in 1605, suggesting that Barnes was subject to the competition of Frankfurt even on his home ground.⁶⁴ I do not however think that Antonius's publication of Alberico's works is involved in the story of competition between English and German printers. It may be that just as the embattled Barnes had refused to publish Case in the mid-1590s, he extended his embargo to Alberico, another Latin author of scholarly works who needed to be marketed abroad, and forced Alberico to look to the continent. I have already noted that Civil Law was not a promising area of profitable publication in England; this is true even of learned medicine at this time.⁶⁵ But other pieces of circumstantial evidence suggest that a wider range

⁶³ ODNB, s.v. Case (Edward A. Malone); other relevant reprintings are *Sphaera civitatis*, Barnes, 1588 and 1589, followed by Frankfurt: Johann Wechel, 1589, 1593; *Lapis philosophicus*, Barnes 1599, followed by Hanau: heirs of André Wechel and Anton Heirat, 1600. These reprintings all make the conventional claim of being corrected and extended editions. Johann Wechel did not only reprint works from scarcely known printers and authors such as Barnes and Case; he also noted the death of Christophe Plantin in 1589, and, recognizing that his imperial privilege died with him, immediately set about (with his partner Peter Fischer) reprinting Justus Lipsius's most successful works until he was stopped from doing so by a new privilege: see Jeanine de Landsheer, 'An author and his printer: Justus Lipsius and the Officina Plantiniana', *Quaerendo*, 37 (2007), 10–29 (19–20).

⁶⁴ Thomas James, *Catalogus Bibliothecae publicae quam vir ornatissimus Thomas Bodleius Eques Auratus in Academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit*, Oxford: apud Josephum Barnesium, 1605, p. 596.

⁶⁵ On English physicians being published abroad, see Ian Maclean, 'The diffusion of learned medicine', above, pp. 68–9.

of factors might have influenced Alberico's transition from an Oxford publisher to one in Hanau.

Wilhelm Antonius was a graduate of the Calvinist University of Neustadt an der Haart, and throughout his life, his publishing was marked with this religious complexion, in both its polemical and in its irenic manifestations. In the 1580s, he worked in the workshop of Johann Wechel, a relative of the more celebrated André Wechel; it is pertinent here to say a few words about both. André was initially a Parisian publisher who had inherited his uncle Chrétien's prestigious presses in the 1550s; he was forced to flee to Frankfurt after the St Bartholomew's day massacre of August 1572, and successfully re-founded his business there. He was well-connected throughout Europe and even had contacts with England. In 1573, Philip Sidney stayed with him, and he and his heirs were to publish works by a number of English scholars. The Wechel enterprise was one of the most prestigious and wealthy in Frankfurt; it later moved to Hanau where it set up its presses in 1596 after the decision of the Frankfurt Town Fathers to close down the Calvinist Church in the city.⁶⁶ We shall meet André's heirs again, as they were Scipione's publishers and came eventually to publish a work by Alberico.

Their relative Johann Wechel, who came to Frankfurt from Cologne in 1581, was, unlike them, not rich; he 'did not print on his own behalf', as one competitor put it, and relied throughout his career on outside financing, at least in part. He was very adept at unauthorised reprinting of works from other market zones (including England), and had a remarkable eye for important innovative authors, among whom figured Giordano Bruno, Giambattista della Porta, and John Dee. Of importance here is one of the commissioned works he produced for a financial supporter of Alberico. In 1590, he published Thomas Erastus's *Varia opuscula medica* with monies from Alberico's former patron Giacompo Castelvetro. Its dedication is dated London, 1 January 1590, and it was announced at the Spring Fair of that year 'apud Ioannem Wechelum, sumptibus Iacobi Castelvetro senioris'. This work, the second of Erastus to be published by Castelvetro, was a lavish folio production.⁶⁷ Whether

⁶⁶ They were later to set up part of their operation again in Frankfurt. See R.J.W. Evans, *The Wechel presses: humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627, Past and Present*, supplement no. 2, Oxford, 1975; Ian Maclean, 'André Wechel at Frankfurt, 1572–1581', above, pp. 163–84.

⁶⁷ Dick, 'Castelvetro', 11. Castelvetro had married Erastus's widow in 1587; the

Alberico was still at this time in contact with Castelvetro (who imported a considerable number of books into England in 1589)⁶⁸ is not known, but he constitutes, with Sidney, a possible path to Johann's employee Wilhelm Antonius, and a confirmation of the commercial links between the London trade and printers in Frankfurt.

Antonius must have learned a great deal from his employer before he left his business in 1592, a year before Johann's death. He accepted an invitation (accompanied by some material inducements) to set up a printing press in the neighbouring County of Hanau, where the ruler shared the religious outlook and intellectual interests of all these printers. Like Johann Wechel, Antonius needed financial support for nearly all the publishing ventures in which he engaged, certainly in the first few years of his business. Among his financial backers we may note the names of Peter Fischer, a previous partner of Johann Wechel and co-publisher of English authors, Matthaeus Harnisch, a publishing colleague from Neustadt an der Haart, Paul Kopf or Kopff, a speculative Frankfurt bookseller with English connections, and Paul Egenolph, the printer who serviced the University of Marburg's programme of irenic and conciliatory publication.⁶⁹

Most important from our point of view are the various arrangements Antonius made with London publishers; it seems that he may have taken over these connections from Johann Wechel and Peter Fischer, since Wechel's direct successor, Zacharias Palthen, does not appear to have had any connections with the English trade. There is evidence from the publishing lists of both houses that Palthen and Antonius had a non-aggression pact, for they shared authors such as Paracelsus, Otto Casmann and the Scotsman Walter Donaldson by publishing separate titles of each.⁷⁰ A similar arrangement seems to have been in force with the heirs of André Wechel (the two houses collaborated on

other work is the *Explicatio grauissimae quaestionis: utrum excommunicatio [...] mandato nitatur divino, an excogitata sit ab hominibus*. Pesclauui [i.e. London]: apud Baocium Sultaceterum [an anagram of Iacobus Castelvetro], 1589. The printer was John Wolfe.

⁶⁸ See Roberts, 'New light on Castelvetro', 368–9 (citing the London Port Book for that date).

⁶⁹ See Josef Benzing, 'Die Hanauer Erstdrucker Wilhelm und Peter Antonius (1593–1625)', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 21 (1980), 1006–1126. It seems that Antonius sometimes sold his books through a Frankfurt bookseller called Stoecklein: see Draut, *Bibliotheca classica*, cols. 655, 744.

⁷⁰ I have compared Benzing's list with the *Catalogus librorum tum in Collegio Paltheniano tum aliubi eius sumptibus excusorum*, Frankfurt, 1605, 4to.

a *Nachdruck* of James I and VI's *Basilikon doron* in 1604).⁷¹ Antonius's other English authors include the Cambridge divine William Perkins, various of whose polemical works he printed after Perkins's death in 1599, and another puritan polemicist of note, Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter.⁷² He even published one anti-Catholic work by Alberico's hard-line puritan opponent John Rainolds, with whom he engaged in controversy over various issues including student drama in Oxford; he may have been the divine who drew from Alberico the remark 'silete theologi in munere alieno'.⁷³ The first explicit sign of Antonius's collaboration with England occurs in 1594, and involves co-publication (of a Calvinist tract) with the most wealthy Stationer in London, George Bishop;⁷⁴ evidence of further collaboration dates from the first decade of the seventeenth century, with George Bishop and others again⁷⁵, with Thomas Vautrollier of which more below, and with the heirs of Ascanius de Renialme, for whom he printed the anonymous satire *Mundus alter et idem*, which has sometimes been attributed to Alberico.⁷⁶ These collaborative ventures suggest that there were financial arrangements in place adequate for the needs of such publication.

In the light of these facts we can look at the production of Alberico's works undertaken by Antonius between 1594 and 1607. The first book to appear was the reprinted *De legationibus*; as its first publisher, Vautrollier, had died in 1587, and as Wolfe, who undertook to reprint it in 1589, had abandoned printing by this time, it seems likely that this is not to be seen as a case of particularly aggressive or predatory *Nachdruck*. There is no indication as to who paid for the printing, but it was almost certainly not Alberico. It may have been Antonius himself, but his almost universal use of the formulae 'apud' or 'excudebat' in imprints (there is only one known case of him using 'sumptibus', in

⁷¹ Benzing, 'Antonius', 1058 (no. 183).

⁷² On these figures, see ODNB, s.vv.

⁷³ See above, note 61; *De iure belli*, Hanau: apud Haeredes Guiliemi Antonii, 1612, i.12, p. 92. On Rainolds, see ODNB (Mordechai Feingold).

⁷⁴ Jean Morel, *Tractatus de Ecclesia ab Antichristo liberanda*, Hanau: apud Gulielmum Antonium, 1594; London: apud Georgium Bishop [sic], 1594, 8vo. This is a reprinting of Bishop's edition of 1589 (STC 18099), obviously with his permission.

⁷⁵ Matthew Sutcliffe, *De Turco-papismo liber unus*, London: excudebant Georgius Bishop, Radulphus Newberie et Robert. Barker, 1604, 8vo (STC 23461); on George Bishop, see *A dictionary of printers and booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland* [...], gen. ed. R.B. McKerrow, London Bibliographical Society, 1910, s.v.

⁷⁶ See Benzing, 'Antonius', 1010–11 and bibliography nos. 29, 229.

1602)⁷⁷ does not allow us to be sure that it was the case, and the number of Antonius editions which acknowledge the financial input of others is a sign that Antonius was undercapitalised, at least at the beginning of his career as an independent printer. The *De legationibus* was to appear twice more. In 1596, it was reissued with a new titlepage as the third of a composite volume on embassies.⁷⁸ By 1607, Alberico's *De legationibus* merited a further edition in Antonius's judgement; this edition is likely to have been a speculative venture by Antonius himself or one of his backers. For an octavo book of this size, a normal print run might be between one and two thousand copies.⁷⁹ This suggests that Alberico's book enjoyed modest but respectable sales. Antonius may have learned from his time with Johann Wechel that a promising author from abroad was worth retaining, especially if his initial manuscripts turned out to enjoy reasonable success. In some cases, scholarly works might be produced on commission; but I do not think that this was the case of Alberico. In 1597, he made his dependence on Antonius's decision to print his works (and hence to secure the requisite funds from other sources if necessary) clear. In that year, he submitted three disputations to the Hanau printer; in his dedication of the first, the *De actoribus et spectatoribus fabularum non notandis*, to Tobie Matthew, he wrote that the other two 'would follow, if God should wish it', implying that the decision about publication was out of his hands.⁸⁰ In fact, only the first two disputations appeared; the reason for the suppression of the third can only be a matter of conjecture. One hypothesis might be the inflammatory nature of the disputation *De potiore interprete Decalogi in secunda tabula*, which made the claim that the interpretation of the

⁷⁷ Ibid., no 159.

⁷⁸ Alberico's *De legationibus* forms part three of a composite volume with Félix La Mothe le Vayer, *Legatus* [...] and Octavianus Magius, *De legato*, Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1596, 'omnia nunc primum in Germania in lucem edita.' Composite volumes of this kind reflect a technique commonly used to stimulate sales, as in the case of the 1589 *Commentarii ad D De verborum significatione* which we have already noted (above, note 51).

⁷⁹ This calculation has been made by Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, 'Fabriquer un livre au XVI^e siècle', in *Histoire de l'édition française: tome 1: le livre conquérant*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and Jean-Pierre Viret, Paris: 1982, pp. 179–301 (281).

⁸⁰ *Disputationes duae: I. De actoribus et spectatoribus fabularum non notandis. II De abusu mendaci* Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1599, 8vo, 210p. Dedication: Tobie Matthew, Bishop of Durham, dated Oxford, 15 October 1597. This is an incomplete set: see A2^{r-v}: 'sed sequentur illae [sci. disputationi de actoribus], alia de abusu mendaci legitimo, alia de potiore interprete Decalogi in secunda tabula. Sequentur, volente Deo, sequentur.'

second table of Mosaic law belonged to jurists rather than theologians; a second hypothesis would point to the fact that the *De nuptiis* of 1601 was to contain the substance of the missing disputation in its first book, making its separate publication otiose;⁸¹ a third hypothesis might be that Antonius (or his backer) made a commercial judgement about the length of the book, and suppressed the third disputation as a result. There are indeed signs of penny-pinching in a number of Antonius's editions of Albericus, including the choice of a modest format and the change of typeface point to save paper at the end of the work, which lend some plausibility to the third hypothesis; but a combination of all three factors seems the most likely explanation.

It is convenient to separate Alberico's other publications by Antonius into reprints and new compositions. The reprints were slavishly reproduced (even including the words on the titlepage declaring the work to be a first edition, and the references to the by then disgraced and executed dedicatee the Earl of Essex).⁸² Two occurred in Alberico's lifetime, being the *Ad tit. C. de maleficis et mathematicis et ceter. similibus, commentarius* of 1603 and the *De diversis temporis appellationibus* of 1607. The reprinting of the *Ad primum Machbaeorum disputatio* in 1604 is a mixed event, in that its *Disputatio parergica* is indeed a new element which Alberico extracted from an unpublished work entitled *Parerga*.⁸³ All the other Antonius imprints are new compositions, or revised editions of previous works. The first of these appeared in 1598, with the title *De iure belli libri tres*. This is a much expanded version of the *De iure belli commentationes* of 1588–9. The titlepage does not state who financed its production, but the Leipzig Fair catalogue of autumn 1598 tells us that it was paid for by Rumold Mercator of Duisburg, the son of the famous cartographer.⁸⁴ There are some links between Duisburg, Hanau, and the post-Ramist educational movement in which Antonius was deeply involved through his publication of Otto

⁸¹ See below, appendix, 39. The relevant chapters are 9–14.

⁸² Loyalty to the disgraced figure is expressed by Robert in the dedication to *Laudes Academicæ Perusinae et Oxoniensis*, Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1605, p. 4. Scipione refers to the possible implication of his brother in the Essex plot of 1601 in his *De coniurationibus*, Hanau: typis Wecheliani, 1602, p. 287.

⁸³ See Bodley MS d'Orville 611 (first folio dated '21 Dec 1582 vel 1 Jan. 1583'), ff. 111^r–12^r [*Parergorum liber 1*, cap. 5], entitled 'De linguarum mixtione'.

⁸⁴ *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten, siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Bernhard Fabian, Hildesheim: Georg Olms (microfiche edition, 1977–85). On Rumold Mercator, see *Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique: Biographie nationale*, vol. 14, Brussels, 1897, s.v.

Casman, Clemens Timpler, and Bartholomaeus Keckermann,⁸⁵ but no obvious reason (other than financial speculation) why Mercator should choose to finance this particular work. From the copy of this work in the Bodleian library (which bears the inscription ‘munusculum Alberici’ in the author’s hand: it was given to the English jurist and historian John Selden) and certain copies of other texts in other libraries, we may infer that the author received a number of free copies, as was frequently the case at this time.⁸⁶

Two new or greatly expanded publications appeared in Hanau in 1599: the *De armis Romanis* and the *Disputationes duae I. De actoribus et spectatoribus fabularum non notandis. II De abusu mendaci*. The former of these disputations was largely composed during Alberico’s stormy exchanges with the hard-line puritan John Rainolds on the subject of student drama in 1593.⁸⁷ From the date of the dedication of the latter work (to Tobie Matthew, on 15 October 1597), and the fact of its advertisement at the Spring Fair in 1599, it seems reasonable to infer that about a year elapsed between dispatch of the copy to Hanau and the completed printing: a time lapse which is confirmed both by the 1601 edition of the substantial work entitled *De nuptiis* whose dedication to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Seals and Master of the Rolls is dated 1 August 1600.⁸⁸

Between 1603 and 1606, a number of new works appear, some of which might have been financed in part by Alberico himself, although their advertisement at the Fair suggests that Antonius was hoping also for a German sale. Most of them are dedicated on the titlepage to his son Robert, but their preliminaries contain secondary dedications by Robert to other persons, often implicitly in the hope that they might secure preferment for him. These include the *Disputationes tres: I De libris iuris canonici II de libris iuris civilis III De latinitate veteris Bi-*

⁸⁵ Howard Hotson, *Commonplace learning: Ramism and its German ramifications, 1543–1630*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 32–4, 128–30, 207.

⁸⁶ See Peter Zeeberg, *Heinrich Rantzau: a bibliography*, Copenhagen: Society for Danish Language and Literature, 2004, 38–42, who records Rantzau’s purchases of multiple copies for his own use; but René Descartes received 200 copies of his *Discours de la méthode* in exchange for his manuscript: see his *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Charles Adam and Paul Tannery, Paris: Vrin, 1996, i.338. John Selden’s copy of the *De iure belli* (Hanau: excudebat Guilielmus Antonius, 1598, 8vo: Bodley 8° G 6 Jur. Seld.) bears the inscription ‘Alberici munusculum’.

⁸⁷ See above notes 36 and 61.

⁸⁸ This choice of dedicatee reflects no doubt the fact that Alberico had become much more active as a practising lawyer in London by this time.

bliorum versionis male accusata of 1605–6, all dedicated to prominent academic figures at Oxford, and the *Laudes Academiae Perusinae et Oxoniensis* of 1605.⁸⁹ This last work was cheaply and somewhat shoddily printed; the point of the typeface is twice reduced on the last quire to save paper,⁹⁰ and a line has been omitted from p. 29, which Alberico has supplied in his own handwriting in two of the five copies presently to be found in Oxford, which no doubt belonged to the batch of copies he received in payment for the dispatch of the manuscript, and gave as ‘munuscula’ to his friends and colleagues;⁹¹ but the absence of correction in the others⁹² suggests that books from the batch that I presume Antonius to have had were obtainable in England as well as in Germany. I surmised above that it was plausible to suppose that Gentili paid himself for other speeches he gave at comitia: the *Legalium comitiorum Oxoniensium actio Francisco Bevanno doctore dignitatem suscipiente* of 1585 and *De iniustitia bellica Romaonrum* of 1590. It is of interest to note that if this is the case for the *Laudes academiae* as well, he chose not to have them printed by Barnes in Oxford, but sent them to Hanau with his other writings.

There are two final works to be mentioned: the second of these to appear, entitled *In titulos Codicis Si quis Imperatori maledixerit, Ad legem Iuliam maiestatis disputationes decem* was published in 1607, and like most of these works gives no indication of the source of its financing; its dedication is by Robert to the Earl of Pembroke, another member of the Sidney family network. The earlier printing was the *Regales disputationes libri tres: I de potestate Regis absoluta II de unione Regnorum Britanniae III De vi civium in Regem semper iniusta* of 1605. It was a shared edition with two different title pages, paid for in part by the son of Thomas Vautrollier.⁹³ It dealt with the delicate matter of the

⁸⁹ The only one of these works to which this does not apply is the *Lectionis Virgilianae variae liber* which Robert dedicates in turn to his grandfather. The other dedicatees in question are Thomas Singleton, Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, Nicholas Bond, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, John Howson, Student of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Ralph Hutchinson President of St. John's College, Oxford.

⁹⁰ If the variation in typeface had occurred before the last gathering, it might have been attributed to problems of casting-off when two presses are working on the same text: but that cannot be the case when a final quire is in question.

⁹¹ See above, note 86.

⁹² Two are in Bodley (8° G 7 Jur. Seld (2); 8° G 14 Jur. (3), and one in St John's College.

⁹³ The imprints are London: apud Thomam Vautrollerium and Hanau: apud

union of the two kingdoms (its delicacy may have prompted Alberico to leave one of the civil law texts he quotes in the less accessible language of Greek).⁹⁴ It is to be supposed that it had royal sanction: the work is dedicated to James I and VI, by Alberico in the Hanau copy, and by Robert in the London copy.

The publication of this work belongs to the third phase in the activities of English printers in Frankfurt, from the mid-1590s to the decline of that market around 1630. It was inaugurated by the London Stationers George Bishop whom we have already met and John Norton (who was joined later by his factor and successor John Bill, whose involvement with the Fair lasted intermittently from 1612 to his death in 1630).⁹⁵ From 1600 onwards, Bishop and Norton were selling their books through the Frankfurt bookseller Peter Kopf, and 'apud Wilhelmum Anton[ium]'.⁹⁶ As John Barnard has revealed, their involvement with the

Guilielmum Antonium. On Vautrollier, see *A dictionary of printers and booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland* [...], gen. ed. R.B. McKerrow, s.v.

⁹⁴ The text in question is a constitution of Emperor Leo VI (*PG*, 197, 627–30); *Regales disputationes*, London; apud Thomam Vautrollier, 1605, 4to, pp. 39–41. I am grateful to Angus Bowie for identifying and translating this text for me.

⁹⁵ On Norton, Bill and the English trade, see Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, *Publishing, politics and culture: the King's printers in the reign of James I*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, scheduled to appear in 2009. Graham Rees has kindly sent me the following note about Bill's involvement with Frankfurt and the Officina Plantiniana: 'When John Norton died, Bill took sole charge of the continental dealings on behalf of his partnership with Bonham Norton. And in the Plantiniana records and Frankfurt catalogues he appears to be by far the most important Englishman involved in the Latin trade. In 1617 he started publishing his own versions of the official Frankfurt catalogues, and continued to do so until 1621/2 when, in order to pay of debts to Bonham Norton, he sold his stock of Latin-trade books to the Stationers' Company for its ultimately unsuccessful Latin Stock. The book trade evidently abhors a vacuum: in the years when Bill was not producing catalogues (mid-1621 to spring 1628) and/or not dealing with the Plantiniana (mid-1622 to spring 1629), others rushed in to take his place. As one might expect, the Stationers' Company did business with the Plantiniana at the Frankfurt fairs of autumn 1621, and spring 1622. But then we hear nothing at all about the Company until autumn 1626 when we find a page of the *Cahier* documenting sales to 'Compag. Anglicane Simon Waterson'. For a number of years Waterson and Clement Knight seem to have been acting as Stationers' Company Agents at the fair. The Stationers' Company's unsuccessful Latin Stock was not real heir to John Bill during the years of his retreat from Antwerp and Frankfurt. His real heir was the enterprising erstwhile apprentice of Bonham Norton, Henry Featherstone. Featherstone did his first deal with the Plantiniana in the autumn of 1621; a second was concluded in the spring of 1622, and there were a further ten visits before Bill resumed his connection with Antwerp and Frankfurt in 1629. When the Stationers' Company's Latin Stock was wound up, Bill bought back a lot of the stock he had sold to it, produced another catalogue (spring, 1628), and had further dealings with the Plantiniana (spring, 1629). Bill's re-emergence was brief. He died in 1630.'

⁹⁶ See John Barnard, 'John Norton, John Bill and the Frankfurt catalogues, 1600–12',

Fair is marked by their service to royal and church propaganda which secured them local advantages in the form of royal licences and possibly also financial support from prominent church figures.⁹⁷ There are also signs of the commercial acumen which was lacking in the case of Barnes. Surviving documents in the Plantin-Moretus Archives in Antwerp show that Norton bought books from Plantin from 1588 onwards, and that Plantin bought books on a small scale from Norton, presumably when they were both present at the Frankfurt Fair.⁹⁸ The Plantin connection seems to have been a very important stepping-stone to involvement with the Fair. It would be reasonable to suppose that Norton bought books from Plantin in turn, and that they were therefore engaged in a form of *Tauschhandel*—the exchange of printed sheet for printed sheet according to an agreed formula—through which the publishers attending the fair disposed of a considerable proportion of their wares, and palliated their own problems of cash-flow by returning home with books to sell on the retail market. It is a notorious fact then as now that the book trade is asset-rich but cash-poor.⁹⁹ Barnes's failure to profit from his dealings with the Fair may have arisen in part at least from his view of it as a place of sale and not also of exchange.

Alberico died in 1608, and there is a hiatus in the printing of his works until after the death of Wilhelm Antonius in 1611. Thereafter Antonius's heirs reprinted the *De iure belli* (1612) the *De nuptiis* and *De armis Romanis* (both 1614), together with one new work, the *Hispanicae advocationis libri II* which appeared in 1613. In its dedication to the Spanish ambassador Baltasar de Zúñiga, Scipione declares that he is fulfilling his brother's last wishes in saving only this from his

unpublished seminar paper, appendix. The titles in question are Thomas James, *Bellum papale*, Londini. prostat in offic. Kopfi, 1600, 4to (STC 14447: G. Bishop, R. Newberie and R. Barker); id., *Ecloga oxonio-cantabrigiensis*, Londini. Prostat in Off. Kopfi 1600, 4to (STC 14453: A. Hatfield imp. G. Bishop & J. Norton); James I and VI, *Naupactiados* [...], trans. Thomas Murray Londini. prost. Apud Wilhelmum Anton., Hanoviensem, 1604, 4to (STC 14385.5; R. Field, imp. J. Norton, 1604).

⁹⁷ See John Barnard, 'The financing of the authorized version 1610–1612: Robert Barker and "combining" and "sleeping" stationers', *Publishing History*, 57 (2005), 5–52; id., 'Politics, profits and idealism: John Norton, the Stationers' Company, and Sir Thomas Bodley', *The Bodleian Library Record*, 17 (2002), 385–408.

⁹⁸ See Rees and Wakely, *Politics and culture*, and Plantin-Moretus Archive 189 'Germani et Basilienses et Hispani', f. 69^{r-v}. I am grateful to John Barnard for drawing my attention to this document.

⁹⁹ See above, note 41. For some examples of difficulties of cash-flow and financial collaboration between publishers, see Ian Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books and conceptions of genre in Northern Europe, 1570–1630', above, p. 13.

Nachlass, and destroying his other unfinished works.¹⁰⁰ These wishes cannot have been faithfully carried out, as in the following year, the much richer Wechel presses, with whom the firm of Antonius seemed to have enjoyed a non-aggression pact, published the long-awaited *In titulum Digestorum de Verborum significatione commentarius* in quarto. Scipione clearly had a hand in this, the Wechel presses being his own publishers. Alberico's young son Matteo, whom Scipione had taken into his own care, signed the dedication to the Prince of Wales.

CONCLUSIONS

We may now venture a few conclusions about Alberico's interaction with the world of publishing and the nature of the relations between the English trade and Germany. From his arrival in London, Alberico seems to have chosen the medium of print rather than scribal circulation, for which Sidney is famous. It is possible that both the high status of that author and the poetic nature of the work to be circulated predisposed Sidney to make himself known in this way; but scribal publication was also a feature of Oxford theological controversies in which Alberico engaged, and on at least five occasions (the four *actiones* for comitia and the letter to John Howson: I have not counted the three contributions to comitia that were rewritten as commentaries) he seems deliberately to have chosen the less usual medium of print. It is reasonable to infer that these publications were paid for by himself, or, in the case of the *Laudes academiae*, at least that he made a contribution towards the costs of printing. For these and other works, his initial encounter with Italian circles and John Wolfe in London would have predisposed him to seek the medium of print, and to have seen print as a medium through which he might find his way to an international readership.

Who paid for the books that he had printed? We can only be certain about two of these (the *De iure belli* of 1589 and (on the evidence of the Leipzig Book Fair Catalogue) the *De iure belli* of 1598; in one case, this would indicate the benevolent interest of a fellow exile, in

¹⁰⁰ *Hispanicae legationis*, Hanau: apud Haeredes Guilielmi Antonii, 1613. In his dedication to Tobie Matthew of the *Ad tit. C. de maleficis et mathematicis et ceter. similibus, commentarius. Item argumenti eiusdem*, p. 5, Alberico records his unwillingness to publish imperfect or incomplete works: 'at meaque haec est condicio, quae non mutatur, ut nihil mittere in vulgus quidquam potuerim, quod esset elaboratum.'

the other, one supposes, a speculative investment. The dedications seem nearly all to be gifts in the hope of recompense rather than payment for publication itself; only in the cases of Sidney, Tobie Matthew and the Earl of Essex, the vague phrases indicating that the dedicatee fostered scholars and scholarship might indicate financial support of this nature. Of these three patrons, Tobie Matthew showed the greatest commitment to libraries and to book fairs, and Alberico's reference to his 'per omne genus officiorum liberalitas' may well indicate that he subsidized the publications which were dedicated to him. I believe that the cost-cutting, short texts of 1603–6 may well indicate that Alberico was by then wealthy enough to finance them himself, at least in part, and that he was motivated to do so by their usefulness, as he saw it, in the promotion of his son's career. It should be noted however that they were advertised at the Fair, which suggests that Antonius also sought to profit from their sale; Alberico may have paid nothing at all for their production.

How did Alberico find his publishers? It can be known with reasonable certainty that it was Castiglione who introduced him to Wolfe and Vautrollier in London, and there is no need to search very hard for a connection between the University Printer at Oxford and the Regius Professor of Civil Law, both clients of the Chancellor, the Earl of Leicester. It is also readily explicable why at the posthumous texts appeared where they did. I have not been able to find any surviving document to account for the passage from Barnes to Antonius, but there is a good deal of circumstantial evidence. As well as the general connection between Johann Wechel, Antonius and the London trade, one may note the coincidence in 1593–4 of Johann Wechel's death, Joseph Barnes's problems with *Nachdruck* (occurring about the time of his only substantial publication of a work by Alberico), the commissioning of Antonius by George Bishop of London, and the beginnings of Antonius's career as an independent printer in Hanau. Although no reason for Alberico rejecting Barnes is known, he might have been glad to switch publishers, as the address of Hanau probably guaranteed better commercial protection for his works and the potential for far wider dissemination. Once with Antonius, I believe that Alberico supplied copy on a standard arrangement, receiving payment for his text in the form of copies; but that does not tell us (except on one case, where he was involved in royal propaganda) who paid Antonius to produce the books.

What do the publishers' names and practices connote? Here we are on firmer ground. As I have indicated, Wolfe's list of publications reveals not only his exploitation of the Italian community in London, but his protestant sympathies, which were shared by Vautrollier and later Antonius. All three had moreover very respectable credentials as publishers of Latin scholarship. Some of Alberico's works were tinged with the sometimes polemical religious coloration of his publishers (more than tinged, in the case of the confessional declarations in the *De abusu mendaci* and the *De nuptiis*); evidence from his Nachlass confirms Alberico's strong personal faith and its Calvinist, but not strictly puritan, nature. Alberico's publisher's choice of format also merits comment. The London trade seems to have favoured quarto for scholarly publication; Barnes chose the cheaper medium of octavo for most of his productions, revealing perhaps that he was under-resourced in spite of the subsidy from the University. On the continent, the story is somewhat different. In an environment in which prestigious legal publication was principally produced in folio, the octavos of Antonius must have come across as very modest, even mean, productions. His choice of format might have been dictated by the length of Alberico's works; but there are also signs that the publisher sought to reduce his outlay to a minimum, which is consistent with all the other signs that he was under-capitalized.

What do the dedicatees' names connote to contemporary readers? Alberico's early patrons were a group closely linked by family ties, intellectual interests, and religious sympathies. It is probably dangerous to build too much on these last; Leicester, who supported Oxford puritans, was also tolerant, unlike some of them, of such activities as public drama. Sidney was known for his staunch protestantism. His early travels in Europe had put him in contact with a network of diplomats, all of whom were known for their irenic beliefs and conciliatory approach to the matter of confession. It seems most plausible therefore that the circles in which Alberico moved were open-minded and pragmatic in their approach to religious and political issues, while remaining resolutely anti-Catholic. Although possessing personal convictions, their members were both politically astute and perhaps even faintly anti-theocratic.¹⁰¹ We can know with some precision what Alberico's own

¹⁰¹ Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester: patron of letters*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1955; Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan puritan movement*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1967.

publicly held convictions were from two published documents: in the *De abusu mendaci*, which was composed before June 1597, Alberico provides the reader with a 'confessio fidei' which has a strong Calvinist inflection (it was not unusual for prominent religious refugees to do this in the form of a public declaration);¹⁰² and in the 'Epistola apologetica' at the end of the *De nuptiis* (written before August 1600), he refers to 'nostra Anglicana ecclesia', possibly signalling an acceptance of doctrines and practices such as episcopacy and the wearing of vestments which were opposed by the more radical puritans of the day.¹⁰³ I believe therefore that both through his choice of publisher and his choice of dedicatees, he would have been seen as an intellectually adventurous staunch protestant with irenic feelings towards other protestant sects. The intellectual, religious and political associations of the Leicester circle were shared by Essex; the only dedicatee to fall outside such association is Sir Thomas Egerton, but even in this case the link to James I and VI and to the new dispensation after his accession in 1603 does not suggest a very great discontinuity of outlook. Alberico's representation of the Spanish Embassy after 1605 may also be said to be consistent with the conciliatory thrust which one can see not only in his own legal writing but also in the attitudes of various of his publishers and patrons: it also coincided with royal policy. As a grateful immigrant and a studiously honest person, Alberico did not only make explicit his debts to others and his loyalty to their views, but he made public also his personal commitments, both political and religious: we do not therefore have to seek out hidden motives or secret engagements of any kind. His life and writing are impressively all of a piece.

How does the particular case of Alberico and his publications relate to the wider trade in books between England and Germany? It seems to me that one can detect three phases in the involvement of English printers at the Frankfurt fair between about 1580 and 1625. The first, which runs from about 1580 to 1590, is characterised by the exploration of the Fair's potential for sales only (principally by Wolfe, who with Italian-language texts by the likes of Machiavelli and Aretino,

¹⁰² *Disputationes duae [...] De abusu mendaci*, pp. 187–90; for another example of a printed confession of faith by an Italian exile, see Guiglielmo Gratarolo, *Confessione di fede, con una certissima et importantissima ammonitione a tutti gli huomini che credono l'eterna vita*, Basel (no name of publisher), 1552.

¹⁰³ *De nuptiis*, Hanau: apud Haeredes Guilielmi Antonii, 1614, 8vo, p. 287. van der Molen, *Alberico Gentili*, pp. 245–68 has a good account of Alberico's religious beliefs, as does Panizza, *Alberico Gentili*, pp. 15–53.

and some radical Calvinist writing, was lucky enough to locate a gap in the market. In the second phase, occurring in the early 1590s, there is an unhappy encounter with unauthorised reprinting by unscrupulous Frankfurt printers of the Latin pedagogical trade such as Johann Wechel and Nicolas Bassée. Through this, the possibility of making up for the too narrow market in Latin books in England by achieving sufficient sales abroad is removed. Joseph Barnes is the principal victim of this, as the newly appointed Oxford University Printer who clearly misjudged print runs very badly, on the side of optimism. In the third phase, which involves George Bishop, John Norton, and John Bill and runs from approximately the mid 1590s to about 1625, there are moves by prominent London stationers towards cautious collaboration (or, at the very least, non-aggression pacts) with their German colleagues. They accepted the Fair's rules about *Tauschhandel*, found better local agents for themselves (notably Peter Kopf and Wilhelm Antonius), and rather than hoping for a sale of superfluous copies of English-produced books in Germany, they used their capital or credit to have books printed and marketed in Frankfurt or Hanau, with a residue coming back to England for the much narrower market there. This phase coincides after 1603 with the royal policy of using printed propaganda abroad for religious and political ends. It is most unlikely that James's fostering of such activity by Norton and Bill went as far as financial subsidies, as he considered the award of royal licences to be reward enough, and expected the London book trade to produce works for him at its own expense; but some financial support may have been forthcoming for powerful figures in the Church such as Archbishop Tobie Matthew.¹⁰⁴

It goes without saying that none of this has any bearing on the production of books in the English language, for which the market remained purely local until the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ See note 88 above.

¹⁰⁵ See Ian Maclean, 'English books on the continent, 1570–1630', below, pp. 339–51.

APPENDIX:
ALBERICO GENTILI:
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS WORKS, 1582–1614

The reference to pages (which does not necessarily imply that the work was paginated rather than foliated) is given as a guide to the length of the dedication and the work. Unpaginated preliminaries are counted as pages and not leaves, and exclude the titlepage, even in cases where its verso has a text. I have translated all the Roman dates into their modern equivalents. I have included items of bibliographical interest (printer's notes, false imprints). Present locations of copies are given *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC: electronic resource <http://estc.bl.uk>), *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (VD16: electronic resource <http://www.vd16.de>), and *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (VD17: electronic resource <http://www.vd17.de>).

Draut and *Collectio* are cited, as both had recourse not only to the Book Fair Catalogues but also the broadsheet lists of books for sale ('nomenclaturae') exhibited by the publishers and booksellers on their stalls.

In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, there are twenty bound books of manuscript material (MSS d'Orville 599–618) emanating from Alberico and Scipione (who was entrusted with Alberico's Nachlass), with one MS relating to Robert Gentili. Not all of this material has been correctly assigned to the two possible authors on the bindings and in Falconer Madan's *Summary catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 4, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897. Not all the MSS are holographs; identifications have therefore been made by me on the basis not only of handwriting but also of internal evidence. The MSS relating to Alberico fall into a number of categories: fair copies of works intended for either manuscript or printed publication; rough copies of works (notably, the *Condicionum liber*); lecture notes; reading notes, with marginalia indicating the work to which they were to be assigned, together with long indices; transcriptions of the works of others; some personal papers. In *De iuris interpretibus dialogi*, iii, f. 36^r (below, 1), Alberico refers to 'repertoria' in which he recorded the conversations he had with Oxford colleagues and students; these have not survived. Only MSS in the first of these categories have been included below. Fragments of some of the lost works to which Alberico makes reference in his printed works (below, nos. 36, 37 and 40) are to be found in the reading notes.

I have not included ghosts and duplications which were listed by previous bibliographers.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ There are a number of references to subsequent printed editions of works at Hanau (mainly in 1604 or 1607) in Benigni, Holland and Speranza. Unless I have found a modern edition, these have not been recorded. The following ghosts and duplications also appear in their bibliographies:

a. *In Aldi Manutii Orthographiam annotationes*; Holland 46 (unpublished writings, 6);

The following abbreviations are used:

- Arber Edward Arber, *A transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640*, 5 vols, London: privately printed, 1875–94
- Benigni Telesforo Benigni, *Memorie d'uomini illustri del Piceno*, in Giuseppe Colucci, *Della antichità picene*, Fermo: G.A. Paccaroni, 1786–94, 7. 3–61
- Benzing Josef Benzing, 'Die Hanauer Erstdrucker Wilhelm und Peter Antonius (1593–1625)', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 21(1980), 1006–1126
- Collectio *Collectio in unum corpus omnium librorum [...] qui in nundinis Francofurtensibus ab anno 1564 usque ad 1592 venales extiterunt*, Frankfurt: in officina Nicolai Bassaei, 1592, 4to
- Draut Georg Draut, *Bibliotheca classica, siue, Catalogus officinalis, in quo singuli singularum facultatum ac professionum libri, qui in quauis fere lingua extant recensentur*, Frankfurt: impensis Balthasaris Ostern, 1625, 4to
- ESTC *English Short Title Catalogue*, electronic resource <http://estc.bl.uk>
- FBFC *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts 1564–1600*, ed. Bernhard Fabian, 5 vols, Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1972–2001;

Speranza 286 (XXXX *De orthographia Aldi*). Their source is *Ad primum Machbaeorum disputatio* (below, 16a), pp. 14–15: 'quod voluisse Alexandrum notavi de lapide in orthographia Aldi.' I do not believe that 'notavi' implies that Alberico had done more than taken note of a philological point in the *Epitome Orthographiae Aldi Manutii* (probably from the Antwerp edition of 1579).

b. *De proemio coronae muralis disputatio*; Holland 46 (unpublished writings, 7); Speranza 286 (XXXXI). The reference is in *Ad primum Machbaeorum disputatio* (above, 16a), p. 16. This disputation is in fact the fourth of the *Disputationum decas prima* (below, 7).

c. *De poetis disputatio*; Holland 46 (unpublished writings, 8). Announced as the second disputation in the dedication (dated 15 October 1597) to *Disputationes duae: I. De actoribus et spectatoribus fabularum non notandis. II De abusu mendaci* (below, 14), A2^r (see also p. 41). It is in fact published as part of the *De abusu mendaci* (chapter 10, pp. 162–9)

d. *De legis. in testamentis factis*, Amster. 1661, 8vo; Benigni XXVI; *De legatis in testamento*, Amsterdam, 1661 8vo; Holland 46 (published writings, no. 28). Probably a conflation of chapter-headings from the 1661 edition of *Hispanicae advocacionis libri duo*, Amsterdam: apud Joannem Ravensteinium, 1661, 8vo.

e. *Discourse of marriages by proxy* (see Anthony a Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (1813–20), 4 vols, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969, 1.92, whom Benigni XXVIII and Holland 46 (published writings 29) follow). No more than a reference to *De nuptiis* (below, 17).

f. *De legato, si is in principem, ad quem missus est, conjurat, aut atrox aliquod moliatur, disputatio*; Benigni XXXVI, on the basis of a reference in Scipione Gentilis, *De conjurationibus*, i.1, in *Opera omnia*, vol. 5, Naples: Joannes Gravier, 1766, pp. 10–11; but Scipione points out there that it was published in *De legationibus* (below, 4), ii.18.

- Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten, siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Bernhard Fabian, Hildesheim: Georg Olms (microfiche edition), 1977–85. ‘S’ denotes the Spring Fair, ‘A’ the Autumn Fair.
- Holland Thomas Erskine Holland, *An inaugural lecture on Albericus Gentilis*, London: Macmillan and Co., 1874
- Molen G.H.J. van der Molen, *Alberico Gentili and the development of international law: his life and works*, Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1937
- Speranza Giuseppe Speranza, *Alberico Gentili: studi*, Rome: Fratelli Pallotta, 1876
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004
- VD16 *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, electronic resource <http://www.vd16.de>
- VD17 *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, electronic resource <http://www.vd17.de>

A. *Publications Which Appeared in Alberico’s Lifetime*

1. *De iuris interpretibus dialogi sex*
 London: apud Johannem Wolfium, 1582, 4to, 2p, 153p.
 Dedication: Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester [ODNB], dated Oxford, 22 September 1582.
 For Wolfe, see ODNB.
 ESTC 11736; FBFC 1584S [dated 1584]; 1585A [dated 1582]; Draut 763 [dated 1584]; *Collectio* 202. David Paisey, ‘German Book Fair Catalogues’, *The Library*, 4.4 (2003), 417–27 (421–2) offers the following explanation for the variation in dates: ‘reissues with later dates were repeatedly produced for the continental market by British publishers and printers after initial sales in Britain had left too few copies to be sent to Frankfurt.’ If these are reissues (rather than reprintings), then the explanation is rather the reverse: the (quite numerous) unsold copies were released on to the Frankfurt market with titlepages of different dates as though they were sequential editions.
2. *Lectionum et epistolarum quae ad ius civile pertinent libri IV*
 London: excudebat Johannes Wolfius 1583, [1584], 8vo, [4]p, 64p, [4]p, 65–141p, [5]p, 341p, [2]p, 146–226p [9]p, 228–302p.
 Dedication to book I: [Sir] Thomas Heneage, dated Oxford, 12 April 1583, couplet by Richard Edes [Student of Christ Church: ODNB]
 Dedication to book II: Edward Dyer, dated, Oxford, 27 September 1583, couplet by William Gager [Student of Christ Church: ODNB]
 Dedication to book III: [Sir] Horatio Palavicino [ODNB], dated Oxford, 3 April 1584, couplet by Michael Rota, about whom nothing has been discovered.
 Dedication to book IV: Arthur Atey., Secretary to the Earl of Leicester, dated Oxford, 8 August 1584, couplet by Christophorus Iskombergius about whom nothing has been discovered.
 ESTC 11739; Arber 2.201a (28 August 1584); FBFC 1585A [lib. 1&2, 1583; separate entry for lib. 3, 1584]; Draut 763 [dated 1584]; *Collectio* 202.

3. *Legalium comitiorum Oxoniensium actio Francisco Bevanno doctore dignitatem suscipiente*

London: excudebat Iohannes Wolfius, 1585, 8vo, [48]p.

Dedication: Griffin Lloyd, Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, dated Oxford, 23 January 1585. The preliminaries include the couplet:

Docta viris (aiunt) debentur munera doctis.

ACTIO si docta haec: doctus at est Loydus.

Iussu Auctoris.

The 'iussu' may indicate that Alberico both authorized the *actio* and paid for its publication. Francis Bevans received his D.C.L. as a Fellow of All Souls on 9 July 1583; he became Principal of New Inn Hall in 1585, and Principal of Jesus College in 1586. The comitia, at which doctors received their degrees, were public disputations which took place in the University Church; it seems likely that the occasion on which these texts were delivered was the comitium of 1584, at which the Earl of Leicester was present as Chancellor of the University; the dedication to *De legationibus* (below, 4, sig. *3^v) makes reference to Alberico speaking at Leicester's behest on that occasion. The argument for reading 2 Kal. Feb. 1585 as 1585 (n.s.) and not 1585/6 (o.s.) is well made by Molen, 279.

The dates given by Alberico in Bodley MS d'Orville 611 on f. 44^r [58^r] and on f. 15^r, quoted in the note to *De linguarum mixtura disputatio parergica* (below, 20), and show that he was willing to use both old style and new style dating. It was unusual to print the texts of comitia; see Bodley MS d'Orville 612, f. 203^r–209^r for other manuscript 'quaestiones vesperiarum' relating to other pupils (including John Weston and Thomas Edwards) who supplicated for their doctorates in 1591.

ESTC 11740; *Collectio* 635 (but not in Draut)

4. *De legationibus libri III*

London: excudebat Thomas Vautrollier, 1585, 4to, [8]p, 146p, [2]p

Dedication: Sir Philip Sidney [ODNB], dated Oxford, 21 July 1585

For Vautrollier, see ODNB.

ESTC 11737; FBFC 1586A; Draut 774; *Collectio* 202.

4a. Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1594, 8vo, [6]p, 231p, [4]p.

The errata recorded on the last folio of the 1585 edition have been incorporated (with one mistranscription), and a 'rerum et verborum index copiosus' added. This is the first work by Alberico printed by Antonius; it follows the declaration in FBFC 1593A of Paulus Graseccius's *De legatis* (Strasbourg: excudebat Antonius Bertram, 4to).

FBFC 1594S; Draut 774; Benzing 26; VD16 G 1260.

4b. part three of a composite volume with Félix La Mothe le Vayer, *Legatus* [...] and Octavianus Magius, *De legato*, Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1596, [14]p, 252p, [4]p, 'omnia nunc primum in Germania in lucem edita': in fact, Alberico's text is a reissue of 3a.

- FBFC 1596A; Draut 774: 'Octaviani Magii de Legato [...] Venet. 1567 in 8. Francofurti apud Stoeckle. 8.', but there is no reference to La Mothe Le Vayer; Benzing 58; VD16 L 175. Johann 'Stöckle' or Stöcklein, a Frankfurt publisher and bookseller used by Antonius, married the daughter of Jonas Rhodius or Rosa, himself the husband of the widow of Peter Fischer, the financial partner of Johann Wechel: see Josef Benzing, 'Die deutschen Verleger des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 18 (1977), 1246 (and below, 25).
- 4c. Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1607, 8vo, [14]p, 252p, [4]p: 'editio secunda',
Not in FBFC, Draut or *Collectio*; Benzing 228; VD17 1:0094775.
5. *De diversis temporum appellationibus liber*
Wittenberg: ex officina Cratoniana, 1586, 8vo, [8]p. 126p.
Dedication: Duke Ernst II and Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Wittenberg, 20 September 1586, on whom see Detlev Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln. Neue Folge*, Band I.1, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann 1998, Tafel 25.
Preliminaries contain extracts from Scipio Gentilis, *Paraphrasis Psalmi cxxxiii* and from Tasso, *lib.1 Solymeidos* trans. Scipione Gentile.
not in FBFC, Draut or *Collectio*; VD16 G 1258.
- 5a. Hanau, apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1607, 8vo, 157p.
FBFC 1607S; Draut 774 (no date given); Benzing 226; VD17 23:273843.
6. *De nascendi tempore disputatio*
Wittenberg: in officina Cratoniana, 1586, 8vo, [2]p. 26p.
Dedication: Iohannes Hartmann ab Erffa, dated Wittenberg, 15 October 1586, on whom see Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Leichenpredigt-katalog, <http://www.hab.de/katakoge/datenbanken>, s.v.
Preliminary epigraph: Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, 5, l. 1131: 'quandoquidem sapiunt alieno ex ore.' not in FBFC, Draut, or *Collectio*; VD16 G 1262.
- 6a. Disputatio prima in *Disputationum decas prima* (see 7, below), pp. 1–26.
7. *Disputationum decas prima*
London: excudebat Iohannes Wolfius, 1587, 8vo, [4]p, 143p, [3]p.
Dedication: Sir Francis Walsingham [ODNB], dated Oxford, 9 August 1587, two months and two days after Alberico's nomination as Regius Professor.
The titles of the books are as follows: 1. De nascendi tempore; 2. Utrum possit princeps de regno suo suorumque subditorum rebus pro arbitrato statuere; 3. Si eodem testamento ab eodem haerede eadem summa eidem bis fuerit legata; 4. De praemio coronae muralis; 5. Filius an accusare patrem teneatur, qui eum occidit, a quo filius haeres institutus est;

6. Iudex an ex productis vel ex conscientia debeat iudicare; 7. De iudicum eadem caussa diversis sententiis; 8. De beneficio id tantum praestandi, quod facere obligatus potest; 9. An filius primogeniti vel secundogenitus potior in succedendo sit; 10. De iure thesauri et fossilium.

ESTC 11738. Not in FBFC, Draut, or *Collectio*.

8. *Condicionum liber I*

London: excudebat Iohannes Wolfius 1587, 8vo, [4]p. 129p.

Dedication: John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury [ODNB], dated Oxford, 18 September 1587

The dedication to book 3 of *Lectiones et epistolae* (2, above) refers to this in August 1584 as a nearly completed text ('suprema deest manus'). There are other fragments in MS d'Orville 611, 609, 616 and 606, the last of which has the title 'De condicionibus libri ~~quinque~~' (altered to 'tres'). One version of the 'Liber secundus' of this text (beginning at f. 211') is inscribed 'ad Robertum f.', and dates presumably from after 1600. See below 9.3, where Wolfe announces an edition for a future fair. It is not clear why this was not produced: there was no obvious rival continental publication.

ESTC 11733; Arber 2.221a (11 September 1587); FBFC 1588S; Draut 661 (1[5]88. 4.); *Collectio* 202. The discrepancy in date is not surprising (see note to *De iuris interpretibus*, above, 2); it is unusual for Draut to misrecord format, but there is no known surviving quarto copy.

9.1. *De iure belli commentatio prima*

London: Iohannes Wolfius, 1588, 4to, 48p.

Dedication: Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex [ODNB], dated Oxford, 5 October 1588.

ESTC 11734.3; Arber 2.233b (20 September 1588); not in FBFC, Draut or *Collectio*.

9.2. *De iure belli commentatio secunda*

London: Iohannes Wolfius, 1588, 4to, 80p.

Dedication: Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, dated Oxford, 29 December 1588

ESTC 11735.3; not in FBFC, Draut or *Collectio*.

9.2a–3. *De iure belli commentationes duae*

Leiden: apud Iohannem de la Croy [i.e. London: John Wolfe], 1589, 4to, [48]p.

Dedication: Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex: (as 9.1 and 9.2)

Second leaf has 'typographus lectori': 'Has duas de Iure belli commentationes, tertia brevi subsecutura est, quam separatim edere curamus, utpote diversis a bellicis actionibus, de pace enim ac foederibus est: ut ipse ab ore auctoris excepi: cuius vel de legationibus libros denuo excudendos decrevimus, sed multo quam antea auctiores et cultiores. Et commentarium ad titulum Digestorum de Verborum significatione, atque diu expectatum de Condicionibus, opus. Interim, amice lector, his frui et vale.'

This issue consists of the second and third *commentationes*.

ESTC 11735; not in FBFC; Draut 661 ('Lugd. 1689. 4.'). *Collectio* 202 Wolfe uses the false bibliographical address 'Leida' on one publication by Scipione Gentili (*Annotationi sopra la Gierusalemme liberata di Torquato Tasso*, 1586) and on Giulio Cesare Stella's *Columbeidos libri priores duo*, 'Lugduni' [also London: apud Iohannem Wolfium], 1585, 4to.

9.3a. *De iure belli commentatio tertia*

London: apud Iohannem Wolfium, 1589, 4to, 100p.

Dedication: Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, dated Oxford, 1 September 1589

ESTC 11735.7; not in FBFC, Draut, or *Collectio*.

9.1, 2a–3. *De iure belli commentationes tres*

London: apud Iohannem Wolfium expensis I.C.M. 1589, 4to, [2]p, [48]p. [80]p, [100]p.

'I.C.M.' is Iacobus Castelvetrus Mutinensis.

Dedication: Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, dated Oxford, 15 October 1589

9.2a–3. forms the second and third books of this issue.

Second leaf has 'typographus lectori': 'En tertiam de Iure belli commentationem, quam tibi praeteritis nundinis spondimus, una cum alijs duabus noviter excusis. Ac Deo iuvante, libros de legationibus eiusdem auctoris denuo excudendos decrevimus, sed multo quam antea auctiores et cultiores. Et commentarium ad titulum Digestorum de verborum significatione, atque diu expectatum de Conditionibus opus.' Dated 15 October 1589. The cause of the abandonment of the plans for the publication of the *Commentarius [...] de Verborum significatione* may be the announcement in the FBFC of 1589A of *Commentarii ad tit. Digest. De verborum significatione, trium illustrium Iuris interpretum, Alciati, Brechaei, Fornerii*, Lyon: apud Franciscum Fabrum, fol.

The material from these three *commentationes* appears in a greatly expanded form in *De iure belli* (12, below).

ESTC 11735.7; not in FBFC, Draut or *Collectio*.

10. *De iniustitia bellica actio*

Oxford: excudebat Iosephus Barnesius celeberrimae academiae typographus, 1590, 4to, [8]p, 24p.

dedication: Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, dated Oxford, 24 December 1590. The material from this *actio* appears in a greatly expanded form with the same title as book one of *De armis romanis* (13, below). Presented at the comitia of 1588: see Molen, 53.

ESTC 11734; not in FBFC or Draut; *Collectio* 470.

11. *Ad tit. C. de maleficis et mathematicis et ceter. similibus, commentarius. Item argumenti eiusdem. Commentatio ad L. III. C. de professor. et medic.*
 Oxford: excudebat Iosephus Barnesius, 1593, 4to, 63p, [1]p.
 Dedication: Tobie Matthew Bishop of Durham, dated Oxford, 26 June 1593. At sig. A2^v, there is a reference to the source of these commentaries in previous comitia (between 1583 and 1591): 'dua[e] mihi recitation[es] confectae in Vesperiiis, quas nominamus Comitiorum.' See C 9.18, 10.52.3; and J.W. Binns, 'Alberico Gentili in defence of poetry and acting', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 19 (1972), 224–72 (225n).
 ESTC 11732; not in FBFC, Draut or *Collectio*.

- 11a. Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1604, 8vo, 117p, with a supplement on pp. 117–9 not in 11, introduced by the words: 'LECTORI S. Ne vacaturae essent aliquot pagellae, candide lector, placuit ex Iac. Raevardi Icti clarissimi libr. V Varior. caput 3 propter materiae similitudinem, hic apponere.' Raevardus's *Variorum libri V* appeared in Cologne in 1575 (printed in folio with other tracts by Joannes Gymnicus: see p. 411).
 Not in FBFC; Draut 871; Benzing 181; VD17 1:0101160E.

12. *De iure belli libri tres*
 Hanau: excudebat Guilielmus Antonius, 1598, 8vo, [8]p, 715p, 'nunc primum in lucem editi, ad illustrissimum Comitem Essexiae'.
 Dedication: Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, undated
 FBFC 1598S 'sumpt. Rumoldi Mercatoris' Rumold Mercator, son of the cartographer, lived in Duisburg; its pedagogical and religious complexion was also that of a good number of the authors published by Antonius (Johann Bilsten, Otto Casmann, Johann Piscator, Johann Bisterfeld). A more direct connection with this group of reformed Ramists is afforded by Johannes Molanus, who married Mercator's sister while a teacher at the Ramist School in Duisburg between 1560–4; he died in 1583. Gottfried Sturio also taught at this school, and later established the Gymnasium Illustre in Hanau: see Howard Hotson, *Commonplace learning: Ramism and its German ramifications, 1543–1630*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 32, 34, 207.
 Draut 661; Benzing 97; VD16 G 1259.

- 12a. 'nunc primum in lucem editi, ad illustrissimum Comitem Essexiae':
 Hanau: apud Haeredes Guilielmi Antonii, 1612, 8vo, [8]p, 715p.
 The compositor has slavishly reproduced the text of the titlepage.
 Not in FBFC or Draut; Benzing 322; VD17 1:010157B.

13. *De armis Romanis libri duo*
 Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1599, 8vo, [2]p, 284p.
 Dedication: Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, undated.
 Book 1 is entitled 'De iniustitia bellica Romanorum' (see above, 10).
 Not in FBFC; Draut 1255; Benzing 117; VD16 G 1255.

- 13a. Hanau, apud Haeredes Guilielmim Antonii, 1612
Not in FBFC or Draut; Benzing 321; VD17 1:010159S.
14. *Disputationes duae: I. De actoribus et spectatoribus fabularum non notandis. II De abusu mendaci*
Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1599, 8vo, 210p.
Dedication: Tobie Matthew, Bishop of Durham [ODNB], dated Oxford, 15 October 1597
This is an incomplete set: see A2^{r-v}: 'sed sequentur illae [sci. disputationi de actoribus], alia de abusu mendaci legitimo, alia de potiore interprete Decalogi in secunda tabula,. Sequentur, volente Deo, sequentur.' The third disputation never appeared as such (but see below, 17 and 39), and the wording suggests that it is not up to Gentili (or to Matthew) whether the last two disputations appear. One must infer from this, and from the evidence in *De nuptiis*, p. 687, that the third disputation was due to be sent to Hanau with the two others, but that Antonius declined to publish it, perhaps because Alberico failed to deliver copy, perhaps because of its contentious content (which implicitly gives jurists authority over the interpretation of the second table of Mosaic Law), perhaps because of the cost, or perhaps because *De nuptiis* contained much of the material already.
FBFC 1599S; Draut 1371; Benzing 118; VD16 G 1257.
15. *Th'overthrow of stage-playes, by the way of controversie betwixt D. Gager and D. Rainoldes wherein all the reasons that can be made for them are notably refuted; th'objections aunswered, and the case so cleared and resolved, as that the iudgement of any man, that is not froward and perverse, may easelie be satisfied. Wherein is manifestly proved, that it is not onely vnlawfull to bee an actor, but a beholder of those vanities. Wherevnto are added also and annexed in th'end certeine latine letters betwixt the sayed Maister Rainoldes, and D. Gentiles, reader of the civill law in Oxford, concerning the same matter*
Middelburg: Printed by Richard Schilders], 1599, 4to; pp. 164–8 ('Ioanni Rainoldo [...] Albericus Gentilis S.', dated 7 July 1593; pp. 165–8 Alberico Gentili [...] Io. Rainoldus S. dated 10 July 1593; pp. 168–71 Alberico's reply, dated 15 July 1593; pp. 170–90 'Alberico Gentili [...] Io. Rainoldus S.', dated 5 August 1593.
ESTC 20616; not in FBFC or Draut.
- 15a. A reissue with the same title in 1600: ESTC 20617.
16. *Ad primum Machabaeorum disputatio*
In *Liber Hasmonaeorum qui vulgo prior Machabaeorum: Graece ex editione Romana, et Latine ex interpretatione J[ohannis] Drusii, [Franeke]: ex officina Aegidii Radaei. Veneunt in officina Zachariae Heyns, 1600, 8vo, 56p.*
Dedication (in the form of the first chapter) to Tobie Matthew, undated.
FBFC 1600S ('apud Zachariam Heyns'); Draut 378.

- 16a. 'nunc ab auctore recognitae et locupletatae, et primum in Germania editae', Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1604 (two states), 8vo, pp. 1–87.
FBFC 1604A; Draut 379; Benzing 182; VD17 32:628764U; 23:277571V.
17. *Disputationum de nuptiis libri VII*
Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1601, 8vo, [8], 853p, [11]p. 'nunc primum in lucem editae'; final 11p with the title 'Epistola apologetica'. Dedication: [Sir] Thomas Egerton, Oxford, 1 August 1600. Bodley MS d'Orville 612, f. 23^r reveals that the *De nuptiis* were written a long time ('ante annos plurimos') before their publication. Most of the disputation *De potiore interprete Decalogi in secunda tabula* announced but not published in *Disputationes duae* (above, 14) is probably to be found here in chs, 9–14 of book one: see below, 39. FBFC 1601S; Draut 793 ('noviter editae'); Benzing 141; VD17 1:010971N.
- 17a. Hanau: imprimebant Haeredes Guilielmi Antonii, 1614, 8vo, [8], [6], 690p, [5]p
Not in FBFC or Draut; Benzing 358; VD17 1:010976A.
18. *Lectionis Virgilianae variae liber*
Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1603, 8vo, 189p. 'nunc primum in lucem editus'
Dedication: (titlepage 'ad Robertum filium'; pp. 3–7 Robert to Matteo Gentili (his grandfather), dated Oxford 11 September 1600 (his tenth birthday). On the Eclogues: see below, 36. Written, according to the dedication, between 1596 and 1600. Preliminary epigraph: Virgil, *Eclogues*, 4, line 3: 'Si canimus silvas, silvae sunt consule dignae'
FBFC 1603A; Draut 1603; Benzing 164; VD17 23:277575A.
19. *Ornatiss. V. Iohanni Howsono Doctori Theologi Doctiss. Domino meo &c* [Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1603], 8vo, [8]p.
A letter dated London, 12 August 1603, with no titlepage: the signature 'A' suggests that it was either independently published, or intended as the first gathering of a longer work. John Howson was by this time Student of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor of the University [ODNB]. ESTC 11740.5; not in FBFC; Draut 180: 'Ioan Howson De divortiis Oxon. 1603', a possible lost edition containing Howson's text and Gentili's letter; for the earlier edition of Howson's text, see ESTC 13886: John Howson, *Uxore dismissa*, Oxford: excudebat Iosephus Barnesius, 1602, 8vo. Bodley MS d'Orville 612, f. 23 is an amended fair copy of a letter written on the same topic by Alberico to an opponent in 1604–5 (he refers to the *De nuptiis* (above, 17) being published 'ante triennium').

- 19a. Reprinted in Howson, *Uxore dismissa*, Oxford: excudebat Iosephus Barnesius, 1606, [8]p.
ESTC 13887a; not in FBFC; Draut 180 [Ioan. Howson *Theses de uxore dimittenda propter fornicationem, cum defensione, contra reprehensionem T. Pye* Oxon. 1606].
20. *De linguarum mixtura disputatio parergica*
In *Ad primum Machbaeorum disputatio* [16, above], Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1604, 8vo, pp. 88–110.
Addressed to Johannes Drusius, London, undated. Bodley MS d'Orville 611, dated '21 Dec 1582 vel 1 Jan. 1583', ff. 111'–12' Parergorum liber 1, cap. 5 (see below, 30) is entitled 'De linguarum mixtione', and is a first draft. The text [p. 88] refers to a meeting between Drusius and Alberico, possibly in the company of Tobie Matthew. Drusius, the Professor of Oriental Languages at Oxford from 1572–6, had a number of English contacts, including Archbishop Whitgift, to whom he dedicated his *Historia Ruth* in 1584 (the dedication is signed from Lambeth, where he may have been a guest), and Sir Thomas Bodley, from whom he received a gift at the Hague in 1591.
FBFC 1604A; Draut 379; Benzing 182; VD17 12:162789W.
21. *Regales disputationes libri tres: I de potestate Regis absoluta; II de unione Regnorum Britanniae III De vi civium in Regem semper iniusta*
London: apud Thomam Vautrollerium, 1605, 4to, 132p.
Dedication: Robert Gentili to James I.
This Thomas Vautrollier is the son of the publisher of *De legationibus* (4, above): see *A dictionary of printers and booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland [...]*, gen. ed. R.B. McKerrow, London Bibliographical Society, 1910, s.v. The titlepage has an ornamental empty cartouche in the place of Antonius's printer's mark; the same process of substitution was used in another publication by Antonius which appeared simultaneously in Hanau and London (Benzing 29–30: Jean Morel, *De ecclesia ab Antichristo liberanda*, London: apud Georgium Bischoep (sic), 1594). Professor Alain Wijffels has kindly informed me that there is a MS of these texts in the British Library which in some passages is at variance with the published text.
ESTC 11741; FBFC 1605A and Draut 713 record this imprint. Pp. 39–41 is a transcription of the Greek text of a constitution of Emperor Leo VI (886–912) on good neighbourliness [PG 107.627–30] and the sharing of resources by neighbouring states.
- 21a. Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1605, 4to, 132p.
An issue of 21
Dedication: Alberico Gentili to James I.
Not in FBFC or Draut; Benzing 205; VD17 12:162789W.

22.1–3. *Disputationes tres: I De libris iuris canonici II de libris iuris civilis III De latinitate veteris Bibliorum versionis male accusata*

Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1605, 8vo, 54p, 80p, 32p: 'nunc primum edita'.

Dedication: I: Robert Gentili to Thomas Singleton, Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, dated St. John's College, Oxford 13 April 1605: the titlepage has 'Ad Robertum filium'. Robert makes his father's gift to him a donation in turn to the dedicatee, and does the same in 21, 22.2, 22.3, 23 and implicitly 24. All three disputations have separate pagination, but there does not seem to be an independent titlepage for the *De libris iuris canonici disputatio*.

FBFC 1605A; Draut 713, 1349; Benzing 206; VD17 12:132675U.

22.2. *De libris iuris civilis disputatio*, Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1605, 8vo, 80p, 'nunc primum in lucem edita'.

Dedication: Robert Gentili to Nicholas Bond, President of Magdalen College, Oxford [ODNB], dated St. John's College, Oxford, 13 April 1605: titlepage has 'Ad Robertum filium'.

VD17 12:132681V.

22.3. *De latinitate veteris Bibliorum versionis male accusata*, Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1606, 8vo, 32p.

Dedication: Robert Gentili to John Howson, Student of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, dated St. John's College, Oxford, 19 April 1605: titlepage has 'Ad Robertum filium'.

Draut 43 (1605); VD17 12:132691B.

23. *Laudes Academiae Perusinae et Oxoniensis*

Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1605, 8vo, 52p.

Dedication: Robert Gentili to Ralph Hutchinson, President of St. John's College, Oxford [ODNB], dated St. John's College, eve of St John's day (23 June) 1604. It includes a reference to the memory of his 'most honourable' Godfather the Earl of Essex, three years after his execution for treason. A MS note by Thomas Barlow, sometime Fellow of The Queen's College Oxford, later Bishop of Lincoln (see ODNB) on the title-page of the copy in The Queen's College (pressmark LL b 64(2)) refers to the eulogies as 'orationes[...] in Comitibus publicis Oxoniae anno. 1604'. The titles on pp. 5 and 28 refer to four students receiving their D.C.L. (for the 'Laudes Academiae Perusinae', John Budden of Magdalen College, 8 July 1602; Sampson Hussey of New College, 15 Feb 1602 n.s.; Oliver Lloyd of All Souls, 8 July 1602; for the 'Laudes Academiae Oxoniensis', Eizo Tiarda of Jesus College, 8 July 1603). It is plausible that all these students were at the comitia of 1604, but more likely that the eulogies were delivered in two separate years: 1602 or 1603, and 1604 (from internal evidence: Alberico refers to 32 years having passed since he took his own doctorate at Perugia, in 1572).

FBFC 1605A; Draut 1005; Benzing 204; VD17 12:132687R.

24. *In titulos Codicis Si quis Imperatori maledixerit, Ad legem Iuliam maiestatis disputationes decem*
 Hanau: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1607, 8vo, 196p, [4]p.
 Dedication: Robert Gentili to William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke [ODNB], dated All Souls College, Oxford, 20 December 1606. See C 9.7,8.
 FBFC 1608S; Draut 669; Benzing 227; VD17 1:010161N.

B. Posthumous Publications

25. *Hispanicae advocacionis libri duo*
 Hanau: apud haeredes Guilielmi Antonii, 1613, 4to, 12p, 234p, [6]p.
 Dedication: Scipione Gentili to Baltasar de Zúñiga, dated Nuremberg, 1 February 1613. The dedication states that the work was written in the last three years of his life, between 1605 and 1608 (according to Molen, 58). Bodley MS d'Orville 608 contains a MS of this work (in great disorder). FBFC 1613A; Draut 655: 'Frankfurt apud Stocklein 1613 4.'; Benzing 344; VD17 1:060211B.
26. *In titulum Digestorum de Verborum significatione commentarius*
 Hanau: typis Wecheliani, apud haeredes Iohannis Aubrii, 1614, 4to, [12]p, 416p, [8]p.
 Dedication: Matteo Gentili to Charles Prince of Wales.
 Preliminary poem by Michael Piccartus addressed to Charles Prince of Wales. Piccartus, who was Scipione's colleague at the University of Altdorf, pronounced his *Laudatio funebris* in 1617. Announced in 9.1–2a and 9.3; a surviving MS in Bodley (MS d'Orville 605) bears the date 29 September 1581. See D 50.16.
 FBFC 1614A; Draut 842; VD17 1:014109B.

C. Unpublished MSS

26. *Statuto di Sangenesio composto e riformato dall'Eccellentissimo Alberico Gentili*
 Dated 1577. Speranza, 285.
27. *De papatu Romano Antichristo assertiones ex verbo Dei et SS. Patribus*
 Bodley MS 607 d'Orville ff. 1–95^v.
 There is a reference to this issue in *Disputationes duae: I. De actoribus et spectatoribus fabularum non notandis. II De abusu mendaci* (above, 14), A2^{r-v}. See also the 'Epistola apologetica' at the end of the *Disputatio de nuptiis* (above, 17), p. 687: 'illi Antichristo, hoc est Romano papatui'; and the more virulent reference in the prayer in Bodley MS 609, f. 77^v: 'confirma me [Domine] adversus Diaboli et Primigeniti sui Papae Romani machinas.'

28. *Ad tit. C ad legem Juliam de adulteriis commentarius*
Bodley MS 610 d'Orville ff, 59^r–69^v. See C 9.9. The text was edited in 2002 by Giovanni Minnucci.
29. *Purgatorium iuris veteris*
Bodley MS d'Orville 614, ff. 1–95. 'Pars prior' ends on f. 92^r; and 'pars posterior' begins on f. 92^v. Gentili's MSS (609–18) contain *adversaria* with various compendious indices, indicating that he aspired to producing a set of readings of the Corpus Juris Civilis to supplant or supplement those of Alciati and Cujas.
30. *Parergorum liber primus*
Bodley MS d'Orville 611, ff. 106^r–118^v. The title is an obvious reference to the work of the same name by Andrea Alciato (Lyon, 1538–54), from which Alberico quotes here and elsewhere (f. 107^r; *De iuris interpretibus* [above, 1], *passim*). Scipione Gentili also published *Parergorum ad Pandectas libri duo* in 1588.
31. *Commentarius ad rub. et quinq: leges tit Dig de Legatis*
Bodley MS d'Orville 611, 340^r–409^v. See D 30–33; other material is included (a commentary on Ad § si quis heredes: D 28.5.14); unfinished. The MS ends with the words 'et hoc anno hactenus.'

D. MSS Destroyed in Italy by the Inquisition after Alberico's Flight

(The list is given in the dedication to *De diversis temporis appellationibus*, Wittenberg, 1586)

32. *Libri quatuor de probationibus*
33. *Volumen consultationum*
34. *Quaestiones publice disputatae*
35. *Commentarius ad edictum provinciale de annona*
This is a puzzling title: the various passages in Cicero and the fragments in the Corpus Juris Civilis on the edictum provinciale do not refer to annona. It is possible that Alberico is referring to Italian local law (Molen, 275 reads 'Ancona' for 'annona'). Bodley MS d'Orville 612, ff. 223^r–224^v is entitled 'L. 1 Gaius libro vicensimo tertio ad edictum provinciale' [D 41.3.1], and is a short commentary on this extract from Gaius's commentary on the edict. All these works were composed after 4 October 1574 (Bodley MS 609f. 3^r records that he began to write on that date).

E. *References to Lost Works in Published Works by Alberico*

36. *Verborum et Historiarum juris, ex Accursii et Bartoli Commentarii duo*
A work referred to in *De iuris interpretibus* (above, 1), f. 17^r. Speranza, 286 (XXXVII). See note to 29, above.
37. *Anticuiacius*
A possible work referred to in *De iuris interpretibus* (above, 1), f. 61^r ('sunt et alia [Alberico is referring here to misinterpretations of terms of art]: quae omnia in Anticuiacio illo plenius.' Speranza, 286 (XXXVIII). See note to 29, above.
38. *Commentarius ad [tit.] C. de testamento militari*
In *Lectiones et epistolae*, i.5, p. 16 Alberico refers to this as a future work. Speranza 286 (XXXIX: *De testamento militum*). See C 6.21.
39. *De potiore interprete Decalogi in secunda tabula*
Announced as the third disputation in the dedication (dated 15 October 1597) to *Disputationes duae*: I. *De actoribus et spectatoribus fabularum non notandis*. II *De abusu mendaci* (above, 14), A2^{r-v}. See also the 'Epistola apologetica' at the end of the *Disputatio de nuptiis* (above, 17), p. 687: '[...] tracto quaestionem in primo libro de potiore interprete secundae tabulae, controversiam mihi cum viro magno. Et eius quaestionis occasione etiam de episcopali audientia, et de baptismo mulierum. In quib[us] protestatus sum non semel, nolle docere me quidquam, quod a constitutionibus ecclesiae, nostrae Anglicanae ecclesiae remotum sit, et alienum videri possit.' Cf. the following chapters of Book one of *De nuptiis*: 9 'De theologia et religione'; 10 'Peritiores in secunda tabula Iurisconsulti'; 11. 'Absurde tolli secundam tabulam Iurisperitis'; 12 'De lege ultima secundae tabulae' 14 'De episcopali audientia'; but there is no chapter 'de baptismo mulierum'. The definition of the 'secunda tabula [Decalogi]' is taken from Melancthon: *ibid.*, p. 33: 'prima tabula obiectum, et finis Deus. Secunda tabula continet virtutes, quae versantur circa societatem hominum.' Who the 'vir magnus' with whom Gentili disputed has to be a matter of conjecture; from the dedication to *Disputationes duae* (above, 14), it would appear to be an Oxford figure, possibly John Rainolds.
40. *Lectiones Virgilianae*
The dedication to 18 *Lectionis Virgilianae*, in which Robert donates the work given by Alberico to him to his grandfather Matteo in turn, begins: 'donavit pater mihi lectionum volumen, quas etiam mihi confecit per hoc quadriennium, in quo Virgilio omnia, quae vulgo cognoscuntur, opera mihi itidem interpretatus est: [...] atque harum lectionum, quae in Bucolica fuerunt primae, fero nunc librum tibi.' There is ample evidence that Alberico was collecting *lectiones* of Virgil in the MSS d'Orville. Speranza 287.

CHAPTER TWELVE

ENGLISH BOOKS ON THE CONTINENT, 1570–1630

The free provision on the web of such a major research tool as the *Short title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland 1475–1640* is justly a matter of celebration; it will be welcomed unreservedly by the scholarly community. The task I have been given today¹ is to demonstrate its value to historians of European intellectual life broadly understood (which includes culture, imaginative literature, scientific, religious and political thought as well as the world of scholarship narrowly defined); and to suggest how it might be developed to assist those working on continental materials. I shall confine my remarks to the world of print, although, as has become increasingly apparent in recent years, manuscript or scribal publication is still an important feature of various aspects of intellectual life in this period, and is found, for example, in the circulation of poetry in court circles, in the copying and dissemination of lecture notes, and the diffusion of tracts on subversive or ideologically dangerous topics. The examples that sprang to my mind were the controversial works of the Italian professor Pietro Pomponazzi on incantations and on fate circulated widely throughout Europe after his death in 1525 until their eventual publication by Guglielmo Gratarolo in Basle in the 1550s and 1560s;² the noble circles whose exchanges of poetry were revealed by Henry Woudhuysen's *Sir Philip Sidney and the circulation of manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996); and the reference of 1657 in the Hartlib papers to 'publishing after the old fashion. That is, [MSS] were not given to a Printer; but any man that would pay for the transcribing might have a copy of them'.³ I wonder whether in due course, as these additional monuments of English publication come to

¹ This paper was given at the Conference 'ESTC: new opportunities, new challenges', held at the British Library on 30 October 2006.

² Giancarlo Zanier, *Ricerche sulla diffusione e fortuna del "De incantationibus" di Pomponazzi*, Florence, la nuova Italia, 1975.

³ Hartlib Papers, 31/12/14A; extracted from a letter from Pell to Hartlib of 27 August/6 September 1657 (see BL MS Add 4364, f. 151'). I am grateful to Noel Malcolm for giving me these references.

be charted, there might not be a link to the STC website giving access to them. Another resource which might be of use to all those using the STC would be the provision of a link to the full title of the works cited, and to all the authors who contribute to the preliminaries or the paratext (this is done in *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts*, (VD16), Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1983–95, for example). But such speculation falls outside my remit of today. I shall be asking: what are the other sources of information about English books on the continent? And should these be incorporated over time into the STC?

The great advantage of studying book production in the British languages (principally English) at this time and books in other languages produced in England is that it is a relatively small field to investigate, when compared with the output of Germany, Italy and France. It is also facilitated and enriched by the survival of such archives as the Stationers' Company Records, available through Arber's transcription, for which there is no continental equivalent, certainly since the bombing of the Buchhändlerviertel of Leipzig during the Second World War which destroyed part of the early archives of the Börsenverein des deutschen Buchhandels. There are ancillary archival materials which are not as geographically focussed, such as the multi-volume *Impressoria* in the Haus-Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, for the whole of the Holy Roman Empire;⁴ and others which are local in nature, such as the notarial archives in Paris; the former of these resources has just been inventoried, and the latter is very difficult of access, except to the graduates of the *Ecole des Chartes* who have managed to master the unbelievably difficult handwriting, are on the spot, and have the knowledge required to gain access to the relevant parts of a complex national archive. Perusal of *VD 16* and *VD 17*, or of the *Index Aureliensis: catalogus librorum sedecim saeculo impressorum* (begun in 1965; now on its fifteenth volume, having reached at the letter E), also shows the virtues of a having more limited corpus of publishing to deal with.

The narrower field of production in Britain, and the limitation on entries, have been of very great use to scholars of English; this hardly needs to be demonstrated, but one easy way of doing so would be to look at a transcription made in 1902 of a bibliography published in

⁴ Stephan Füssel, *Der Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels 1825–2000: ein geschichtlicher Aufriss*, Frankfurt am Main, Buchhändlervereinigung, 2000, p. 345; Hans-Joachim Koppitz, *Die kaiserlichen Druckprivilegien im Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.

Germany in 1625 of three hundred or so English books, about which I shall have more to say later. The scholar who set out to do this, Max Spirgatis, was able to identify only about half, and therefore felt justified in claiming that it contains many unrecorded publications; in fact, setting aside the manuscript entries, and those which are underspecified, it is possible with the help of STC and Arber not only to identify all but two or three titles, but also to reveal the errors of ascription in the original list.⁵ One of the reasons for the restricted nature of English publication at this time is the very low status enjoyed by English as an international language in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Peter Burke's recent book *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* is a comparative study which shows this quite clearly to be the case. His account reveals both winners and losers in the development of vernaculars (Dutch, Czech, and Catalan being cases of the latter, French, and of course eventually English, of the former) and he stresses how implausible it would have seemed in 1600 for English to emerge one day as a *lingua franca*. Even polyglots rarely spoke it: the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, for example, who was a gifted linguist, chose to speak 'Spanish to his God, Italian to his courtiers, French to his ladies, and German to his horse'; English has no place here, not even for communication with brute beasts. This means that for an Anglophone to succeed in making an impression, he or she had to have recourse to other languages; and if he or she were seeking to impress as a scholar, writing in Latin was *de rigueur*. This was the case also for those writing in more popular vernaculars: the French surgeon Amboise Paré, for example, had to be translated into Latin for his work to become widely known outside France, and even the great René Descartes reported that very few copies of his revolutionary *Discours de la méthode*, which came out in 1637, were sold: this work became widely known through its eventual translation into Latin, after other of his writings had appeared in that scholarly language.⁶ The STC precisely excludes this extension of a learned Englishman's presence aboard: the

⁵ Max Spirgatis, 'Englische Literatur auf der Frankfurter Messe von 1561–1620', in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Schrift- Buch- und Bibliothekswesens*, 7 (Leipzig, 1902), 37–89.

⁶ See Ambroise Paré, *Opera*, trans. Jacques Guillemeau, Paris, apud Jacobum Dupuis, 1582, fol.; *Opera chirurgica*, Frankfurt am Main, apud Joannem Feyerabend, impensis Petri Fischeri, 1592, fol.; Janet Doe, *A bibliography, 1545–1944, of the works of Ambroise Paré [...]*, Amsterdam, van Heusden, 1977. On Descartes's publications, see Ian Maclean 'Introduction', *A discourse on the method*, Oxford, World's Classics, 2006, xl–xliv.

Introduction baldly states that ‘works by British authors printed abroad in non-British languages are omitted...for example Latin editions of Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia*.’ (xxii) To remedy this lacuna, the editors are able to refer to one very helpful finding list: that of M.A. Shaaber, *The Check-list of Works by British Authors Printed Abroad, in Languages other than English, to 1641* (New York, the Bibliographical Society of America, 1975). This is a remarkable and invaluable work by a single scholar and bibliographer; but it is not complete, and can now be supplemented by other sources.

The source on which I should like to concentrate here is the culmination, like the STC, of the work of relentless and dedicated compilers; it is connected with the Frankfurt and Leipzig fairs. Both of these have medieval origins, and developed quickly to accommodate printed books when these started to be marketed internationally in early the sixteenth century.⁷ Not unnaturally, both attracted printers, publishers and booksellers, who were joined at the time of the twice-yearly fairs by colleagues from abroad, who advertised their stock on broadsheets attached to their stalls (‘nomenclaturae’) and in single-gathering catalogues. In 1564, one seasoned visitor, Georg Willer from Augsburg, began to publish a composite catalogue of the new books in Latin and German on offer, arranged by discipline (following the hierarchy that pertained in universities at that time: theology, law, medicine, philosophy, followed by history and geography, poetry and music). Other vernaculars (French, Italian, and Spanish) were added in an appendix after 1570; David Paisey reports that the first book in English to be advertised in this way (not in Willer’s but in another Augsburg book-selling catalogue produced by the Portenbach and Lutz families) was Thomas Bilston’s *The true difference between Christian subjection and Unchristian rebellion*;⁸ this was in Autumn 1585, and seems to be an isolated occurrence, perhaps prompted by the polemical nature of the

⁷ See Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, vol. 1, Leipzig, Verlag des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler, 1886; Johann Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, vol. 2, Leipzig, Verlag des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler, 1908; Sabine Niemeier, *Funktionen der Frankfurter Buchmesse im Wandel von den Anfängen bis heute*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2003; Peter Weidhaas, *Zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Buchmesse*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 2003.

⁸ David Paisey, ‘German Book Fair Catalogues’, *The Library*, 4.4 (2003), 417–27 (424). Spigatis, ‘Englische Literatur auf der Frankfurter Messe von 1561–1620’, 39, says that the first London imprint appeared in the Book Fair Catalogues of Frankfurt in 1571.

work, which was an answer to Thomas Allen's recusant pamphlets of the same decade entitled *An apologie and true declaration of the institution and endeavours of the two English colleges* and *A true, sincere, and modest defence of English Catholiques that suffer for their faith both at home and abroad*, both of which were printed and no doubt circulated on the continent, probably in France. Between 1608 and 1638, I have found less than ten entries for books in English in the fair catalogues, even though for most of that time John Norton of London had a stall at the fair; but there were a good number of English imprints with texts in Latin or in one of the more popular vernaculars.⁹

Under various pressures, including that of the Book Commissioners appointed by the Holy Roman Emperor to regulate the fairs, the municipal authorities at Frankfurt took over the task of producing these composite fair catalogues in 1597.¹⁰ Five years earlier, the first catalogue of catalogues appeared, produced by the publisher and bookseller Nicolas Bassée, covering the years 1564 to 1591; this was followed by Henning Grosse's catalogue of the Leipzig declarations from 1593 to 1600, and Joannes Clessius's catalogue covering the period 1500 to 1602, financed by the Frankfurt bookseller Peter Kopf whom we shall meet again. These efforts were however eclipsed by the most comprehensive work of all, in terms of accumulation, in the sophistication of its subject classification, and in ease of reference: this is Georg Draut's *Bibliotheca classica* (one for Latin, another for German books) and *Bibliotheca exotica* (for other vernaculars), which appeared first in 1610–11, and subsequently in 1625.

This is a day for celebrating bibliographers, so I hope I shall be forgiven for saying a few words about Draut. He was born in Hesse in 1573, one of twenty-five children of a Lutheran pastor (about twice the 'quiver full' of offspring envisaged in Psalm 127); he attended the Universities of Marburg and Herborn, both marked by their philosophical eclecticism, and irenic Philippism or crypto-Calvinism; he was employed

⁹ Entries recorded by Spigatis (71, 137) include recusant texts by Edward Mayhew and Edward Weston with Douai imprints; he claims that between 1608 and 1638, there are six entries in all: see 'Englische Literatur auf der Frankfurter Messe von 1561–1620', 39. He does not refer to the *Works* of King James I and VI, to *Parthenia*, or to an entry in the Belgian section (Jacob de Geijn [Gheyn]'s *The exercise of Armes for Galiures [calivres], Muskettes and Pikes after the ordre of his Excellence Mauritz Prince of Orange* 'printed at the Haghe in fol. 1608').

¹⁰ See R.J.W. Evans, *The Wechel presses: humanism and Calvinism in central Europe 1572–1627, Past and present*, supplement no. 2, Oxford, 1975, for a succinct account.

by two important Frankfurt printer-publishers (Nicolas Bassée and the Feyerabends), before becoming a pastor in Hesse like his father, in various small villages and towns never more than fifty miles from Frankfurt itself. His last ministry was in Dauernheim where he was born; when one of the armies of the Thirty Years War reached the village, he fled to neighbouring Butzbach, where he died in 1635.¹¹ He published a number of works as well as his compendious bibliographies, some of an encyclopaedic nature (supplementing Simon Maiolus's *Dies caniculares inter alia*); some pastoral tracts, including the trio of vernacular texts *Remedium melancholiae*, *Remedium stultitiae* and *Remedium mortis*, published between 1610 and 1613, and one tract of a surprising kind in a bibliographer: the *Praxis iocandi: hoc est iocorum sive facetiarum in conversationibus hominum rite adhibendarum via commodissima*, which first appeared in 1602, and was reissued in 1605 with a new title and a supplement intriguingly called *Ars vexatoria*.¹² I don't know of any other ordained bibliographer who has written a treatise of how to place jokes in polite society and how to get away with insulting your elders and betters; but its dissemination (if not its success) can be gauged by the fact that there are three copies in Bodley alone. It must be confessed that the jokes are not of a side-splitting kind (but then, one wouldn't expect that from a combination of a conscientious Lutheran pastor and an indefatigable producer of lists).¹³

Draut's two bibliographical compendia, the *Bibliotheca classica* of 1612 and the *Bibliotheca exotica* of 1610 (both revised and expanded in 1625) were compiled from publisher's lists, fair catalogues (the principal source) and private libraries. The Latin section of 1625 contains, in over 1,600 pages, a bewildering array of information arranged by genre and alphabetically by subject. Even theologically contentious issues such as

¹¹ See Wilhelm Kosch, *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, Bern and Munich, Francke, 1971, cols. 511–3.

¹² Draut's second title reads *Prudentia simplex et innoxie iocosa, hoc est, qua ratione in conversationibus quibusvis ioci et sales cum rebus seriis iucunde ita temperandi, ut exinde affectus sinceri, amor propensus, prudensque modestia dignosci possit*. The full title of the supplement is *Ars vexatoria, Hoc est: iocandi innoxie, quovis loco et tempore cum quibusvis, ratio prompta atque extemporanea. Ubi invectiones iucundae convenientes personis graduum et dignitatum per documenta atque exempla monstrantur*. The first edition was financed by Johann Spiess and the heirs of Romanus Beatus; the second by Johann Ludwig Bitschius.

¹³ For an example of a feeble joke, see *Ars vexatoria*, p. 26: 'quidam fatuus, nomine Lobelinus, indutus nova tunica seipsum non cognovit, quaerens ab omnibus occurrentibus, si non vidissent Lobelinum?'

transsubstantiation, justification by faith and predestination could be investigated through Draut's lists; the bringing together of Catholic, Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinist titles on such topics suggests that Draut might have hoped for the emergence of some super-theologian who, having read all the available material, would be able to pronounce a final verdict, commanding general assent and bringing to an end all controversy. This is not as implausible as it may seem: the University of Marburg, to whom Draut dedicates his bibliography, was known for its Calvinist-inspired irenic and conciliatory attitude to philosophical and theological issues; it was led in this by the figure of Rudolph Goclenius, Draut's erstwhile tutor, whose *Conciliator philosophicus* (1609) and *Lexicon philosophicum* (1613) embody this approach to scholarship.¹⁴ We may think that what Draut's finding list actually reveals is the perpetual nature of human controversy, and the proliferation of revisionist interpretations which the printing press not only made possible but actually encouraged; but that is not the view he himself expresses in his preface. His desire to include as much as he could should remind us of the all-inclusive approach to bibliography of its founding father, Conrad Gessner, and the ideology of compendious and non-selective scholarship represented in his *Bibliotheca universalis* which first appeared in 1545.¹⁵

The *Bibliotheca classica* is a vast undertaking; the 1625 edition contains an estimated 33,000 entries under topics with alphabetical listing and cross-referencing. There are approximately 11,000 theological books listed, about 6,500 on law, 2,500 on medicine, 6,000 on history and geography, 4,000 on philosophy, 2,000 on poetry and 1,000 on music. The *Bibliotheca librorum Germanicorum classica* is much more compendious than all the languages in the next item (the *Bibliotheca exotica*) put together. The imprint of the first edition of the *Bibliotheca exotica* records 1610 as the date, making it as an undertaking prior to the Latin and German works; but I suspect that work on all three volumes was concurrent. The title-pages of the 1610 and 1625 editions are nearly identical: *Bibliotheca exotica, sive catalogus officinalis librorum*

¹⁴ See Barbara Bauer (ed.), *Melanchthon und die Marburger Professoren (1527–1627)*, 2 vols, Marburg, Universitätsbibliothek, 1999.

¹⁵ Conrad Gessner, *Bibliotheca universalis, sive Catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus: in tribus linguis, Latina, Graeca, et Hebraica: extantium et non extantium, veterum et recentiorum in hunc usque diem, doctorum et indoctorum, publicatorum et in bibliothecis latentium*, Zürich, apud Christophorum Froschoverum, 1545, fol.

peregrinis linguis usualibus scriptorum, videlicet Gallica, Italica, Belgica, Anglica, Danica, Bohemica, Vngarica, etc omnium, quotquot in Officinis Bibliopolarum indagari potuerunt, et in Nundinis Francofortensibus prostant, ac venales habentur. It has a French subtitle: *La Bibliotheque universail, contenant le catalogue de tous les livres qui ont esté imprimes ce siecle passè, aux langues François, Italienne, Espagnole, et autres, qui sont auuiourd'hui plus communes, depuis l'an 1500 iusques à l'an present M DC. XXIV. distribuée en certain ordre selon les matieres y contenues, et les surnoms des Autheurs.*¹⁶ The same errors of accents occur in both 1610 and 1625; and the contents of both books are wrongly described. In the earlier edition there are only sections on French, Italian, Spanish, Belgian and Hungarian Books; that of 1625 contains also an English and Scottish section, in which some 300 titles are listed by subject. In neither edition is there the announced Danish or Czech (Bohemian) section. The subtitles of the sections differ: reference is made to bookseller's lists ('nomenclaturae') in the Italian, Spanish and Belgian lists; but Draut does not give any indication of the source or sources he has used to compile the English and Scottish section.

Strictly speaking, this part of the bibliography is not my affair today; but I shall say a few words about it, as it neatly reveals the usefulness of the STC. The German book historian Max Spirgatis surmised in 1902 that Draut drew it up from one or more manuscript booksellers' lists, and that it represented books produced by a range of British printers and publishers that were actually available for purchase at the fairs, having probably been brought there by one representative of the London trade (John Norton, and later John Bill); he suggested also that the English marriage in 1613 of the Elector Palatine Frederick to Elizabeth, the daughter of James I and VI, who was known to intervene on behalf of English booksellers at the Fair, had stimulated interest in English affairs.¹⁷ More recently, David McKitterick took up the Palatinate suggestion, and commented further that 'the books appear to relate to a private library rather than the recent international trade in new books'.¹⁸ If this is the case, a *prima facie* case might be made that it was a library

¹⁶ Frankfurt, par Pierre Kopf, 1610, 4to, 219 pp.; par Balthasar Ostern, 1625, 4to, 302 pp.

¹⁷ Max Spirgatis, 'Englische Literatur auf der Frankfurter Messe von 1561–1620': Kapp *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, pp. 639–40.

¹⁸ David McKitterick, *A history of the Cambridge University Press*, vol. 2, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 428–9.

in Heidelberg, perhaps even one associated with the remarkable collection of manuscripts and printed books known as the Bibliotheca Palatina.¹⁹ This was seized in 1622 by the victorious Duke of Bavaria Maximilian I and given to Pope Gregory XV in 1623 as a spoil of war and a bribe (to induce the Pope to make him an Elector of the Holy Roman Empire). It is not impossible that lesser Heidelberg libraries (perhaps one established for the use of the court) ended up through him either in Munich or Rome. But that would not explain how this list came into Draut's hands; nor account for all its items.

English was not an international language, as I have said, and the only expatriate communities of any size on the continent were Catholic Colleges, non-episcopal congregations, and the retinue of Princess Elizabeth at Heidelberg up to 1620. All of these are represented in the list. There is a preponderance of theological books of various kinds (controversy, polemic, devotion and piety, sermons, commentaries, catechisms, confessions, and other books of instruction); but in this it does not differ from the other languages. It contains subjects which were often advertised in vernacular languages at the fair: pamphlets about natural disasters or preternatural happenings (*mirabilia*); accounts of political events and great national festivities; dual language or multilingual primers; and music. William Byrd had called for English music to be advertised on the continent as early as 1575; indeed his and Tallis's *Cantiones sacrae* were advertised at the autumn fair in 1578. Draut's list contains two sections of the 1613 collection known as *Parthenia*, and this was also advertised at the fair.²⁰ But there are also works whose presence at the Fair it is difficult to comprehend, notably the seemingly otiose translations of pamphlets about floods in Germany and political events in France, and of works in English translation by French doctors, French poets, and French and Spanish historians. There is some reflection of the interests of the Heidelberg court (in the works of their preachers Abraham Scultetus and Johann Gerhard), but these would have been available at the Fair in Latin for an international readership. The Catholic literature in the list comes both from established and overt Catholic continental presses at Rouen, St Omer and Douai, and from

¹⁹ For the printed collection, see *Bibliotheca palatina: Druckschritte-Stampati-Printed Books: Katalog zur Mikroficheausgabe*, 4 vols, Munich, Saur, 1998.

²⁰ See John Harley, 'New light on William Byrd', *Music and Letters*, 79 (1998), 475–88; Paisey, 'German Book Fair Catalogues', 422; Mary Chan, 'Music books', in *The history of the book in Britain*, 4.130.

secret presses in England. A number of law books appear under 'libri politici'; these, like those in the French list, would seem to have been of strictly local interest, unless for students of comparative historical legal studies, most of whom had however completed their work in the previous century.²¹ There is only one Scottish entry (Andro Hart's edition of the poems of William Drummond of 1616); and only one book written in Scots dialect (the *Disputation betwixt Nicol Burne and the Ministres of Scotland about Religion* of 1581). The three items described as 'MS' may indicate scribal publication: a copy of one of these (Ridley's disputation) was owned by Gilbert Ironside, Bishop of Bristol (d. 1671), and published in 1688 by his son.²²

If these are indeed books advertised speculatively by London publishers, it is not clear on what principle this was done.²³ As a rough guide, the books in this list represent about 5% of all the STC listings for the years 1611–1616 (there are fewer entries before and after these dates). One possible (even probable) reason for there being no entries after 1620 is the defeat of Frederick (who was by now the King of Bohemia) at the Battle of the White Mountain in November 1620, and the entry of Spanish troops into the Palatinate, which led to the fall of Heidelberg in 1622. It should be noted however that the 'Societas Londinensis' was still declaring books in Spanish and Italian published in London in 1624.²⁴

I believe this list to have been compiled from a number of sources. The recusant material could well have all been available at the fair without advertisement, for English buyers to pick up; but the combined theological list (containing items from non-episcopal congregations in the Low Countries, and Anglican, puritan and recusant apologists) strangely reflects Draut's own irenic propensities, and he may even have been led by his own ideological concerns to assemble the theology section from various sources. All this does not, however, warrant the view

²¹ For the heyday of historical legal studies, see Donald R. Kelley, *Foundations of modern historical scholarship: language, law and history in the French Renaissance*, New York and London, Columbia University Press, 1970.

²² Nicholas Ridley, *An account of a disputation at Oxford, anno Dom. 1554: with a treatise of the Blessed Sacrament: to which is added a letter written by Mr. John Bradford, never before printed. All taken out of an original manuscript* [by Gilbert Ironside], Oxford, Printed at the Theater, 1688. See also Appendix, nos. 165, 269.

²³ This may have been driven by the commercial networks of Jacobean London; or by the perception of the exporter that the titles offered would attract buyers.

²⁴ See Barry Taylor (ed.), *Foreign-language printing in London, 1500–1900*; Spirgatis, 'Englische Literatur auf der Frankfurter Messe von 1561–1620'.

that English was a language which was taking root in the cosmopolitan world of pre-war Frankfurt.

Let me return to the point I wish here to make. Although there were few English-language books listed by Draut, and not very many English imprints in the Fair catalogues which were his source, there were a very great number of works by English authors included in his *Bibliotheca classica*. These include scholars from the medieval period as well as contemporaries or near-contemporaries of the bibliographer; and they offer a rather different image of the British Isles from the one to be gleaned from a consideration of the great literary works produced at this time. I am going to set aside theological works, but offer a few examples of philosophers and doctors whose works were well received on the continent. Some of these were associated with given printing centres and publishers; I shall point this out too. I have drawn exclusively on Shaaber's *Check-list* for these examples: conferring this with Draut or with such modern works as *VD 16* and *VD 17* would certainly bring additions to the field I am considering.

The first group is that connected with medieval mathematics and optics, and includes John Pecham, Walter Burley, Thomas Bradwardine, Robert Kilwardby, William Heytesbury, Joannes de Sacrobosco (listed as John Holywood by Shaaber) and Richard Suiseth or Swineshead. A glance at their entries reveals that Sacrobosco is probably the longest entry in the whole of Shaaber, having 207 entries; his *De sphaera* was published throughout the STC period and across the whole of Europe. Like the *De sphaera*, John Pecham's *Perspectiva* was frequently published up to 1520 in Paris and Northern Italy, as were works by the so-called Merton calculators, who wrote on the intension and remission of forms, and on arithmetical proportion. A number of Italian university professors of medicine active in the first twenty years of the sixteenth century showed a particular interest in their work and in its application to medical problems. The press which more than any other encouraged this republication of English medieval scientific work was that of Ottaviano Scoto in Venice.

Also in the area of philosophy as this was understood at the time is the figure of John Case of Oxford, who died in 1600. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics*, *Ethics*, *Economics*, *Logic* and *Politics*, all of which first appeared in Oxford; they were taken up first by Nicolas Bassée in Frankfurt, whom we have already met, and thereafter by a number of other publishers and booksellers who specialised in supplying scholarly books to outlying areas of Europe; the heirs of André

Wechel, Johann Wechel, Wilhelm Antonius (or Guillaume Antoine) who worked for the Wechels before striking out on his own, and Peter Kopf. They valued Case's works enough to obtain privileges to protect them, and up to 1625, they kept them in print once the privilege had expired. *VD 17*, by the way, lists three editions not in Shaaber.

Several doctors had strong reputations in Frankfurt at this time: one of these was Timothy Bright, who died in 1615. His various writings were published by the eclectic and conciliatory publishers of Marburg, and by members of the Wechel family at Frankfurt. The editions of the Galenic scholars Thomas Linacre and John Caius were still being published late in the sixteenth century. Duncan Liddel (1561–1613) was a Scot who made his career in German Universities: his general works on medicine was published both in his home University of Helmstedt, and in Hamburg and Lyon. Robert Fludd (1574–1637), finally, was a London-based practitioner whose ambitious hermetic works were published on the continent, at Leiden, Frankfurt, and (posthumously) Gouda. One reason for this was expense: had Fludd wished to have his typographically complex and copiously illustrated books printed in London, he would have had to pay the printers a very large sum, whereas, as he records, the celebrated Frankfurt and Oppenheim printer Theodor de Bry not only agreed to publish them gratis, but gave Fludd sixteen free copies and a generous fee. De Bry's successors Johann Theodor de Bry and William Fitzler continued loyally to publish his works. Fludd also was an early contributor to the debate about Rosicrucianism which flared up in 1614: these pamphlets appeared in Leiden 1616 and 1617, and were probably published at his own expense.

It is a commonplace of early twentieth-century scholarship that the rise of the vernacular as a scholarly and literary language and the corresponding decline of Latin are associated with a growing sense of national identity and a growing secularisation of society.²⁵ This somewhat Whiggish ideology may underlie the decision of the producers of the STC to exclude the international role played through their Latin publications by English scholars, both long dead and still alive, in the

²⁵ For an example of such scholarship see Richard Foster Jones, *The triumph of the English language: a survey of opinions concerning the vernacular from the introduction of printing to the restoration*, London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1953. For a more recent discussion of this and other issues concerning the relationship of Latin to European vernaculars in this period, see Bodo Guthmüller (ed.), *Latein und Nationalsprachen in der Renaissance*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1998.

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It is striking that the libraries of English-language books owned by foreigners of which accounts survive (including the English holdings of Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar, Spanish Ambassador to England from 1613–1618 and again from 1620 to 1622), do not contain the monuments of drama and poetry which we are now accustomed to see as the glory of the age—Shakespeare, Jonson, Spenser, Donne (Sidney is an exception)—but rather books on English, Roman and European history, a certain number of theological tracts (both recusant and protestant), books on English law and politics, the works of King James VI and I, who encouraged actively the advertisement abroad of his own writings, and a number of multi-language dictionaries and primers.²⁶ If we turn to Latin writings by British authors, we shall obtain a very different picture of their culture as this was seen by Europeans from the Shakespeare-dominated one with which we all familiar. If one is allowed on an occasion such as this to utter a desideratum, mine would be that the STC itself could eventually be extended to complete the image of the full bilingual culture of the British Isles before 1641.

²⁶ On Gondomar's library, see *Avisos: noticias de la Real Biblioteca*, 38 (2004); 42 (2005); 46 (2006).

APPENDIX

This is an unamended transcription of Georg Draut, *Bibliotheca exotica*, Frankfurt, 1625, pp. 291–301. Unlike in the sections for books in French, Italian, Spanish and Dutch (or Flemish), no information is given here by Draut about the sources he used. From the list itself, it is possible to infer that neither the compositor nor the ‘corrector’ (presumably Draut himself) had more than a shaky grasp of English; that they were working from a variety of sources (the Book Fair Catalogues; possibly booksellers’ lists), and that among these, there was at least one manuscript list written by a person or persons familiar with English. That there was more than one list can be deduced from the fact that in some cases, authorship is given even though it is not stated on the titlepage or in the preliminaries (nos. 28, 54, 58), whereas in others, such information, although available in the text, is not recorded (159, 161, 176, 180–3, 188). There are a number of wrong attributions or erroneous transcriptions (1, 7, 141, 153, 246), and conflations of different authors with the same name (76–7, 146–51). Some entries may be duplicated (111a, 111b; 217, 271, 280); some appear in the wrong section (131, 132, 278). The degree of bibliographical description varies, but in nearly all cases where the format is given, this accords with the STC. Here, only the STC (second edition) numbers have been inserted (or, where in default, references to Edward Arber’s *Transcript of the registers of the Company of stationers of London: 1554–1640*, London, privately printed, 1875–94, or other sources), with notes as necessary (correction of spelling of author or attribution, supply of missing information, and discussion of unidentified items). The numbering is my own: where entries which belong to the same STC number have been separately entered here, I have supplied ‘a’ and ‘b’ as appropriate; where two different books appear in the same entry, I have supplied two numbers.

BIBLIOTHECA BRITANNICA

Siue

CATALOGVS LI-

BRORVM ANGLICO-

RVM ET SCOTICO-

rum

LIBRI THEOLOGICI.

1. IOh. *Addams* The happines of the Church. Lond. 1618. 4.
STC 120 (Thomas Adams)
2. Will. *Allen*. Of the Power of Priesthood/Confession and Popes pardons
Lond. 1567.8
STC 372

3. A defence of Purgatory and praier for the Soules departed. *Ant.* 1565. 8
STC 5009
4. Rob. *Allen*. Concordances or the Prouerbs t Ecclesiastes/Lond. 1612
STC 363
5. Leuys *Bailie*. The practice of piety. Lond. 1619.8.
STC 1603
6. Joannes *Baker* Lectures upon the 10. Articles of our Christian faith/
Lond. 1581.8.
STC 1219
7. Will. *Barlovv* A Supplement to the discussion of Doctor *Barlouues*
answere etc by F.T. 1613.4.
STC 11021 (Thomas Fitzherbert)
8. Defence of the Articles of the protestant Religion. Lond. 1601.4.
STC 1499
9. His Sermon concerning the Antiquity ant superiority of Bishops. Lond.
1606.4.
STC 1451
- 10, 11. Rob. *Bellarminus* An Ample declaration of the Christian Faith by
Card *Bellarmino*. Translates by Richard Haydock. Roan. e A short
Catechisme of his/illustrated with Images. *In Augusta* 1614.8.
STC 1834, 1843
12. Sebast. *Benfield* A Sermon preached March 24.1610. *Oxon.* 1611.
STC 1870 (Sebastian Benefield)
13. Theod. *Bezae* A briefe declaration of the chief points of Religion. Lond.
1613.8.
STC 2002
- 14, 15. Jo. *Boys* Exposition of the Dominicall Epistles and Gospells. Lond.
1611. & 1613. 4.
STC 3458.3, 3458.5
- 16, 17. An Exposition of the festiuall Epistels and Gospels/Lond. 1614. &
Lond. 1616.
STC 3462.7, 3463.7 (John Boys)
18. An Exposition of the Psalmes in the Liturgie. Lond. 1616.8.
STC 3466a (John Boys)
19. An Exposition of the last Psalm. Lond. 1613.
STC 3464 (John Boys)
20. Edw. *Bulkley* An Apologie for Religion/Lond. 1602.4. /p. 292/
STC 4025
21. Touching the corruptions of the Romisch Testament/Lond. 1588. 4.
STC 4024 Edward Bulkley)
22. Jo. *Bradfort* Two Letters for men afflicted in conscience *Lond.* 1613. 8.
STC 5848
23. Jo. *Bridges* Defence of the gouernment of the Church of England/Lond.
1587.4.
STC 3734
- 24a. Tho. Broade A Touchstone for a Christian/Lond. 1613. 8.
STC 3807 (Thomas Broad)

- 24b. A Christians warre. *Ibidem*.
STC 3807 (Thomas Broad: part two of 24)
- 25a. Rob. *Brovvne* A Treatise of Reformation/*Midl*, 1582.4.
STC 3910.3
- 25b. An order for studying the Scriptures. *Ib*.
STC 3910.3 (possibly part of 25a, entitled 'the points and parts of all divinitie')
- 25c. A Treatise which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians/ and how unlike they are unto Turkes and Papists/ and Heathern folke. *Ib*.
STC 3910.3 (part of first part of 27)
- 26. Rich. *Bruce* Life and death of a Religion. *Lond*. 1605. 8.
STC 3927 (Richard Bruch)
- 27a. Vincen. *Brunus* Of Confession. 1605.
STC 3947.5
- 28. His Meditation of the Passion. *Ibid*.
STC 3947. 5 has a final section entitled 'a meditation', but this is not the work of this title listed as STC 3941.1 (1599) and 3941 (1614); possibly a composite bound volume.
- 27b. A short treatise of Penance. 1605. 8.
STC 3947.5

C

- 28. EDdm. *Campionus* A true report of his Conferences in the Tower. *Lond*. 1583. 4.
STC 18744.5 (Alexander Nowell)
- 29. Geo. *Carleton* Of Jurisdiction Rewgall/ Episcopall and Papall. *Lond*. 1610. 4.
STC 4637
- 30. Directions how to know the true Church. *Lond*. 1615. 8.
4632 (George Carleton)
- 31. His Oration made at the Hage. *Lond*. 1619. 4.
4638 (George Carleton)
- 32. Ric. *Carpente* A Pastorall charge. *Lond*. 1616. 8.
STC 4682 (Richard Carpenter)
- 33. The soules sentinell. 1612. 8.
STC 4683 (Richard Carpenter)
- 34. Tho. *Cheaste* The Christian path way. *Lond*. 1613.
STC 5105
- 35. Jo. *Colleton* Defence of the standered Priests. 1602. 4.
STC 5557
- 36. Sam *Collius* Defence of the Bishop of Ely concerning his answer to Card Bellarmine Apologie. Cant. 1616. 8.
STC 5561 (Samuel Collins)
- 37. *Contentment* True *Contentment* in the gaine of godlinesse on the I. of Timoth. 6.6. *Lond*. 1620.
STC 11678 (Thomas Gataker)

D

38. John. *Dey His Descant on Davids Psalmes, or a Commentary on the Psalters and first of the first 8 Psalmes. Oxf.* 1620.
STC 6424 (John Day)
39. Jo. *Denison* Of sinne against the Holy Ghost. *Lond.* 1611. 4.
STC 6591
40. Stephen *Denison* The new creature. *Lond.* 1619. 8.
STC 6607
41. Fr *Dillingham* Probleme about the Scriptures *Lond.* 8.
STC 6887
42. Dan. *Dyke* The mystery of selfe deceauing *Lond.* 1614.
STC 7398
43. An expos. On Philemon and Schoole of affliction. *Lond.* 1618.
STC 7410 (Daniel Dyke)
44. Six Evangelical Hystories. *Lond.* 1617.
STC 7407 (Daniel Dyke)
45. Jer. *Dyke* A counterpuyson against Couetousnes *Lond.* 1619. 4.
STC 7412
46. J. *Doue* The Conuersion of Solomon. *Lond.* 1613, or a Com on the Canticles.
STC 7080
47. Jo. *Dovvneham* Lectures on the 4. first Chapters of Hosea. *Lond.* 1608. 4.
STC 7145 (John Downname)
48. The Christian Warfare *Lond.* 1609. 4.
STC 7135 (John Downname)
49. The 3. part of the Christians Warfare *Lond.* 1613.
STC 7140 (John Downname)
50. The Christian Warfare the last part. *Lond.* 1618.
STC 7139 (John Downname)
51. Tho. Draxe An Alarum to the last iudgement. *Lond.* 1615.
STC 7173
52. The earnest of our Inheritance. *Lond.* 1613.
STC 7184 (Thomas Draxe)
53. The Christian Armory. *Lond.* 1611. 8.
STC 7182 (Thomas Draxe)
54. Jo. Dunster *Prodromus*, or the Litteral destruction of Jerusalem/ as it is described in: the 79. Psalme. *Lond.* 1613. 8.
STC 7355
55. Cesars penuy. *Oxford.* 1610/p. 293/
STC 7354 (John Dunster)
56. Jo. Dunster. Confession of Christian Religion. *Oxf.* 1609. 8.
STC 6172a

E

- 57. Rich. *Eadon* A Sermon at the Funerall of Thomas Dutton. *Lond.* 1616.
STC 7466
- 58. The *Embassaddor* Betweenn Heaven and Earth. *Lond.* 1613. 8.
STC 4316 (William Crashaw)
- 59. Lewys *Euans* The castle of Christtanity *Lond.* 1568.8.
STC 10590

F

- 60a. Henry *Fiz Simon* A Catholique Confutation of Master John Rider. *Roan* 1608.
STC 11025 (Henry Fitzsimon)
- 60b. His reply to Master Riders Rescript *Roan.* 1608. with a discovery of
Puritan partiality. *Roane.*
STC 11025

G

- 61. Jo. *Gerhard* The dayly watch of the soule. *Lond.* 1611. 8.
STC 11764

H

- 62. Jo *Hayvvarde* Dauids Thretanes. *Lond.* 1655.8.
The date given is 1655 (sic). Arber 3.559 (1614); later editions STC 12991
(1622) and 12992 (1623)

K

- 63. Matth. *Kellison* Survey of the new religion. *Dovvay.* 1603.
STC 14912
- 64. Tho. à *Kempis* The following of Christ 1613. 8.
STC 23987

M

- 65. Edwart *Maihevv* Paradiso of Pariers and meditations of diuersche Autors/
as wel anciene as moderne/ and Devided into three Parts-Printend at
doway by Peter Borreman in 12.1615.
STC 17197 (1613) Declared in the Frankfurt Book Fair Catalogue in
1615.
- 66. Mariae The blessednes of Mary the Mother of Jesus. *Lond.* 1619.
STC 17197
- 67. Greg. *Martin* Of Christian peregrination/etc. 1583. 8.
STC 17507
- 68. A discouery of the hereticall Translations of the Bible. 1582. 8.
STC 17503 (Gregory Martin)
- 69. A Letter sent by a married Priest his friend. 1583.
STC 17508 (Gregory Martin)

70. Fr. *Mason* A Sermon of the Aucturity of the Church in making Canons. *Lond.* 1607. in 4.
STC 17595
71. Of the consecration of Bishops in the Church of England. *Lond.* 1613.
STC 17597 (Francis Mason)
72. Tho. *Mason* A reuelation of the Reuelation. *Lond.* 1619 8.
Arber 3.639. Not in STC
73. Ric. *Middleton* The Card and compasse of life *Lond.* 1613. 8.
STC17870
74. The Heavenly progresse. *Lond.* 1617. 8.
STC 17872 (Richard Middleton)
- 75a. The key of Dauid. *London* 1619.
STC 17873 (Richard Middleton)
- 75b. Soodnes/or the blessed mans badge. *Ibidem.*
STC 17871 (Richard Middleton)

N

76. Rich. *Nicols* A day starre for darke wandring sauies *Lond.* 1613. 8.
STC 1826.5 (Richard Niccols of the Inner Temple)
77. Walthams Complaint. *Lond.* 1615. 8.
STC 18523 (Richard Niccols)

P

78. Ric. *Perkes* An Apology of the Testimonies of the Holy Scripture concerning the Article of our Creed He descended into Hell. *Lond.* 1607. 4.
STC 19295
79. Tho. *Portau* A declaration of the Motiues of M. du Tertre late preacher amongst the Capuchins Conuersion *Lond.* 1616.
STC 7371.5
80. Gb. *Povvelus* His resolved Christian. *Lond.* 1620. 8. /p. 294/
Either STC 20150 (1600) or 20151 (1602) (Gabriel Powel)
81. His resolution on the arst Chap. Tho the Rom. *Oxford.* 1602. 8.
STC 20148 (Gabriel Powel)
82. His Positions of Usurie. *Ibid.*
STC 20155
- 83a. Nathan *Povvnol* An Apologie for young Diuines in the Universitie. 8. 1612.
STC 20174
- 83b. His Meditation on the Ministry an the 6. Psalme. *Ibidem.*
STC 20174
84. Jo. *Preston* The Patriarches portion. *Lond.* 1619. 8.
STC 20282.3
85. A Sermon at the Funerall of Master Arthur Tigton. *Lond.* 1619. 4.
STC 20287.7
86. The *Primer* or office Of the Virgin Mary. *Ant.* 1604. 8. *Lat. & Anglice*
Ibid.
STC 16095

87. A *Profession* Of the Catholyke faith/ according to the decree of the Councell of Trent. *Lov.* 1599. 8.
Possibly STC 16922 Luis de Granada, 'A spiritual doctrine'
88. The Protestants Demonstrations for Catholicks recusancie *Douvway* 1615. 8.
STC 20450.5
89. Ant Jesuites up in Armes in Gulick Land/ *Lond.* 1611.
STC 20449 ('The protestants and Jesuites up in armes in Gulicke-land')

R

90. Gu. *Reinolde* Touching the Sacrament of the last Super tc. *Ant.* 1593. 8.
STC 20633 (William Rainolds)
91. *Reasons* Why Catholiques refuse to come to Church *Douvway.* 1601. 8.
STC 19396
92. Charles *Richardson* The benefit of affliction/ *Lond.* 1616. 8.
STC 21013
93. The Doctrine of the Lords Supper. *Lond.* 1616. 8.
STC 21014 (Charles Richardson)
94. A workeman that needeth not to be ashamed. *Lond* 1616. 4.
STC 21019 (Charles Richardson)
95. *Ridley* Disputation about the Sacrament M S 4.
A possible example of scribal publication from an exemplar: cf. Nicholas Ridley, *An account of a disputation at Oxford, anno Dom. 1554: with a treatise of the Blessed Sacrament: to which is added a letter written by Mr. John Bradford, never before printed. All taken out of an original manuscript* [by Gilbert Ironside], Oxford, Printed at the Theater, 1688.
- 96a. Barth *Robertson* The crowne of life. *Lond.* 1618. 8.
STC 21097
- 96b. The Soules request. *Ibid.*
STC 21097
97. Will. *Roffensis* Q. Jo. *Buckridge* Due of the 4 Sermons preached at Hampton Tourt for the antiquitie and superiority of Bishops. *Lond.* 1606. 4.
STC 1451 (John Buckridge, Bishop of Rochester)
98. Daniel *Rogers* Sermons. *Lond.* 1612.
STC 21165
99. Rich *Rogers* Sermons *Lond.* 1612.
STC 21203
100. Seauen Treatises containing certaine directions out of the holy Scripture. *Lond.* 1610
STC 21217
101. Com on the booke of Judges. *Lond.* 1615.
STC 21204
102. Tho. *Rogers* The faith and doctrine of the Church of England. *Camb.* 1607.4.
STC 21228
103. Fr. *Rollenson* Three Sermons *Lond.* 1611. 4.
STC 21264

104. Twelue Prophetical Legacies. *Lond.* 1612.
STC 21265
105. *Rosarie* Our Ladies Rosarie/ with a method to meditate on it. *Ant.*
1598. 8.
STC 17564
106. The Society of the Rosarie. 8.
STC 11617.2,4
107. Sam. *Rovvlandus* A Sacred memory of the Miracles wrought by Christ.
Lond. 1618. 4.
STC 21405 (Samuel Rowlands)

S

108. Nic *Sanderi* Of the supper of our Lord. *Lou* 1566. 4.
STC 21695 (Nicholas Sander)
109. Nic *Sanderi* Of Usurie 1568. 8.
STC 21691 (Nicholas Sander)
110. Nic *Sanderi* Rock of the Church *Lou.* 1567. 8.
STC 21692 (Nicholas Sander)
- 111a. Abr. *Schultett* His Sermon at Heydelberg *Lond.* 1613. 8.
STC 22125 (Abraham Scultetus)
112. Abr. *Schulteti* A Secular Sermon/ concerning the doctrine of the Gospell.
Lond. 1618. 4.
STC 22124 (Abraham Scultetus)
113. Sam. *Smith* Exposition of the first Chap. of Hosea. *Lond.* 1616.
STC 22880 ('exposition upon the sixt chapter of [...] Hosea')
114. Dauids blessed man. *Lond.* 1616. 8.
STC 22839.3 (Samuel Smith)
115. The great Assize a fold for Christs Scheepe. *Ibid.*
STC 22847.7 (Samuel Smith)
116. Joseph and his Mistresse. *Lond.* 1619. 8.
STC 22850 (Samuel Smith)
117. Carles *Sonnibanke* The Eunukes conuersion. *Lond.* 1617. 8. /p. 295/
STC 22927
118. Jo *Sprint* Proposition for tho Christian Sabboth day/ *Lond.* 1607.
STC 23109
119. Jo. *Sprint* The Summe vf the Christian Religion. *Lond.* 1613. 8.
STC 23111
120. Rich. *Stock* The Churches lamentation for the losse of the godly. *Lond.*
1614. 8.
STC 23273
121. Tho. *Stovvghnton* Two Tr of Dauids lone to te Lord and Meditation on
the word of God. *Lond.* 1616.
STC 23317 (Thomas Stoughton)

T

122. Tho *Taylour* Com on the Ep. to Titus 1612.
STC 23825 (Thomas Taylor)
123. Petres Sermons. 1612.
STC 23830 (Thomas Taylor)
124. Christs combate and conquest. *Lond.* 1618. 4.
STC 23822 (Thomas Taylor)
125. Jo. *Taylour* Heavens blessing and Carths ioy *Lond.* 1613.
STC 23763 (John Taylor)
126. Urania, or his heavenly Muse. *Lond.* 1615.
STC 23806 (John Taylor)
127. The Triall of Christian Truht/ by the rules of the vertues/ Namelie these
Principall/ faith/ hope/ charitie and Religion: seruing for the discouerie
of heresie/ and Antichrist his forerunners and misteries of iniquitie. The
second parte/ Entreating of Hope by Edward Weston *Dovvay* ap. Petrum
Boreman in 4. 1616.
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V

128. Edw. *Vavvghon* A diuine discouery of death. *Lond.* 1612. 8.
STC 24596 (Edward Vaughan)
129. A plaine and perfect methode for the easie vnderstanding of the whole
Bible/ *Lond.* 1617. in 8.
STC 24600 (Edward Vaughan, Preacher at St Mary Woolnoth)
130. Jo. *Veron* The hunting of Purgatory *Lond.* 1561. 8.
STC 24683 (Jean Véron)

W

131. Sam. *Walfall* The life and death of Jesus Christ 1615. 8.
STC 24998 (Samuel Walsall)
132. Will *Walker* A Sermon preached at the Funerall of the Lord Russell.
Lond. 1614.
STC 24964
133. Sam. *Warde* A Coale from the Altar/ a Sermon. *Lond.* 1616. 8.
STC 25040 (Samuel Ward)
134. Balme from Gilead. *Lond.* 1617. 8.
STC 25036 (Samuel Ward)
135. Jethroes Justice of Peace. *Lond.* 1618. 8.
STC 25046 (Samuel Ward)
136. Jo. *Warren*. Funerall Sermon *Lond.* 1618. 4.
STC 25094
137. Will. *Webster* The plaine mans pilgrimage. *Lond.* 1613. 8.
STC 25181
138. Tho *Whetenhall* Of the abuses now in question in the Church of Christ
1606. 4.
STC 25332

139. Fr. *White* Londons warning to Jerusalem. *Lond.* 1619.
STC 25386
140. Rob. *Whittell* The way to the Celestiall Paradice. *Lond.* 1620.
STC 25441
141. Jo. *Wicklefus* Wickless wicket. *Lond.* 1612. 4.
STC 25592 (John Wycliffe: Oxford, not London)
142. Michael *Wigmore* The holy Citty discouered/ beseiged/ and deliuered/
Lond 1619. 4.
STC 25616
143. The way of all flesh/ *Lond.* 1619. 4.
STC 25618 (Michael Wigmore)
- 144a. Rob. Wilkenson A Meditation of Mortality/ *Lond.* 1614.
STC 25661 Robert Wilkinson, 'A paire of sermons'...)
- 144b. The high-way to immortality/ *Ibid.*
STC 25661 Robert Wilkinson, 'A paire of sermons'...)
145. Jo. *Willmer* The Examination of a Communicant. *Lond.* 1615. 8.
Arber 3.562 'The tryall of a communicant by J.W.' I am grateful to
Professor Alex Walsham for this reference.
146. Tho *Wilson* A Short Catechisme/ *Lond.* 1610. 8.
STC 25797
147. A Christian Dictionary/ *Lond.* 1616.
STC 25787
148. Jacobs Ladder/ *Lond.* 1611. 8.
STC 25795
- 149a. A discourse vpon Vsury. *Lond.* 1572. 8.
STC 25807 (not the same Thomas Wilson)
- 149b. A Dialogue of Justification of faith. *Ibid.*
STC 25795
- 149c. A receit against Heresie/ *Ibid.*
STC 25795
- 149d. A Sermon of Sanctification and spirituall combate. *Ibid.*
STC 25795
150. Christs farewell to Jerusalem. *Lond.* 1614. 8.
STC 25790 (Thomas Wilson as in 146–8)
151. A Com. On the Ep. To the Romans. *Lond.* 1614.
STC 25791 (Thomas Wilson as in 146–8)
152. A Sermon preached before the Corporation of Blacksmithes/ *Lond.*
1610. 8. /p. 296/
STC 25797 (Thomas Wilson as in 146–8)
153. Walter *Wilsham* The sincere Preacher. *Lond.* 1616. 8.
STC 26058 (Walter Wylshman)
154. Geo. *Wyther* A Preparation to the Psalter. *Lond.* 1559.
STC 25914
155. Rie. *Woodcock* A godly learned answer to a lewd and vnlearned Pam-
phlet/ intituled A few plain & forcible reasons for the Catholick against
the Religion of the Protestants. *Lond.* 1608. 4.
STC 25965 (Richard Woodcoke)

156. Ant. *Wotton* Defence of Master Perkins booe/talled/ A Reformed Catholique. *Lond.* 1606. 4.
STC 26004
 157. The *Workes* of the most righ/ and Mighty Prince James/ by de grace of Good Kinge of great Brittainer France and Irland/ defensor of y faith/ etc. Publis by James/ Bißhop of Winthon. London. Printed by Robert Basker and John Bill in fol. 1617.
STC 14344 Declared in the Frankfurt Book Fair Catalogue in 1617.
 158. Rob *Tarrowv* Souveraine comforts for a troubled conscience. *Lond.* 1619. 8.
STC 26077 (Robert Yarrow)
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Incerti Scriptores

159. A Sermon preached at MapleDurham/ *Lond.* 1616.
STC 3435.5 (John Bowle)
160. A briefe Tr. vpon one of Salomons Prouerbes. Ch 11.22 *Lond.* 1613. 8.
STC 7537 (Stephen Egerton)
161. A Letter of his concerning his aduice for the studie of Diuinity 8. *Lond.* 1613.
STC 20611 (John Rainolds)
162. A Tr. Deciding certainr questions moued about the Ministry/ Sacraments/ and Church. *Lond.* 1588. 4.
STC 22909 (Robert Some)
163. An aduertisement ot corruption in handling of Religion 1604. 4.
STC 3843 (Hugh Broughton)
164. An Amulet or Preseruatiue against sicknesse and death. *Lond.* 1617. 8.
STC 17238.5 (Abraham Man)
165. The *Chastizing* of Sod Children. M.S. 8.
STC 5065 (1493) has this title, but not this format; a possible case of scribal publication.
166. *Confession* of the faith of certaine English in the Low-countries 1602. 4.
Perhaps STC 22877.4 (John Smyth); which is 8vo, and s.d.
167. A brief forme of *Confession*, with other prayers 1576. 8
STC 11181
168. Confession of the faith of the exiled Church abiding at Amsterdam 1620. 4.
STC 7298 (Franciscus Junius)
169. *Dialogi* A *Dialogue* betwixt a Secular Priest/ t a Lay Gendleman. *Rhemes.* 1601. 8.
STC 25124 (John Mush)
170. *Discurses* Copies of certain *Discurses* between the Priests and Jesuits. *Roane* 1601. 4.
STC 5724
171. *Discourse* of the Scriptures/ declarind the Stories/ from Adam unto Joseph. *Lond.* 1614.
STC 12975

172. A brief *Discourse* containing reasons why Catholiques refuse to go to Church. *Dovvay* 1580. 8.
STC 19394
173. *Disputation* betwixt Nicol Burne/ and the Ministres of Scotland/ about Religion/ *Par.* 1581. 8.
STC 4124 (in Scots dialect)
- 174a. Holy Meditations on the seuen Penitentiall *Psalmes* by G.D.V. Londen/ 1612.
STC 7373.6 (Guillaume du Vair)
175. Meditations for instruction and consolation. Lond. 1612. 8.
STC 5936 (William Cowper)
- 174b. Meditation upon the seven Penitentiall *Psalmes*. Lonn. 1612. 8.
STC 7373.6 (Guillaume du Vair)
- 174c. Item Vpon 7. Consolatorie *Psalmes* Ibidem.
STC 7373.6 (Guillaume du Vair)
176. Melchisedch A Tr of Melchisedecke Lond. 1591. 4.
STC 3890.5 (Hugh Broughton)
177. Our Ladies Psalter. *Ant.* 1600. 8.
STC 17546 (Thomas Worthington)
178. Our Lady hath a new Sonne. At *Dovvay* 1565. 8.
STC 18326 (C.N.)
179. A relation to the Lords of the Parliament upon the murder of Henry the fourth. Lond. 1611. 4.
STC 11374.5 (Jean Loiseau de Tourval)
180. Eight Sermons on Luke and James. 1614.
STC 12861 (Sebastian Benefield)
181. The sinne against the Holy Ghost/ 1515.
STC 12861 (Sebastian Benefield, 1616)
182. A Commentarie on Amos/ *Oxon.* 1613. 9.
STC 12861 (Sebastian Benefield)
183. The hauen of the afflicted. *Oxon.* 1615. /p. 297/
STC 12861 (Sebastian Benefield)
184. Math. Suthvii His Challenge of the Romish Church/ with his answer to the exceptions/ etc. *Lond.* 1602.
STC 23454 (Matthew Sutcliffe)
185. Synodus *Dordracensis* The iudgment of the Synode of *Dort*/ and sentence against Cont. Vorstius. *Lond.* 1619.
STC 7066)
186. The fabulous foundation of the Popedome. *Oxon.* 1519.
STC 1938 (Richard Bernard)
187. Translation of certaine Tables of hereticks made by William Bishop Rurimunde. *Ant.* 1565. 8.
STC 15653
188. Two little works defensiuē of our Religion 1604. 4.
STC 3892.5 (Hugh Broughton)

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189. EDw. *Ayscu* A Historie containing the warres creaties marriages/ and other occurents betweene England etc. Scotland/ *Lond.* 1607
STC 1014
190. Answere of an Italian Doctor of Diuinitie concerning the Censure of Paulus the first against the Venetians/ *Lond.* 1606. 4.
STC 19482
191. Jean *Bede* The right and prerogatiue of Kings translated by Rob. Sherwood. *Lond.* 1612. 8.
STC 1782
192. Great Brittaines generall ioyes/ *Lond.* 1613. 4.
STC 18587 (Anthony Nixon)
193. S. Jo. *Cheek* Of the hurt of sedition. 1569. 8.
STC 5110 (Sir John Cheke)
194. Tho. *Clay* A discourse of the well ordering of an honourable Estate. *Lond.* 1619. 8.
STC 5317.5
195. Will. *Dickinson* The Kings right. *Lond.* 1619.
STC 6821
196. An *Edict* published by the States concerning Priests and Jesuits/ etc. *Lond.* 1612.
STC 18457
197. S. *Egerton* The doctrine of subiection to God etc. the King. *Lond.* 1616.
STC 20337.5 (Robert Pricke)
198. Ant. de *Gueuara* The Diall of Princes/ with Additions. *Lond.* 1619.
STC 12430
199. Peter de la *Marteliere* The Argument in Court of Parliament in Paris for the Rector and Vniuerisitie *Lond.* 1612. 4.
STC 15140
200. Jo. *Maynard* She twelue Wonders of the world. *Lond.* 1611.
STC 17749
201. Tho. *Nordon* Against the Rebels in the North. 8.
STC 18681 (Thomas Norton)
- 202a,b. Tho. *Pots* Discouery Witches in the Countie of Lancashire/ etc. *Lond.* 1613.
Arraigement and tryal of Witches at York. *Ibid.*
STC 20138
203. Dan. *Price* Lamentations for the veath of Prince Henry/ in two Sermons. *Lond.* 1613. 4.
STC 20295
204. Maries memoriall. *Lond.* 1617.
STC 20297 (Daniel Price)

- 205a. Ferd. *Pulton* Abridgement of the Statutes. 1606.
STC 9547
 206. An Abstract of Penall Statuts. Lond. 1600. 4.
STC 9532 (Ferdinando Pulton)
 207. An Abridgement of all the Statuts. Lond. 1612.
STC 9549 (Ferdinando Pulton)
 - 205b. A Kallender comprehending the effect of all the Statuts. Lond. 1606.
STC 9547 (Ferdinando Pulton)
 208. Will. *Rastall* A Collection of the Statutes now in force. Lond. 1603.
STC 9322 (William Rastell)
 209. *Remonstrances* By de Kings Maiesties Embassador unto the French K
and D his Mother concerning the marriages with Spaine. Lond. 1615.
STC 9237 (Sir Thomas Edmondes)
 210. Will. *Segar* Of Honour Militarie and Ciuil. 1602. 4. Lond.
STC 22164
 211. Ric. *Verstegan* Of the Antiquities of England. *Ant.* 1605. 4. /p. 298/
STC 21361
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LIBRI HISTORICI.

212. Hier. *Bignon* Of the Election the Popes. *Lond.* 1605. 4.
STC 3058
213. Ralph. *Brook Yorke* A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings/ Princes/
Dukes/ etc. together with their armes/ wiues and children. *Lond.*
1619.
STC 3832 (Ralph Brooke)
214. *Chron* Anglice *Pr* Insomuch/ by one sometimes Schoolmaster of
S. Albons. *Lond.* 1502. fol.
STC 9997
215. *Chron.* Anon. Anglice *Pr.* For that in the account of the world vnto the
time of Edward the 4.
possibly STC 12766.7 (Sir John Hardyng, 1543, 8vo)
216. Hen. *Clapham* A Chronologicall discourse touching the Church/ Christ/
Antichrist/ Gog & Magog. *Lond.* 1609. 4.
STC 5336
217. A *Declaration* of great harme done by fire/ tempesto and inundations
in Germany/ *Lond.* 1613. 4.
STC 10511.7
218. *Description* of the vnited Provinces. *Lond.* 1615. 4.
STC 18437
219. Clem. *Edmonds* Obseruations vpon Cesars Comment. *Lond.* 1604.
STC 7489 (Sir Clement Edmondes)
220. The *Estates*, Empires/ and Principalities of the world/ translated by Edw.
Grimston. *Lond.* 1615.
STC 988 (Pierre d'Avity)

221. Jo. *Leo Aphricanus* His Geographically description of Africa. *Lond.* 1600.
STC 15841
222. Gu *Martyn* The History and liues of the Kings of England. *Lond.* 1615.
STC 17527
- 223, 224. *Massacre*. A narration of the *Massacre* at Paris. *Lond.* 1618. 4. and
Lat. Lond. 1619. 4.
STC 3950, 3949
- 111b. James *Meddus* Narration of the Princes Electors greatnesse Couuntry/
and receaning of her Highnesse *Lond.* 1613. 8
STC 22125
- 225a. Sebast. *Michael* The admirable History of a Magician. *Lond.* 8.
STC 17854 (Sébastien Michaelis)
- 225b. A Discourse on Spirits. *Ibid.*
STC 17854 (Sébastien Michaelis)
226. A. *Mundy* A briefe Chronicle of the successe of times. *Lond.* 1611. 8.
STC 18263
227. The *Proceedings* Against the late Traytors. *Lond.* 1606. 4.
STC 11619a.5
228. Sr Walt. *Ravvleigh* Hist. of the World. *Lond.* 1614.
STC 1614 (Sir Walter Raleigh)
229. *Relation* of the peace between Denmarke and Sweden. *Lond.* 1613.
STC 5193
230. Lazaro *Soranzo* The great Ottoman translated by Abraham Hartwell.
Lond. 1603. 4.
STC 22931
231. Jo. *Stovv* The Annales of England. *Lond.* 1600.
STC 23335 (John Stow)
232. Continued by Edmund Howes. *Lond.* 1615.
STC 23338 (John Stow)
233. A Suruay of London/ with an apol. *Lond.* 1603. 4.
STC 23343 (John Stow)
234. *Teuerton* The lamentable burning of *Theuetton*/ *Lond.* 1612.
STC 10025
235. The Triumphs of Nassaw/ by Will. Shute. *Lod.* 1603.
STC 17676 (Jan Janszn Orlers, 1613)
236. Rich. *Zouche* The Doue of Cosmographie. *Lond.* 1613. 8. /p. 299/
STC 26130 (Richard Zouch)

LIBRI ETHICI.

237. Tho. *Cooper* The sacred mystery of the gouernment of the thoughte.
Lond. 1619. 8.
STC 5706
238. The mystery of Mitchcraft. *Lond.* 1617. 8.
STC 5701 (Thomas Cooper)

239. *Detraction* The spirit of detraction coniured and conuicted. *Lond.* 1611. 4.
STC 24622 (William Vaughan)
240. A Manuel of morall discourses. *Lond.* 1611. 8.
STC 24209, trans. James Maxwell)
241. Jo. *Minshevv* The guide into Tongues. *Lond.* 1611. 8.
STC 17947,5 (John Minsheu)
242. Tho *Sparkes* Brothery perswasion to vnsty and vniformity/ etc. *Lond.*
1607. 4.
STC 23020 (Thomas Sparke)
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LIBRI MEDICI ET
PHYSICI.

- 243a. Collections of English Medecins/ etc. *Lond.* 1615. 8.
STC 3752 (Timothie Bright)
- 243b. A *Collection* of Medecins growing for the most part in our English
Clunat against certaine diseases. *Lond.* 1615. 8.
STC 3752 (Timothie Bright)
244. *Eye-sight* A Tr for the preservation of the sight gathered out of Fernelius
and Riolanus. *Oxon.* 1616. 8.
STC 1196 (Walter Bailey)
245. A *Warning* for Tobacconists. *Lond.* 1602. 4.
STC 12571 (Philaretus)
246. Jo. *Wright* Of the Passions of the minde/ and of Clymactericall yeares.
Londen/1614. 4.
STC 26040 (Thomas Wright)
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LIBRI PHILOSOPHICI
ET VARIARVM ARTIVM.

247. TWo Arithmetically Tables for casting account/ buying and selling/
Londen/1615.
No matching record found
- 248a. Mr *Blundeuil* The Theoriques of the seuen Planets. *Lond.* 1612. 4. /p. 300/
STC 3160 (Thomas Blundeville)
- 248b. A brief extract of Maginus his Theoriques/ etc. *Ibid.*
STC 3160
249. Jo. *Chambers* Against iudiciall Astrologie. *Lond.* 1601.
STC 4941 (John Chamber)
250. Will *Colson* General treasury or perpetual repertorie with his Arithme-
tique/ *Lond.* 1612. 4.
STC 5584

251. Leon. *Digges* Prognostication. Lond. 1564. 4.
STC 435.41
 252. *Stratoticos Lond.* 1579. 4.
STC 6848 (Leonard Digges)
 - 253a. A Mathematicall discourse of Geometricall Solids.
STC 6858 (Thomas Digges, 1571)
 - 253b. Tho. *Digges* Pantometria l. 3. Lond. 1519 with sundry additions. Ibid.
STC 6858
 - 254a. Jo. *Napair* A description of the admirable Table of Logarythmes. Londen.
1616. in 8.
STC 18351 (John Napier)
 255. Will. *Pratt* The Arithymeticall Jewell. Lond. 1617. 8.
STC 20187
 256. Sam *Purchas* Microcosmus/ or the History of man. Lond. 1619. 8.
STC 20507
 257. His Pilgrimagt. Lond. 1613.
STC 20505 (Samuel Purchas)
 258. Enlarged with additions. Lond. 1614.
STC 2506 (Samuel Purchas)
 259. Rob *Robinson* The art of pronounciation. Lond. 1617. 8.
STC 21122
 260. Jo. *Sanfordus* Entrance to the Spanish tongue. Lond. 1605.
STC 21735 (John Sanford, Italian tongue), STC 21739 (Spanish tongue,
1611)
 261. Paul *Wentworth* The Miscellanie of Dirizons Londen 1615.
STC 25244
 262. Ric. *Witt* Arithmeticall questions. Lond. 1613.
STC 25931
 263. Edw. *Wirpht* The description and vse of the spheare. Lond. 1613.
STC 26021 (Edward Wright)
 264. A Schort Treatise uf Dialling. Lond. 1614. 4.
STC 26022.5
 - 264b. An instrumentall Table to sinde the part proportionall. Lond. 1616.
STC 18351 (John Napier)
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LIBRI POETICI ET

MVSICI.

265. *Andromeda* Liberata A iustifcation of that Poeme/ Lond. 1614. 4.
STC 4977 (George Chapman)
- 266a. Jo. *Bulle* Music on the Virginals/ Lond.
STC 4251.5 (John Bull: 'Parthenia'; the third element, composed by
William Byrd, is not recorded here)
267. Dauids Musike/ Lond. 1616.
STC 1935 (Richard Bernard)

268. Will *Drummond* His Poems. Edinburgh 1616. 4.
STC 7255
269. *Kings of England in verses*, M S 4.
See note to 217, above; of the medieval verse chronicles of the kings, that by John Lydgate is the most published in the sixteenth century (see Linne R. Mooney, 'Lydgate's Kings of England and another Verse Chronicle of the Kings, *Viator*, 20 (1989), 255–89; I am grateful to Professor Julia Boffey for this reference). A possible case of scribal publication.
- 269b. Orlando *Gibbons* Musick oon the Virginals. Lond.
STC 4251.5 (Orlando Gibbons: 'Parthenia'; the third element, composed by William Byrd, is not recorded here)
270. *The Marriage Of the two great Princes Fredericke / and Elizabeth*. Lond. 1613.
STC 11358
271. James Maxvvell D. Elizabeths looking glasse of grace and glory Lond. 1612. 8.
STC 17705 (James Maxwell)
272. Life and death of Prince Henry/ Lond. 1612 with other Poema Ibid. 4.
STC 17701 (James Maxwell)
273. A monument of remembrance erected in Albion. Lond. 1613. 4.
STC 17703 (James Maxwell)
274. *Melismata* Musical phausies. Lond. 1611. 4.
STC 20758 (Thomas Ravenscroft)
275. *The Psalmes* in English metre/ differing from that which is now/ printed long ago etc. Londen.
Probably the translation of Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, printed frequently between 1569 and 1604.
276. Walt. *Quin* Memory of Bernard Stuart Lord d'Aubigni. Lond. 1619. 4.
STC 20566
277. *The Princes Epitaph*. Lond. 1612.
Possibly STC 4974 (George Chapman), An epicede or funeral song for the death of Henry Prince of Wales', London, 1612, 1613, 4to.
278. Jo. *Speidels* Geometricall extraction/ Lond. 1617. 4. /p/ 301/
STC 23068
279. Ant. *Stafford* The life and death of the Cynick Diogenes. Lond. 1615. 8.
STC 23128
280. Niobe dissolued into a Nilus. Lond. 1611.
STC 23130 (Anthony Stafford)
281. Meditations ad resolutions. Londen 1612. Ibid.
STC 23127 (Anthony Stafford)
280. Staffords Niobe/ or age of Tears. Lond. 1611. 8.
STC 23130
282. Translation of Barthas. Lond. Lond. 1605. 4.
STC 291 (Guillaume de Salluste, sieur du Bartas)
283. Tobacco tortured/ with other Poems. Lond.
STC 6436 (John Deacon)

284. Jo. *Warde* The first ser of English Madrigals Lond. 1613. 4.
STC 25023 (John Ward)
285. Jo. *Webster* Elegie for Prince Henry. Lond. 1613.
STC 25174
286. Ceo. *Withers* Eclogues. Lond. 1614. 8.
STC 25921 (George Wither, 1615)
287. *Epithalamia* Lond. 1612.
STC 25901 (George Wither, 1613)
288. Prince Henries obsequies. Londen. 1612.
STC 25915

FINIS BIBLIOTHECAE

Britannicae.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

‘LUSITANI PERITI’: PORTUGUESE MEDICAL AUTHORS, NATIONAL IDENTITY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY IN THE LATE RENAISSANCE

In a recent article on Portuguese scholarship in Oxford, Thomas Earle set out to investigate the role of Portuguese scholarship in forming minds in early modern Europe. He acknowledged that books published in Portugal itself had very little impact abroad; authors relied on republication by members of the book trade who consecrated part of their activities to the dissemination of such books in different market zones. These were in the main speculative publishers operating out of one of the great centres of printing (Antwerp, Basle, Paris, Lyon, Frankfurt, Venice). There were also Portuguese writers of Latin works (principally in the higher faculties of theology, law and medicine) who found a way of being published directly outside their native country. Hieronymus Osorius (Jerónimo Osório)¹ is a theologian who offers a case in point of both these forms of diffusion, his *De gloria*, for example, being speculatively reprinted in Florence by Laurentius Torrentinus and Basle by Petrus Perna after being published by Ludovicus Rodericus in Lisbon in 1542.²

Osorius is not described as ‘Lusitanus’ on the titlepages of all of his works, although he may have been sufficiently eminent to have been recognized as Portuguese without the addition of the denominator. But another figure, Zacutus (Zacuto), whose name is always attached to ‘Lusitanus’ clearly recognized Portuguese scholars (most of them

¹ I have referred to Portuguese authors in their Latin form, adding the vernacular form to their first mention only. I wish here to express my gratitude to Joanna Weinberg, who read a draft and made very helpful suggestions.

² Thomas Earle, ‘Portuguese scholarship in Oxford in the early modern period: the case of Jerónimo Osório (Hieronymus Osorius)’, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 81 (2004), 1039–49; on Perna’s speculative instincts, see Ian Maclean, ‘Philosophical books in European markets, 1570–1630: the case of Ramus’, in *New perspectives in Renaissance thought*, ed. Sarah Hutton and John Henry, London: Duckworth, 1990, pp. 253–63. Earle states that one Italian publisher, Giordano Ziletti, whose works had an international diffusion, specialized in printing Latin works by post-Tridentine Portuguese theologians.

physicians) as a coherent group whom he lists separately as 'Lusitani periti', distinguishing them from 'juniores elegantes et docti' (a very nearly complete list of prominent early modern medical writers, including some Spaniards); these lists appear in the preliminaries to Zacutus Lusitanus's complete works which appeared posthumously in 1644. It is worthy of note that although his great-grandfather was born in Salamanca, and he himself was driven into exile, Zacutus still called himself 'Lusitanus'.³ What did he mean by this? And what was the function of denominators indicating national or civic affiliation on titlepages? Why were they put there by publishers and what did the readers of their books make of them? To answer these questions, I shall first look at the history of their use in learned circles in Europe from the Middle Ages onwards; then ask what was the relationship between ethnicity (or place of birth) and character, before turning to the denominator 'Lusitanus' and its use by émigrés and bibliographers in the rather special case of medicine. This will lead me to give a brief account of the character of Portuguese (or rather Iberian) medicine as evinced by scholarly publications available in Europe. I shall finally turn to Zacutus's select list of 'Lusitani periti', and trace their presence in the Book Fairs, in medical bibliographies, and in libraries. This will allow me, I hope, to say something from a European and bibliographical perspective about the specific character of Portuguese medical writing in the late Renaissance as an example of a tradition incorporating a national identity.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DENOMINATOR IN LEARNED DISCOURSE AND ON TITLE PAGES

From the very beginning of the age of print, the birthplace of the printer or publisher (as opposed to author) was often given either in the incipit or the colophon, sometimes by nationality, sometimes by town. Not surprisingly in view of the birthplace of printing itself, this was most often Germany or a German town. The practice of producing title pages themselves (a very rare feature of manuscript production) developed slowly over the first half-century of the age of printing; it is said by Margaret Smith in her monograph on the subject to be a consequence

³ On Zacutus (1575–1642), see Meyer Kayserling, *Bibliotheca española-portuguesa-judaica*, Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1961, pp. 173f. *The Jewish encyclopedia*, s.v. Osorius is included in the list of 'Lusitani periti'.

of the realisation by printers and publishers that they had to advertise their productions to an unknown public who would only be inclined to purchase a given book if they had some information about its content. The identification of authors by birthplace does not always occur on these title pages, and is only one of several pieces of information which might be given about them, their university degrees and their occupation being others.⁴

If one goes back to the medieval world of scribal culture, there are several contexts in which national or civic origin is declared. The first of these is in the nations of medieval universities: nearly all students belonged to a nation, which was determined in various ways: by birthplace, by place of residence, by language. This determination soon however lost complete coherence: nations were extended to encompass neighbouring lands, or were rather arbitrarily added to existing groups. The Portuguese, for example, were conjoined with all Southern Europeans in Padua, and with Western Spaniards in Salamanca; they were given separate status in Bologna, and were lumped together with the nation of Bourges in Paris.⁵ In the case of university teachers, a geographical attribute was used as a way of disambiguating the ubiquitous use of Christian names or names in religion as principal designators: John Duns Scotus (who was probably Irish), Petrus Hispanus (who was a Portuguese born in Lisbon),⁶ Gilbertus Anglus being obvious examples. In Italy, it was most common to use cities and towns to identify a writer: Paul of Venice, Gregory of Rimini, Pietro d'Abano, Gentile da Forligno. Noble titles associated with fiefs were also used. The use of cognomina (nicknames or surnames) grew up principally in France and Italy, Abaelardus being an early example; in England and elsewhere, it became dominant after 1300.⁷

⁴ Margaret M. Smith, *The title page: its early development 1460–1510*, New Castle, Del.: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2000, esp. pp. 91–2, 95, 127, 129, 132. See also Ursula Rautenberg, 'Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchtitelblatts in der Inkunabelzeit in Deutschland, den Niederlanden und Venedig—quantitative und qualitative Studien', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 62 (2007), 1–105.

⁵ P. Kibre, *The nations in the mediaeval universities*, Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948, esp. 3–28, 116–17, 156–8; Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'Colleges and nations', in *A history of the University in Europe: volume II: Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. H. de Ridder-Symoens, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 158–64.

⁶ The medical writer, later Pope John XXI; also known as Petrus Julianus Ulyssiponensis and Petrus Julianus patria Lusitanus.

⁷ C.W.E. Bardsley, *English surnames: their sources and signification*, Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1969.

Identification by place name was later used not just to disambiguate, but rather to declare something about the author, in the same way that the membership of a nation in a university declared an affiliation to a given group. The so-called *accessus ad auctores* used by lecturers in medieval universities may have played a role in the rise of this practice. This mode of introduction to a given author's work included biographical information and material about the moral character of the writer, as well an account of the genre in which he was writing, his academic predecessors, and the utility of his work.⁸ A further advance was made when the topographical affiliation was taken to connote either an intellectual or a moral value, and became in rhetorical terms an 'epitheton ornans'. Here, the most active part of Europe was Italy; from the fifteenth century if not before, the proud announcement of the civic origins of writers is a clear declaration of cultural capital.⁹ There are many expressions not only of the superiority of given Italian towns but also that of Italy over all other nations in Europe; this was resented particularly keenly by Germans in the first half of the sixteenth century, who set about rehearsing the scholarly glories of their own nation in retaliation.¹⁰ The culmination of such patriotic feeling is to be found in the three volumes published in 1620 by Melchior Adam on the lives of Renaissance German theologians, jurists and physicians, which were to inspire other similar ventures elsewhere in Europe, and eventually in Portugal.¹¹

⁸ On *accessus* in a medical context, see Ian Maclean, *Logic signs and nature in the Renaissance: the case of learned medicine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 210–2.

⁹ For the early use of this term, see Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *La reproduction*, Paris: Minuit, 1973.

¹⁰ A recent work on doctors and the celebration of local history is that by Nancy G. Siraisi, *History, medicine, and the traditions of Renaissance learning*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007.

¹¹ Melchior Adam, *Vitae Germanorum theologorum [medicorum, jurisconsultorum et politicorum]*, 3 vols, Heidelberg: Jonas Rosa and Johann Georg Geyder, 1620; see also Ian Maclean, 'The medical republic of letters before the Thirty Years War', *Journal of Intellectual History*, (2008), 15–30. A comprehensive bibliography of works celebrating authors by nation and municipality is given in Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 4 vols, Lisbon: Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca, 1741–9, vol. 1, b2^v ff. The widespread attribution of topographical origins to writers does not seem to be a general feature of title pages before the middle of the sixteenth century, and in some societies takes even longer to become current: Thomas Hobbes 'Malmesburiensis' strikes an odd note even in the 1640s, when it was first used (on the second edition of his *De cive*: one wonders how many of the local Dutch readers would have known where Malmesbury was). I am grateful to Noel Malcolm for this information.

'LUSITANUS'

The case of Portugal is not uncomplicated. As in the example of Petrus Hispanus, later Pope John XXI, the denominator can denote the whole Iberian Peninsula, and this continued to be the case up to the eighteenth century.¹² This usage makes the identification of writers as specifically Portuguese sometimes dubious, especially where a given bibliographer or scholar has an interest in claiming a given writer for the Portuguese nation. The denominator 'Lusitanus' is however unambiguous, and civic denominators such as 'Olyssiponensis' or 'Eborensis' yet more precise. Their use on works of scholarship in Latin certainly antedates the 1530s, but only sporadically. In the incunable period, the rhetorician Arias Barbosa adds the denominator to his name in his annotations to Antonius Nebrissensis's *Introductiones latinae*.¹³ It is also used by some civilians, such as Bonifacius Lusitanus, for a book on legal maxims published in 1498 in Seville, and Ludovicus Tessira, for a commentary on part of the Digest published in 1507 in Venice.¹⁴ These early uses, the first of three kinds of use I wish to mention, followed from the medieval disambiguating use of topography, and this may be the neutral use to which 'Lusitanus' is put later by scholars publishing in Spain and further afield, such as Petrus Vaezius (Pedro Vaz) whose various works published in Spain all bear the denominator 'Lusitanus'.¹⁵

A second use found in slightly later writers seems more like the affirmation of pride in their nation's scholarly credentials and national character. Two early humanist authors with European connections and reputations who describe themselves, or are described, as 'Lusitani' are [Angelus] Andreas Resendus (André de Resende) and Damianus a Goes (Damião de Góis); Resendus in a polemical work published in Basle in

¹² T.F. Earle, 'Lusitanus or Hispanus? Dilemmas for early modern Portuguese writers of Latin and their readers', paper delivered at the Research Symposium 'Imagining Iberia', King's College, London, 7 December 2007.

¹³ *Introductiones latinae (cum commento)*, Salamanca: no printer's name, 1495; Barcelona: Johann Rosembach, 1497. See also his *In verba M. Fabii Quid? Quod et reliqua*, Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1511.

¹⁴ Bonifacius, *Peregrina*, Seville: Meinardus Ungut and Stanislaus Polonus for Lazarus de Gazanis et Socii, 1498; Tessira, *In subtilem perutilem et necessarium Digestorum titulum de reb[is] dub[iis] commentaria*, Venice: Bernardino Stagnino, 1507.

¹⁵ *Commentarius medicus multa rei medicae subobscura lucidans*, Madrid: Alphonsus Gomezus, 1576; *De epidemia pestilenti nostris temporibus libellus*, Valencia: Petrus Patri-cius Mey, 1601. Other works are listed by Nicolás António, *Bibliotheca hispana nova*, 2 vols, Madrid: Joachimus de Ibarra, 1783–8, 2.283. Vaez was a relation of Castro.

1531, Goes, an 'eques lusitanus',¹⁶ in a collection of poems addressed to him in Antwerp in 1530 and in his history of Portuguese activity in India which appeared in Louvain in 1539: events which themselves may have provided a spur to the expression of national pride in what was perceived by the Portuguese as their nation's peculiar flair for discovery.¹⁷ After 1540, the use of 'Lusitanus' became very widespread, and may reflect the uptake of the example of these humanists by other Portuguese authors who sought to express pride in their nation in their wake.

A third distinct use of 'Lusitanus' implies Jewish extraction, and seems to have been initiated in medical circles in 1536 by Joannes Rodericus Castelli Albi (João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco), who abandoned this name for Amatus Lusitanus some time in or after 1543; also in 1536, Abraham Zacutus, the forebear of the more famous Zacutus Lusitanus, described himself as 'Lusitanus' in a Prognostication published in Ferrara, even though he was born in Salamanca and only later moved to Portugal.¹⁸ Amatus Lusitanus (1511–68), the most celebrated Portuguese medical writer of his day, was described as early as 1557 as 'semi-Judaeus' by the botanist Pierantonio Matthioli, whose works he had been so presumptuous as to attack.¹⁹ These Jewish doctors may also be making a point about Portugal's (and Spain's) particular achievements in the sphere of both of medical humanism and of practical medicine (i.e. pathology, therapy, and regimen, as opposed to 'theoria', which

¹⁶ There is one prior example of the use of this title in F.J. Norton, *A descriptive catalogue of printing in Spain and Portugal, 1507–20*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, p. 508 (P 11: Estevao Cavaleiro Nova grammatices, c. 1516).

¹⁷ *Farrago carminum clarissimorum virorum ad Damianum a Goes Equitem Lusitanum*, [Antwerp], 1530; Angelus Andreas Resendus, *Carmen eruditum et elegans adversus stolidos politioris literaturae oblatratores*, Basel: Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopus, 1531; Damianus a Goes, *Commentarii rerum gestarum in India citra Gangem a Lusitanis anno 1538*, Louvain: Rutgerus Rescius, 1539. On the Portuguese flair for discovery, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's house divided 1490–1700*, London: Allen Lane, 2003, p. 70, quoting Pedro Nunes, and Camões, *The Lusads*, Canto V stanza 23. I am grateful to Tom Earle for these references. The botanists Garzias ab Horto and Christophorus a Costa may also have helped contribute to the reputation of the Portuguese nation for discovery. See also Eleazar Gutwirth, 'Amatus Lusitanus and the location of sixteenth-century cultures', in *Cultural intermediaries: Jewish intellectuals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David B. Ruderman and Giuseppe Veltri, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, pp. 216–38. (223) (on the Chinese root).

¹⁸ Kayserling, *Bibliotheca española-portuguesa-judaica*, pp. 173f.; *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. Zacuto.

¹⁹ Winfried Schleiner, *Medical ethics in the Renaissance*, Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1995, pp. 78–80. See also Eleazar Gutwirth, 'Amatus Lusitanus'.

consists principally in physiology), to which I shall return; they may also be indicating that the majority of learned physicians in Portugal if not the whole Peninsula are of Jewish extraction; or they may be referring to themselves as members of a particular group who all spoke the same vernacular.²⁰ The presence of New Christians not only in medicine but also in law and theology is well attested. In spite of laws excluding those of Jewish blood from certain religious orders (notably the Jesuits), there are well documented cases of exceptions being made; and Rodericus a Castro (Rodrigo de Castro), who freely makes reference to his family in his works, refers to its members who became famous Canon Lawyers.²¹ It may be that as a social group, Jewish New Christians were particularly ambitious academically, and sought advancement through the traditional professions. Together with their merchant counterparts, they were also an international group by the end of the sixteenth century, having strong family ties in a range of centres of commerce (Amsterdam, Hamburg, Livorno, Venice, Salonika, to name but a few). Two medical authors of Jewish extraction whom we shall meet again, Rodericus a Castro and Zacutus Lusitanus, were moreover in contact with each other; the 'Lusitani' resident in European ports constituted a network not unlike that of the republic of letters, if more limited in membership.²² Somewhat later, as the Jesuit Antonio Viera pointed

²⁰ See the reference in David B. Ruderman, 'The Community of converso physicians: race, medicine and the shaping of a cultural identity', in his *Jewish thought and scientific discovery in early modern Europe*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995, p. 290, to the list prepared for Dr Harry Friedenwald by Yakov Malkiel in 1940 of the 239 doctors tried by the Inquisition between 1550 and 1800.

²¹ Luis García Ballaster, *Medicine in a multicultural society: Christian, Jewish and Muslim practitioners in the Spanish kingdoms, 1222–1610*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001, IX 156–91; 'The Inquisition and minority medical practitioners in Counter-Reformation Spain', p. 159; J.T. Lanning, *The royal protomedicato: the regulation of the medical profession in the Spanish Empire*, ed. J.J. Tepask, Durham, NC: Duke University press, 1985, pp. 175–2000; Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese nation: conversos and community in early modern Amsterdam*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997, pp. 1–37; Castro, *Universa muliebrium morborum medicina*, 2 parts, Hamburg: Zacharias Hertelius, 1662, 1.34, 48, 343.

²² Zacuto, *Opera*, Lyon: Jean-Antoine Hugueta, 1644, 1.c4^v–d6^r; Ian Maclean, 'The medical republic of letters before the Thirty Years War'. Claims about Jewish extraction and Jewish scholarly traditions may have been taken too far. The ideologically-driven desire of certain historians to claim a specifically Jewish contribution to European culture has led to some dubious appropriation of themes and individuals to their cause; scepticism, rational ethics, and enlightened secularisation are the areas which have been attributed to a specifically Jewish current of thought. Franciscus Sanchez and Michel de Montaigne, both products of Christian humanist education who showed no sign of being aware of their marrano extraction (if indeed they were of such extraction), are two

out in the mid-seventeenth century, 'in popular parlance, among the European nations, 'Portuguese' is confused with 'Jew'.²³

A combination of elements from all these senses marks the use of 'Lusitanus' by scholars and bibliographers. Zacutus was influential in combining the Jewish connotations of the denominator with the other senses. His list of 'Lusitani periti' to which I have already alluded extends beyond the faculty of medicine, and contains the names of scholars who are not of Jewish extraction, and scholars of Portuguese extraction who are living abroad (in one case, Emmanuel Gometius, the author describes himself not as 'Lusitanus' but rather 'Antuerpensis').²⁴ After 1640, it seems that bibliographers of Portuguese publications use the term in this extended sense. The culminating work of this kind is Diogo Barbosa Machado's *Bibliotheca lusitana* of 1741–9. In his introduction, he lists all his predecessors who produced general, national and civic bibliographies and specialist bibliographies relating to religious orders and subjects (the list runs to over five hundred titles). The section entitled 'Bibliothecarios' lists no less than twelve prior works dealing exclusively with Portuguese authors, six still in manuscript, and a further group of works dedicated to Portuguese writers belonging to various religious orders. Barbosa Machado is happy to adopt as 'Lusitani' all the figures who had declared themselves as Jewish in Northern cities; and he records also all Portuguese professors who have held chairs at universities outside their native land.²⁵ His undertaking, like those of

figures who have been annexed in the course of the twentieth century to this current, together with Isaac La Peyrère, the native Genevan Calvinist author of *Praeadamita*. See Richard H. Popkin, *The history of scepticism from Savanarola to Bayle*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. Ruderman, 'The Community of converso physicians: race, medicine and the shaping of a cultural identity' shows himself to be sceptical of some of the claims made by Popkin and others which he records.

²³ Cited by Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese nation*, p. 13; but see the antisemitic text of Ludwig von Höningk, *Medicaster Apella oder Juden Artzt* (1631), quoted by Schleiner, *Medical ethics in the Renaissance*, p. 82, who does not seem to know that Fonseca, Amatus, Nunnus, Rodrigo de Castro, Thomas a Veiga, and Valverde are all new Christians. Schleiner, *Medical ethics in the Renaissance*, p. 84, shows that Jakob Martini, author of *Apella medicaster bullatus oder Judenarzt* of 1636 plays on the double meaning of the word 'Lusitanus'.

²⁴ Bibliographers comment on this: see Nicolás Antonio, Rafael Casalbón y Geli, Juan Antonio Pellécér y Pilares, Tomás Sánchez, *Bibliotheca hispana nova, sive: Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD. ad MDCLXXXIV. floruerunt notitia*, Madrid: heirs of Joachin de Ibarra, 1783–8, fol., i.349.

²⁵ D2^r. The list of thirteen names includes that of 'Lazaro Ribeiro' who taught at Montpellier: this is almost certainly the Frenchman Lazare de Rivière.

his immediate predecessors in Portugal, seems to have been in part inspired by the founding in Lisbon of the Academia Real da Historia in 1720, although it is obvious that pride in the published achievements of the nation antedates this foundation which is itself an expression of it. His work was continued by Jorge Cardoso, whose manuscript notes passed into the hands of the continuators of the Iberian bibliography of Nicolás Antonio; their work appeared between 1783 and 1788 with the title *Bibliotheca hispana nova*, and is the most comprehensive available inventory of post-medieval Iberian writers, as well as containing a great deal of generally accurate bibliographical material and a critical treatment of previous bibliographers.²⁶ 'Hispanus' is used here (as was frequently the case) as an inclusive term for the whole Peninsula; but Antonio's continuators are scrupulous in describing authors where appropriate as 'Lusitanus', often using Zacutus as authority for the national attribution in the case of medical writers. They also record Jewish extraction (he calls Zacutus 'Hebreus') and Jewish religious affiliation, with clear distaste, and claim that there is a bias among 'Lusitani' in favour of the writings of their countrymen or race.²⁷ By the later part of the eighteenth century, then, the denominator 'Lusitanus' had an extended reference—the geographical space of Portugal, those who live there, and those who while living abroad could be cited to enhance the scholarly prestige of the Portuguese nation regardless of race.

ETHNICITY, GEOGRAPHY AND CHARACTER

These uses of the denominator 'Lusitanus' prompt the question: what do claims about birth and upbringing in a given region or nation mean to the individual who describes himself, or the publisher who describes him, or the reader who encounters the description on a title page? This issue is especially difficult in the case of the Iberian Peninsula at this time, which may be rather exceptional in the views held there about nationhood and ethnicity. No one could doubt that Spain and

²⁶ Nicolás Antonio, Rafael Casalbón y Geli, Juan Antonio Pellécer y Pilares, Tomás Sánchez, *Bibliotheca hispana nova, sive: Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD. ad MDCLXXXIV. florere notitia*, Madrid: heirs of Joachin de Ibarra, 1783–8, fol. Antonio was first published in 1672. Details of prestigious appointments (e.g. as the personal physician of monarchs or as professor) are also recorded.

²⁷ *Bibliotheca hispana*, 1.1; 2.259: 'Raphael Vaesius [...] laudatur inter huius gentis medicos.'

Portugal had an acute awareness of racial, cultural and religious identity for very obvious reasons.²⁸ This awareness does not however seem to accord with the most common position expressed in philosophical discussions about the characteristics of race and nation in natural philosophy and medicine. I am not of course denying that there were many cases of persecution on grounds of race and national identity throughout medieval Europe, or that there was not a sense of caste which expressed itself in aristocratic endogamy, or that communities defined by given vernaculars shared cultural and political assumptions; my focus here is on scholarly discussion of the effect of environment or birth on character.

Throughout the medieval period, this discussion was conducted in two contexts: on the one hand, in the section of medical theory designated as physiology, part of which was devoted to the study of the non-natural causes (that is, those causes which are in the realm of nature but not to do with the constitution of the body, such as air, food, drink, sleep and vigil, motion and rest, evacuation and repletion); and on the other hand, in the science of physiognomy, which although dedicated to the relationship of the body to mental dispositions, did not develop a theory of racially determined characters.²⁹ The fact that race was not cited as a determinant of character was a feature also of Renaissance thinking, which was influenced by newly available ancient texts, most notably Galen's *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur* and Hippocrates's *Airs, waters, places*. The interaction of soul and body, and other material factors which act on the human being such as region, climate, diet, mode of life, race and sex, came under renewed scrutiny both by physicians and students of physiognomy.³⁰ These material factors offered visual clues to character and mental abilities, but were not however seen as wholly determinant. A much quoted ancient anecdote which makes this point tells of an encounter between

²⁸ See A.A. Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts de pureté de sang en Espagne du XV^e au XVII^e siècle*, Paris: Didier, 1960.

²⁹ Joseph Ziegler, 'The medieval foundation of Renaissance physiognomy', forthcoming; see also his 'Text and context: on the rise of physiognomic thought in the later middle ages', in *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: essays on medieval law, liturgy and literature in honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Yitzak Hen, Turnhout: Brepols, 2001, pp. 159–82; 'Philosophers and physicians on the scientific validity of Latin physiognomy, 1200–1500', *Early Science and Medicine*, 12 (2007), 285–312.

³⁰ Martin Porter, *Windows of the soul: the art of physiognomy in European culture, 1470–1780*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Amatus attributes the humours of the Jewish nation to their diet: see Gutwirth, 'Amatus Lusitanus', 222–3.

Socrates and a physiognomic expert, Zopyrus, who examined Socrates and announced that his appearance gave evidence of a lecherous and stupid disposition. When Socrates's disciples ridiculed this assessment, Socrates took the side of Zopyrus by assuring them that while these were indeed his natural inclinations, he had overcome them by the exercise of his reason.³¹ Geographical and cultural determination was also not absolute: as both Apuleius and Galen point out, Scythians might be stupid as a rule, and Athenians clever, because of their regime of life and the climate under which they lived: but they could cite examples of at least one famous Scythian philosopher, and at least one asinine Athenian.³²

The general rule of geographical determination was not thus invalidated by the exception; and the general rule which applied to the ancient 'Lusitani' (on the authority of Livy and Strabo) was that they were a brave, bellicose and hardy people because of the climate prevailing in the mountainous region in which they lived, and their conditions of life.³³ 'Lusitani' were not, unlike the Athenians, predisposed to academic brilliance; but that did not mean that among them there could not be exceptions. If this was the way the early modern world looked upon race, character and mental dispositions, then all that can be said about the Portuguese scholars of the sixteenth century is that they offer the possibility of a series of micro-histories, in which the designation 'Lusitanus' is either neutral, that is, it does not convey any information about the scholarly nature of the Portuguese in question, or that it is not to be seen as determinant, or else that it implies a certain cultural or ideological mentality arising from a regime of life which may not be relevant to their activities as scholars.

But, as has been shown, there is a racial implication in the word also which does not accord with the medical and natural-philosophical doctrine of the learned world. Whatever was going on in the minds of Iberians does not seem wholly to belong to the traditional mode of thought, even if one can show it to be present in academic treatises which touch on character and race (notably that of Juan Huarte de San

³¹ Cicero, *Disputationes Tusculanae*, 4.80; *de Fato* 5.10.

³² Fontaine, *Physiognomia*, p. 13: 'omnes homines ut plurimum sequi solere inclinationes suas naturales'; Cicero, *Disputationes Tusculanae*, iv.80; Apuleius, *Apologia*, 24.33; Galen, *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. C.G. Kühn, Leipzig: Knoblauch, 1821–33, iv.822. The *Secretum secretorum* attributes the Socrates anecdote to Hippocrates.

³³ Livy, *Periocha*, xli; Strabo 3.232.

Juan, to which I shall presently return). In an article on early modern Spanish medicine, Diego Garcia Guillén charts the 'mentality' of Spanish theologians on the issue of Jewishness, and shows that they believe this to be racially determined, and to possess moral characteristics, such as moral weakness, ambition, and love of novelty (and hence of heresy); views which were justified on the authority of medical texts.³⁴ I have tried to show here that this is not clearly the case, and that the dominant medical doctrine is not wholly supportive of what Guillén chooses to call 'biologism'.

I am sure that much could be said about the sense of the denominator 'Lusitano' in vernacular contexts, such as Camões's *Lusiads*, on which I am not competent to comment; my own narrower focus is on the use of the denominator in the Latin world of scholarship. Even here, I intend my remarks to apply only to medical and natural-historical works. Moreover, I am not sure whether the period of Spanish rule of Portugal between 1580 and 1640 materially affected geographical denominators in the world of scholarship, although it would seem very likely to have had an effect on vernacular publication, especially during the reign of Philip IV. As I have mentioned, 'Lusitanus' can often connote Jewish, but this is not always the case, even when it is used by conversos of themselves. The example of Rodericus a Castro (1564–1627), a successful physician who fled from Portugal in the 1580s, is instructive. He settled in Hamburg where there was a newly-established community of merchants of Portuguese-Jewish extraction who had taken advantage between 1585 and 1595 of Philip II's embargo on Dutch ships to engage in very profitable trade with the Peninsula.³⁵ Rodericus a Castro wrote *inter alia* a remarkable work on medical ethics and a standard work on gynaecology (covering both *theoria* and *practica*). His popularity was such that the Hamburg Senate even allowed him to own a house in the town against the general rule which excluded foreign immigrants from such ownership; he also openly declared his return to the Jewish faith at some point after 1600.³⁶ He continued to designate himself 'Lusitanus' throughout his life, but what he made of the denominator is not altogether clear, as is revealed by the following sentence taken from

³⁴ 'Judaísmo, medicina y mentalidad inquisitorial en la España del siglo XVI', in *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial*, ed. Ángel Alcalá, Barcelona: Ariel, 1984, 328–52.

³⁵ Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese nation*, p. 26.

³⁶ Schleiner, *Medical ethics in the Renaissance*, pp. 51–84.

the first part of his *De morbis mulierum* published in 1603 (in it he is discussing the earliest and latest age at which women can give birth):

Pliny relates that among certain peoples in India that he calls Mandri and Calingae women conceive in their fifties and seventies, but that the former do not conceive before they are eight, and that the latter not after their fortieth year; but because our fellow-countrymen ['*nostri Lusitani*'] (who having travelled all through these regions with a strong and commanding heart and warlike courage and penetrated to their deepest parts, have had sight of very rare things, and have sedulously set all this down in glorious memoirs) have nowhere (as far as I know) left a record of this, it therefore seems more a figment, thought up to appeal to the reader, especially as [women] of such an age no longer have vessels wide enough for blood freely to permeate through them and thus permit conception.³⁷

What are we to make of '*nostri Lusitani*'? Does Rodericus think (like a student of physiognomy or a medical theorist) that the traditional racial characteristics of 'Lusitani' are determined by their climate and mode of life? If that is the case, the fact that he had Jewish ancestors is not necessarily of importance to the formation of character; can he then claim an environmentally induced share in the adventurous spirit of the race known to Livy as 'Lusitani' who had since gone on to show a specific flair for discovery? Or is he merely expressing pride in a nation which had none the less directly caused his flight to Germany and permanent exile there? If Rodericus's use of 'Lusitanus' is indeed an expression of nostalgia, it is not altogether exceptional, for there are later examples of Portuguese Jews in Hamburg who in spite of having been themselves driven in to exile, were none the less willing to act as representatives of the same Kingdom of Portugal whose agents had occasioned their emigration.³⁸ Moreover, the fact that at least one of Rodericus's children born in Hamburg, who became in time an apologist for Jewish doctors, still chose to designate himself 'Lusitanus' might indicate a similar nostalgic affection for Portugal, although it cannot

³⁷ Rodericus a Castro, *Universa muliebrium morborum medicina*, 2 parts, Hamburg: Zacharias Hertelius, 1662, 1.89: 'Plinius refert apud quosdam populos in India quos Mandros et Calingas vocat, foeminas quinquennes septennesque concipere, sed illas octavum vitae annum, has quadragessimum non excedere: sed quia nostri Lusitani (qui forti praepotentique animo, et bellica virtute totas illas regiones peragrarunt, et ad earum intima, penetrarunt, quaeque rariora sibi visa sunt, inclytis monumentis sedulo consecrarunt) hujusque rei nullibi (quod sciam) meminerunt, figmentum potius, et ad forum excogitatum videtur, quippe cum in illa aetate angustiores viae sint, quam ut per eas sanguis possit ad conceptum libere permeare.'

³⁸ Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese nation*, p. 37.

be ruled out that it betokens no more than that Portuguese was his chosen vernacular.³⁹

If however Rodericus was referring to Portugal geographically and in terms of climate, we may link his possible sentiment to the discussion of these factors in Juan Huarte de San Juan's best-selling *Examen de ingenios* of 1575. At one point, Huarte (who has been claimed by Jewish historians as a marrano, on circumstantial evidence) discusses the influence of region on the imagination (in line with the physiognomic and physiological approach set out above); he assimilates the climate of ancient Israel to that of Egypt, and finds a proof of its excellence in the high European reputation of Jewish doctors. Huarte's supporting anecdote concerns François I of France, who having asked the Emperor Charles V to send him a Jewish physician from Spain to cure him of an illness, rejected his services because he was a convert to Christianity, and would have lost the Jew's 'natural ability to cure his disease'.⁴⁰

³⁹ Schleiner, *Medical ethics in the Renaissance*, pp. 55, 80, 85. The Inquisition would not however have seen things in this non-racial way. The Estatutos de limpieza de sangre, which were applied in Portugal as well as in Spain seem to belie it; and the fact that from the time of the forcible baptisms of Portuguese Jews in 1497 they were known as 'gente do nação' also suggests that a racial definition was being applied to them: see Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese nation*, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Huarte, *Examen de ingenios para las scientias* (1575), Baeza: Juan Baptista de Montoya, 1594, xiv: 'Pero el argumento que a mí más me convence en este propósito es que, estando Francisco de Valois, rey de Francia, molestado de una prolija enfermedad, y viendo que los médicos de su casa y Corte no le daban remedio, decía todas las veces que le crecía la calentura que no era posible que los médicos cristianos supiesen curar, ni de ellos esperaba jamás remedio. Y, así, una vez, con despecho de verse todavía con calentura, mandó despachar un correo a España, pidiendo al Emperador, nuestro señor, le enviase un médico judío, el mejor que hubiese en su corte, del cual tenía entendido que le daría remedio a su enfermedad si en el arte lo había. La cual demanda fue harto reída en España, y todos concluyeron que era antojo de hombre que estaba con calentura; pero con todo eso mandó el Emperador nuestro señor que le buscasen un médico tal, si le había, aunque fuesen por él fuera del reino, Y no lo hallando, envió un médico cristiano nuevo, pareciéndole que con esto cumpliría con el antojo del rey. Pero puesto el médico en Francia y delante el rey, pasó un coloquio entre ambos muy gracioso, en el cual se descubrió que el médico era cristiano, y, por tanto, no se quiso curar con él. El rey (con la opinión que tenía del médico que era judío) le preguntó, por vía de entretenimiento, si estaba ya cansado de esperar el Mesías prometido en la ley.

MÉDICO.—Señor, yo no espero al Mesías prometido en la ley judaica.

REY.—Muy cuerdo sois en eso, porque las señales que estaban notadas en la Escritura divina para conocer su venida son ya cumplidas muchos días ha.

MÉDICO.—Ese número de días tenemos los cristianos bien contados, porque hace hoy mil y quinientos cuarenta y dos años que vino, y estuvo en el mundo treinta y tres, y en fin de ellos murió crucificado, y al tercero día resucitó, y después subió a los cielos donde ahora está.

REY.—Luego, ¿vos sois cristiano?

Huarte offers this story, as David Ruderman points out, to support his (conventional) claim that that temperaments are influenced by geographical environment;⁴¹ but Huarte also sets out to explain why Spanish doctors of Jewish origin far removed from their original climate have retained their beneficial temperament, albeit somewhat weakened by their new environment: 'True it is, that they are not now so quick and sharp as they were a thousand years ago [...] also because they have mingled with women of the Gentile race, who lacked this speed of wit: But it cannot be denied that as yet they have not utterly lost it.'⁴² Huarte seems here to be arguing for an Israelite, not a Lusitanian, determination of character by climate which persists over time (up to four thousand years, he avers); but at the same time he argues for race as a determinant, in that 'mingling with Gentiles' who lacked the environmentally induced sharpness of wit had adulterated it. If Rodericus and his son were thinking along the same lines, they might have been claiming something about their Jewishness in using the denominator 'Lusitani'; but in the quotation above, a different geographical determination—courage and hardiness—which affected the ancient tribes of Portugal is in question. All this turns out to be quite confusing, or possible confused.

MÉDICO.—Señor, sí, por la gracia de Dios.

REY.—Pues volveos en hora buena a vuestra tierra, porque médicos cristianos sobrados tengo en mi casa y corte. ¡Por judío lo había yo, los cuales en mi opinión son los que tienen habilidad natural para curar!

Y, así, lo despidió, sin quererle dar el pulso ni que viese la urina ni le hablase palabra tocante a su enfermedad. Y luego envió a Constantinopla por un judío, y con sola leche de borricas le curó.'

Schleiner *Medical ethics in the Renaissance*, p. 50 quotes the *Mercure françoise* of 1615 attesting the presence of a Portuguese Jewish physician at the French court. Another case of a Portuguese Jewish physician is that of Leone Ebreo (Judah Abravanel) who after flight from Portugal in 1483 and Spain after 1492 became the physician to the Viceroy of Naples. Rodrigo a Castro records that his uncle Immanuel Vaez was personal physician to four succeeding Portuguese monarchs (John III, Sebastian, Henry and Philip II): Castro, *Universa muliebrium morborum medicina* 1.47. Rodrigo Lopez, physician to Elizabeth I, enjoyed a less agreeable fate, being executed for his alleged part in a plot to poison the sovereign in 1594.

⁴¹ Ruderman, 'The Community of converso physicians: race, medicine and the shaping of a cultural identity', p. 288.

⁴² Ibid., 288, citing Huarte, *Examen*, xiv: 'Ello verdad es que no son ahora tan agudos y solertes como mil años atrás; porque dende que dejaron de comer del maná lo han venido perdiendo sus descendientes poco a poco hasta ahora, por usar de contrarios manjares, y estar en región diferente de Egipto, y no beber aguas tan delicadas como en el desierto; y por haberse mezclado con los que descien de la gentilidad, los cuales carecen de esta diligencia de ingenio. Pero lo que no se les puede negar es que aún no lo han acabado de perder.'

IBERIAN AND JEWISH MEDICINE

I pass now to the reputation of Portuguese medicine, which is inextricably linked to Jewish medicine and that of Spain. There seems to be a very strong institutional connection between Coimbra and Salamanca (and somewhat later, Siguënza and Alcalá de Henares) in medical studies: the academic peregrination of Portuguese students very frequently took in both, Spanish and Portuguese doctors taught at both universities, and not infrequently, Portuguese medical writers caused themselves to be published at Salamanca and Alcalá (see below). To speak of a separate Portuguese school of medicine is therefore somewhat misleading, although several Portuguese historians try very hard to do so.⁴³ It may be, of course, that there is a native tradition in vernacular medicine, which I have not attempted to deal with here; and it is certainly the case that the vernacular works of Garzias ab Horto (Garcia de Horta) and Christophorus a Costa (Cristovão da Costa) were recognized as an important contribution to botanical studies once they had been presented to an international readership in the form of a Latin résumé by Carolus Clusius (Charles de l'Ecluse).

In the case of Latin works, a difficult problem is posed by the wide divergence of medical opinions expressed in them. After the advent of medical humanism in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, various trends emerged in the Iberian Peninsula, all of which were espoused by one or another writer. On the one hand, there are humanist commentators on newly edited texts by Galen and Hippocrates, and energetic proponents of Galen such as Luis Mercado of Valladolid;⁴⁴ on the other, there are intransigent anti-Galenists such as the remarkable Gomez Pereira of Burgos, whose works were however not well known north of the Pyrenees or in Italy, in part because of the repressive measures taken against the book trade by Philip II in 1559, at the very moment he was publishing his works, in part because of the failure of the Iberian book trade to have their products marketed abroad. In this, he is unlike other medical radicals, such as Giovanni Argenterio and Girolamo Cardano, and unlike Iberian orthodox Galenists such as Luis Mercado, who as well as being published locally, achieved an

⁴³ E.g. Maximiliano Lemos, *Historia da Medicina em Portugal: doutrina e instituioes*, 2nd ed., 2 vols, Lisbon: publicacoes dom Quixote/Ordem dos Medicos, 1991.

⁴⁴ See Juan Riera, *Vida e obra de Luis Mercado*, Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1967.

international reputation by being speculatively reprinted in Cologne, Basle, Frankfurt, Padua and Venice.⁴⁵ There were other Iberians who enthusiastically espoused new developments in medical studies, such as Vesalius's anatomy (it was, after all, a 'quidam Hispanus' who brought the news of the *Humani corporis fabrica* to Vienna some time before 1552);⁴⁶ but there were also stern critics of such novelty.⁴⁷ There is even one doctor, Antonius Ludovicus (António Luís), reputed to be an outstanding Hellenist,⁴⁸ who wrote on sensitive issues such as the materiality of the soul, the 'morbi totius substantiae' and occult qualities: his treatment of these topics is in fact very orthodox, although that is not what might be inferred from his titles.⁴⁹ There was also a flurry of local debate in Iberia about phlebotomy at the end of the sixteenth century, some seventy years after it had flared up in Paris; but this does not seem to be noticed elsewhere.⁵⁰ The Peninsula as a whole, therefore did not have a common line up to 1560, but seems thereafter to have adopted a conservative attitude grounded in Galenic medicine, perhaps because opponents of Galen had been described as heretics abroad, perhaps in the belief that accepting medical orthodoxy would help to ensure a quiet life for those who were New Christians.⁵¹ The choice of orthodox Galenism evinces a general nervousness about heterodoxy in all its forms which is sometimes said to characterise post-Tridentine Iberian universities, and to contribute (at least in some faculties) to the intellectual stagnation that is ascribed to them.⁵²

The influence of Jewish (as opposed to Greek or Arabic) medicine in the Peninsula is a much more difficult issue. The contribution of Jews to Iberian medicine is well attested, and has led many prominent

⁴⁵ A full list is given in Johannes Georgius Schenckius, *Biblia iatrica*, Frankfurt: Johann Spiess for Antonius Hummius, 1609, s.v. On radical medicine, see Maclean, *Logic, signs and nature*, pp. 18–33.

⁴⁶ Franciscus Emericus, *Summaria declaratio eorum, quae ad urinarum cognitionem maxime faciunt* [...], Vienna: Egidius Aquila, 1552, Q3^v.

⁴⁷ E.g. Alphonsus Rodericus de Guevara, *In pluribus ex iis, quibus Galenus impugnatur ab Andrea Vesalio [...] defensio*, Coimbra: Joannes Barrerius, 1559; also Castro *Universa mulebrium morborum medicina*, 2.256.

⁴⁸ Antonio, *Bibliotheca hispana*, 1.141.

⁴⁹ E.g. *De occultis proprietatibus; Liber de eo quod Galenus animam mortalem esse comprobare visus est Galenus* (the one title noted paraphrastically by Draut, *Bibliotheca classica*, Frankfurt: Balthazar Ostern, 1625, p. 1303, after Gessner).

⁵⁰ I refer to writings by Petrus Vaesius (Pedro Vaz) and Fernando de Sola, both of 1601.

⁵¹ García-Ballaster, 'The Inquisition and minority medical practitioners', 164.

⁵² See Guillén, 'Judaismo', 340–1.

medical professors and writers to be confidently identified in modern scholarship as New Christians on the grounds of their association with others who are demonstrably marrano.⁵³ But there was also a recognized form of Jewish medicine, as is made clear by the anecdote retailed by Juan Huarte de San Juan which I have already quoted. In his book on medical ethics, Winfried Schleiner argues on the basis of this and other evidence for a specific Jewish medical ethic, exemplified in Rodericus a Castro's *Medicus-politicus* of 1614.⁵⁴ Rodericus is not alone in writing on ethical problems: Zacutus Lusitanus's *Introitus medici ad praxin* contains many elements of medical deontology, and is unlike Christian texts in eschewing all reference to the New Testament while quoting liberally from the Jewish Bible.⁵⁵ This involvement of theological discussion clearly differentiates their style of medicine from the rigorously secular Paduan approach, and brings it closer to those (such as the moderate Lutheran Nicolaus Taurellus) who accept that medicine should operate within a theological and metaphysical framework.⁵⁶ But we should not forget that Padua attracted many Jewish medical students, who would presumably have imbibed the secular approach of Paduan professors of medicine.⁵⁷ Of both Rodericus and Zacutus, Ruderman has said that their sense of Jewish identity grows with their professional careers, and presumably also achieves a form of independent existence.⁵⁸ Against this view of a distinct Jewish (and hence Lusitanian) tradition of medicine, one might cite the defence of

⁵³ Schleiner, *Medical ethics in the Renaissance*, pp. 57f. on Henrique Jorge Henriques who wrote a *Retrato del perfecto medico* in 1595, who was taught at Salamanca by two Lusitani (Tomás Rodrigues da Veiga and Ambrosio Nunes) and later held a chair at that University. Guillén, 'Judaismo', 342–3, also says that both Henriques and Huarte de San Juan were Jewish. See also *The Jewish encyclopedia*, s. vv; and Frank Heynick, *Jews and medicine: an epic saga*, Hoboken, NJ: KTAV, 2002.

⁵⁴ Schleiner, *Medical ethics in the Renaissance*, pp. 49–93. this resides in attitudes to white lies (how much to tell the patient and his attendants of his true condition), to the treatment of body before soul (against the express directives of the Church), and such issues as the treatment given to enemies.

⁵⁵ *Opera*, 1.1–72; see also Maclean, *Logic signs and nature*, pp. 92–9 (on cautela); and Ruderman, 'The Community of converso physicians: race, medicine and the shaping of a cultural identity', pp. 304–5.

⁵⁶ See Maclean, *Logic, signs and nature*, pp. 87–92.

⁵⁷ David B. Ruderman, *Jewish thought and scientific discovery in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 100–17. The phenomenon is principally one of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: in the period 1520–1605, there were 29 Jewish graduates, as against 320 or more in the period 1617 to 1816: *ibid.*, p. 105.

⁵⁸ Ruderman, 'The Community of converso physicians: race, medicine and the shaping of a cultural identity', p. 307.

Jewish physicians by David de Pomis (*De medico Hebraeo enarratio apologetica*, Venice, 1588) and Rodericus's son Benedictus a Castro (Bente de Castro) (*Flagellum calumniantium*, Amsterdam, 1631); both apologists align them with the mainstream of learned medicine and medical practice in Europe rather than making the claim that their teachings or practice are specific to them.⁵⁹ One advantage of Jewishness which is consistent with an allegiance to mainstream medicine is that pointed out by Amatus: the existence of respected medieval works of practica by Arabic doctors in Hebrew characters gave those who could read them the advantage over mere Latinists in interpreting disputed points in the text.⁶⁰ Nancy Siraisi has also pointed out that Avicenna's Canon was known by Jewish physicians working outside universities.⁶¹ There is evidence that knowledge of Hebrew persisted among seventeenth-century converso apothecaries.⁶²

Jewish physicians were banned from practice in various parts of Catholic Europe by Papal interdicts and were associated elsewhere with venality, quackery and indifference to the fate of their patients;⁶³ but they were also sought after by rulers throughout the medieval and early modern periods. This, and their association with empirics, suggests that the domain in which they excelled was practice, especially regimen and therapy.⁶⁴ I am not sure that early modern scholars were aware of the Jewish contribution to the early medieval School of Salerno, but they certainly knew about Maimonides's works, including his *Regimen sanitatis* which was one of the most published medical texts of

⁵⁹ Schleiner, *Medical ethics in the Renaissance*, *ibid.*, pp. 62, 68.

⁶⁰ Gutwirth, 'Amatus Lusitanus', 227–9.

⁶¹ Nancy G. Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987, pp. 48, 135, 138, 144, cited by Gutwirth, 'Amatus Lusitanus', 227.

⁶² Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, Madrid: Arián, 1978, ii.184, cited by Gutwirth, 'Amatus Lusitanus', 227.

⁶³ Some references in Maclean, *Logic, signs and medicine*, pp. 15n, 95n. One of the most virulent attacks on Jewish medicine is found in Johann Lange, *Epistolarum medicinalium volumen*, Hanau, Wechel, 1589, 8vo (first editions of the various elements 1554, 1555, 1560, 1589), pp. 3ff.; Zacutus refers to his work respectfully, without reacting to this (see *Opera*, i.129, 341–3, 673. Indeed, Zacutus's courteous treatment of those whose views he opposes sets him apart at this date from the majority of polemical physicians.

⁶⁴ Even Paracelsus refers approvingly at one point to a Jewish doctor for his precise and correct therapeutic procedures: *Liber principiorum*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Karl Sudhoff and Wilhelm Mattheisen, Munich: Oldenbourg, 1922–33, xiv.503–5 (on Techellus). Paracelsus also associates Jewish doctors here with cabbalistic medicine. I am grateful to Charles Webster for this reference.

the period. Zacutus chooses to begin his history of medicine with this figure, and suggests that his teachings are used continuously throughout the Middle Ages.⁶⁵ Zacutus's own work, the *De medicorum principum historia*, is made up of case studies which attack ancient, medieval and early modern figures for their views on a long list of natural-philosophical, diagnostic and therapeutic problems. He even attacks fellow-countrymen, belying the suggestion made António's *Bibliotheca hispana* that as a group, 'Lusitani' were strongly biased in each other's favour.⁶⁶ Zacutus's confidence in his abilities is not unusual among 'Lusitani'; somewhat earlier, Petrus Vaezius attacked Donato Antonio Altomare, the esteemed professor of medicine in Naples and a strong defender of Galen, on the grounds of his deficient practical doctrine, and Rodericus a Castro does the same with respect to other reputed figures.⁶⁷

'LUSITANI PERITI' IN BIBLIOGRAPHIES FROM GESSNER TO ZACUTUS

I come finally to the reputation of Portuguese medicine abroad as revealed by bibliographies in the early modern period. There are various ways in which one might investigate this; I have chosen first to look at the presence of 'Lusitani' in general and specialist bibliographies from Conrad Gessner (1545) to Joannes Antonides van der Linden (1637), and then to examine Zacutus's two lists in his posthumous *Opera* of 1644, the first consisting of the forty medical writers in his list of 'Lusitani periti' to which I have already made reference, the second being the list of approved names in his analytic account of medical history.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Zacutus, *Opera*, i. a1r, which has a list of Jewish authorities.

⁶⁶ See above, note 43.

⁶⁷ *Apologia contra Praxim Donati Antonii ab Altomari*, Madrid: Didacus Lopez, 1582, 8vo (António, *Bibliotheca hispana nova*, i.243); a Castro, *Universa [...] medicina*, I, 256 (attacking Vesalius).

⁶⁸ There are fifty-three names in the list, but one name is duplicated (Amatus appears also as Ioannes Rodericus Albicastr). I have excluded from Zacutus's lists two groups: (1) doctors who wrote in the vernacular and hence would not be accessible to a learned European audience (António da Cruz, Diogo Lopes, Fernando de Sola, Henrique Jorge Henriques (both of whom wrote in Spanish), Isidoro Barreira). I have taken Ludovicus Isla, who wrote a treatise *De morbo gallico* according to António, to be Ruiz Díaz de Isla, a Spaniard who wrote in the vernacular on this topic in Seville in 1538; (2) those who are not writing as medical writers, such as the second scholastics known as the Conimbricenses, Osorius (a theologian), Jacob de Rosales (a physician, but known for his work as the editor of Menasseh ben Israel), and a number of writers on geographical regions: Manoel de Moraes (Brazil), Francisco Alvares (Africa),

As one would expect, these lists grow gradually longer over time. In his *Bibliotheca universalis*, Gessner lists only two Portuguese medical writers: Petrus Hispanus ('Portugalensis') and Antonius Ludovicus. It is noteworthy that of these two, only Ludovicus was not published outside Portugal.⁶⁹ His is also the only book—a lavishly produced collection of short works—published in Lisbon to find its way into the medical section Georg Draut's *Bibliotheca classica* of 1611 and 1625, the most extensive bibliography of this period which includes all books advertised at the Frankfurt Book Fair according to subject. Gessner knew something about Lodovicus ('est autem Galeni sectator'), not from the book, I suspect, but from one of his Iberian correspondents; and I believe that this may be the case with subsequent medical bibliographers who refer to him without having seen the book, such as Israel Spachius, Paschalis Gallus (Le Coq), and Joannes Georgius Schenckius. But an avid bibliophile physician of Augsburg, Ieremias Martius, possessed a copy by 1572, and other copies reached the Bodleian Library in Oxford and several college libraries in Oxford and Cambridge before 1605.⁷⁰

By the time of the first specialist medical bibliographies by Gallus (1590) and Israel Spachius (1591), the number of Portuguese physicians had been augmented by eight more names: Amatus, Brudus (Manoel Brudo), Christophorus a Costa, Garzias ab Horto, Garzias Lopus (Garcia Lopes), Rodericus a Fonseca (Rodrigo da Fonseca) and Thomas Rodericus a Veiga (Tomás Rodrigues da Veiga). The works of all of these

Francisco Lopes (Mexico), Tomás Alvares (Ethiopia), and João Barros (Asia); these chorographical writings were probably seen as a contribution to European culture which enhanced the prestige of Portugal. Zacutus also lists Giovanni Pietro Maffei (on India): he was in fact Italian.

⁶⁹ Gessner also lists the humanists Damianus a Goes and Angelus Andreas Resennius; *Bibliotheca universalis*, Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1545, ff. 42v, 58v, 192v, 549v.

⁷⁰ See Ieremias Martius, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, Augsburg: Michael Mangerus, 1572; Thomas James, *Catalogus Bibliothecae publicae quam vir ornatissimus Thomas Bodleius Eques Auratus in Academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit*, Oxford: apud Josephum Barnesium, 1605, p. 200; The book arrived unbound, and was bound together with Antonius Maria Bettus (the next in the alphabetic style of the day), indicating that the binding was undertaken in Oxford. The pages have been cropped, suggesting that this was not the first binding. The copies in College libraries are those of Merton and St John's in Oxford (given c. 1597 and 1602), and Corpus Christi College (given in 1575) and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, as well as Cambridge University Library. I am grateful to Thomas Earle for this information. Amatus singled out two Iberian physicians for praise in 1550s: Luís Moniz of Coimbra and Jorge Henrique of Lisbon. Gutwirth, 'Amatus Lusitanus', 223, claims that 'there is evidence that in the early 1550s, Amatus is concerned in his writings with establishing the status of the Iberian peninsula in the world of medical scholarship.'

appeared in international publishing centres. The vernacular works on Indian botany of Garzias ab Horto and Christophorus a Costa made an international impact through the Latin résumé published by Clusius in 1567 and 1582;⁷¹ their authors were clearly recognized as of Portuguese extraction, and their contribution to botanical knowledge, which confirmed the Portuguese flair for discovery, was clearly acknowledged as important. I did not find any Catalans in Gallus's catalogue of names, and only four Spaniards.⁷² Spachius's bibliography is arranged by topics: in it, Antonius Ludovicus⁷³ is cited under seven rubrics, Rodericus a Fonseca and Thomas Rodericus a Veiga under three, Amatus and 'Brutus' (such spelling mistakes reveal the uncritical transfer of data from one bibliographer to another) under two. Christophorus a Costa, Garzias ab Horto, and Garcias Lopus have one entry one each.⁷⁴

If we pass to the section on medical writing in Andreas Schottus's *Hispaniae bibliotheca seu de academiis ac bibliothecis. Item elogia et nomenclator clarorum Hispaniae scriptorum qui Latine disciplinas omnes illustrarunt* of 1608, we find thirty-six Iberian names, of which seventeen are Castilian, eleven Catalan, Aragonese or Balearic, and eight 'Lusitani', whom Schott identifies (in his discussion of Amatus) as belonging to a nation which excels in the medical art: these are Amatus, Henricus a Cuellar (not in Zacutus), Brudus, Rodericus a Veiga, Christophorus a Costa, Ferdinandus a Mena (Fernando da Mena: he is not identified as 'Lusitanus' by Zacutus, and said not to be Portuguese by António), Petrus Hispanus and Rodericus a Fonseca.⁷⁵ Schott was based in Salamanca when he made this list; what is slightly surprising

⁷¹ *Aromatum, et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia: ante biennium quidem Lusitanica lingua per dialogos conscripta, D. Garcia ab Horto, ... auctore: Nunc verò primùm Latina facta, et in epitomen contracta à Carolo Clusio*, Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1567; *Christophori A Costa, Medici et Chirurgi Aromatum [et] medicamentorum in Orientali India nascentium liber: plurimum lucis adferens iis quae a Doctore Garcia de Orta in hoc genere scripta sunt*, Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1582.

⁷² Paschalis Gallus (Paschal Le Coq), *Bibliotheca medica, sive catalogus illorum, qui ex professo artem medicam in hunc usque annum scriptis illustrarunt*, Basel: Conrad Waldkirch, 1590.

⁷³ 'Olyssiponae apud Ludov. Rotorigum': it is obvious that Spachius has not seen the book, and is relying on a manuscript transcription which he has misread.

⁷⁴ *Nomenclator medicorum*, Frankfurt: Martin Lechler for Nicolaus Bassaeus, 1591; see also his *Nomenclator scriptorum philosophicorum et philologicorum*, Strasbourg: Antonius Bertramum, 1598, which cites Lodovicus as well as Damianus a Goes.

⁷⁵ *Hispaniae bibliotheca*, Frankfurt: Claude de Marne and heirs of Johannes Aubri, 1608, pp. 326–35. I have been unable to identify the origins of two names.

is the high number of non-Castilians.⁷⁶ Nearly twenty years later, the next in line of specialist bibliographies, Joannes Georgius Schenckius's *Biblia iatrica* of 1609 lists fourteen 'Lusitani': as well as those given above, he cites Abraham Nehemias (not in Zacutus's list), Nonnius a Costa (Nunes da Costa), and Petrus de 'Peramoto' (for 'Peramoto': another transcription error which a later bibliographers reproduce).⁷⁷ Rodericus a Castro also gives a list of prominent academic doctors in various categories in his *Medicus-politicus* of 1614. The 'Lusitani' that he names (as well as himself) are Amatus, ab Horto and a Costa (not by name but by reference to Clusius), Ambrosius Nonius (Ambrosio Nunes), Ludovicus Lemosius (Luís de Lemos), Petrus Hispanus, Thomas Rodericus de Veiga and Brutus (sic).⁷⁸ By the time of Draut's *Bibliotheca classica* of 1611 and 1625, most of the figures above appear, with the addition of Hieronymus Nunnus Ramirez (Jerónimo Nunes Ramires);⁷⁹ Antonius Ludovicus and Petrus de Peromato [sic] probably owe their presence in Draut not to advertisement at the fair but to Draut's transcription of Schenckius. Special mention is made also of Garzias ab Horto and Christophorus a Costa, whose work is known through Clusius's résumés.⁸⁰

These medical bibliographies culminate in the work by Joannes Antonides van der Linden, whose first edition appeared in 1637 in Amsterdam, and together with Schenckius, is mentioned approvingly by Zacutus. His list (not all of whom are identified as 'Lusitani') almost coincides with that of Zacutus. A Costa, Emanuel Gomez (Manoel Gomes),

⁷⁶ In 1605, Bodley had Iberian medical works by Antonius Alvarez, Joannes Bravus, Bernardus Caxanes (Catalan), Rodericus a Castro, Garcias Lopez, Andreas Lacuna, Antonius Ludovicus, Christophorus a Vega, Franciscus de Villalobos (on Pliny) and Juan Valverde: only one was by a Catalan. Paddy's 1602 gift to St John's College, Oxford includes the works of Mena, Nehemias, Luiz and, Vaez.

⁷⁷ *Biblia iatrica*, Frankfurt: Joannes Spiessius for Antonius Hummuis, 1609. Zacutus singled him out for particular praise together with the work by Johannes Antonides van der Linden, *De scriptis medicis*, Amsterdam: Johannes Blaeu, 1637: *Opera*, 1.b5r.

⁷⁸ *Medicus-politicus*, Hamburg: Zacharias Hentelius, 1662, pp. 88–9.

⁷⁹ Alvares Nunes's commentary on the *De recta curandorum vulnere ratione* by Franciscus Arcaeus with which it was published is not mentioned explicitly.

⁸⁰ *Die Messkataloge des [...] 16 Jahrhunderts*, ed. Bernhard Fabian, 5 vols, Hildesheim and New York: Ohms, 1972–2001, have individual entries for the following (A = Autumn, S = Spring): S 1564: Thomas a Veiga (Antwerp, 1564), S 1566: Amatus (Antwerp, 1566); A 1569: Brudus (Venice, 1544); A 1570: Amatus (Lyon, 1570); S 1574: Arcaeus (not mentioning the Lusitanus editor: Antwerp, 1574) and Clusius (mentioning Garzias ab Horto, Antwerp, 1574); S 1580: Thomas a Veiga Coimbra, 1580), S 1582: Nehemias (Venice 1582), A 1586: Thomas Rodericus a Veiga (Lyon 1586), id. (Rome 1586; two works), A 1593: Clusius (without mention of ab Horto). See also Draut, *Bibliotheca classica*. Petrus Hispanus is also recognized as 'Portugalensis'.

Andreas Antonius (André António) and Gondicalvus Rodericus Cabreira (Gonçalo Rodrigues Cabreira) are absent; Alvares Nonnius (Álvaro Nunes) is described as 'Hispanus'. Like Zacutus, he commits the error of believing that Amatus Lusitanus and Johannes Rodericus Castelli Albi are two different persons. He lists several other 'Lusitani' not identified as such by Zacutus: Abraham Nehemias, Henrique de Cuellar, Fernando da Mena, Philotheus Elianus Montaltus (Filateo Eliano Montalto), and an unpublished commentator on Galen called Antonius Martorellus, whose were to be found in the bibliographer's own library. van der Linden begins his work by acknowledging that he may well have omitted many 'Hispani' and others: his remark suggests that even in 1630s in Amsterdam with its privileged links to the Iberian peninsula, works published there were not easy to come by, unless one made a special effort, such as that made by an exiled Jewish Portuguese physician living in Amsterdam called David de Haro. The sale catalogue of his library appeared in the same year as van der Linden's bibliography, and it reveals that he possessed a good number of texts by Iberian doctors. This may indicate that the use of 'Lusitanus' was part of the advertising function of the titlepage, the denominator being put there on the initiative of publishers rather than authors to stimulate patriotic publishing. Other near-contemporary sale catalogues in the Netherlands include a much smaller number of these authors.⁸¹

I came finally to Zacutus's list of forty 'Lusitani periti'. It can be broken down in the following way:

- (1) two names who appear not to have published anything, but were known to Zacutus either personally or by correspondence.⁸²

⁸¹ *Catalogus librorum medicorum, philosophicorum, et Hebraicorum sapientissimi, atque eruditissimi viri D. David de Haro, Lusitani, med. doctoris, et practici apud Amsteldamenses dexterrimi, qui publicè venduntur Amsteldami, in aedibus defuncti. Op de Verwers-Gracht, by de Swanebrugh, tusschen het verguide calf ende Moyses. Ad diem [...] Martij, M.DC.XXXVII. hora matut. octav. et seqq. Emptori hi libri eâ conditione venduntur, ut pretium illorum statim persolvatur*, Amstelodami: Ex officinâ Joannis Friderici Stam, [1637]. Haro possess folio editions of Thomas a Veiga, Stephanus Rodericus Castrensis and Henricus a Cuelhar (published in Coimbra), quartos of the Conimbricenses, Rodericus a Fonseca, Rodericus a Castro, octavos of Zacutus, Petrus a Fonseca, and Amatus, and smaller formats of Benedictus a Castro (two copies of the *Flagellum calumniantium*). He also possessed an *Ortographia linguae Lusitanae* published in Lisbon. His catalogue is one of more than twenty dating principally from the 1630s in Merton College Library (pressmark 66 G 7), which afford the comparison with other medical libraries on sale in Amsterdam at around this time.

⁸² I.e. Valla, Thomas a Valle, Valverde Olissip[onensis] i.e. not Juan Valverde, whom

Zacutus clearly devoted himself to sustaining a network of Iberian authors. At least one of the names in another category seems not to be known to the scholarly community of his day, although he published a book.⁸³

- (2) nine authors whose publications appear in Portugal or Portugal and Spain only; Some of this local publication bears the marks of prestige or vanity publication (folio, large type, wide margins).⁸⁴
- (3) four authors whose publications appear only in Spain, where they were employed; Petrus Vaezius (Madrid), Petrus de Peramato (Sanlucar de Barrameda), Gaspar Lopus Canarius (Gaspar Lopes Canario: Alcalá), Andreas Antonius (Villaviciosa).
- (4) four authors whose publications appear in Antwerp, almost certainly through the Spanish link with that city: Alvarez Nunez, Hieronymus Nonnius Ramirez (Lisbon, then Antwerp) Garzias ab Horto, Garzias Lopus.
- (5) five authors whose publications appear in other countries, but only in the town where they were employed; Didacus Moranus (Diego Morán: Orthez), Petrus Vascus Castellus (Pedro Vaz Castelo: Toulouse),⁸⁵ Nunez a Costa (Nunes da Costa: Padua), Rodericus a Castro (Hamburg), Benedictus a Castro (Hamburg).
- (6) two authors whose publications appear first in Portugal or Spain and then are reprinted in one of the centres of speculative republication: Thomas Rodericus a Veiga (Coimbra, Antwerp, then Lyon, Rome, Padua), Ludovicus Lemosius (Salamanca, then Venice).
- (7) five authors whose publications only appear in such international centres of publication; Emmanuel Gomez (Manoel Gomes: Antwerp; thereafter Louvain),⁸⁶ Amatus Lusitanus (Antwerp, Florence, Venice,

Zacutus clearly refers to as 'Hispanus' in the sense of Castilian elsewhere: *Opera*, 1.b4^v. Zacutus uses 'Hispanus' throughout to designate Spaniards.

⁸³ The author in question is Didacus Moranus (Diego Morán), *Apologiae tres. I De Epilepsia Histerica. II De Venae sectione in fluore nimio haemorrhoidum. III De Ventris tumore*, Orthez: apud Abrahamum Rovierium, 1626, 4to: see António, *Bibliotheca hispana nova*, i.300. No copy of the book seems to have survived.

⁸⁴ I.e. Antonius Lodovicus (Lisbon), whom I have already mentioned, Didacus Lopus (Diogo Lopes: Lisbon), Gondicalvus Rodriguez de Cabreira, Emmanuel Nunez (Manoel Nunes: Lisbon and Alcalá [in Spanish]), Petrus Lopus (Pedro Lopes: Lisbon and Malaga), Ambrosius Nunez (Coimbra), Georgius è Saâ (Jorge de Sá: Coimbra), Ioannes Bravo Chamizo (João Bravo Chamiço: Coimbra). Hieronymus Tovar (Jerónimo Tovar: Seville).

⁸⁵ The German doctor Gregor Horst owned a copy of his *Tractatus de morbo pestilenti*, Toulouse, 1616; see *Opera medica*, Nuremberg: Johannes and Wolfgang Entner, 1660. sig † v. Vascus Castellus also appears in Draut, and before him, Schenckius.

⁸⁶ Zacutus describes him as 'Antuwerp[ensis]', reflecting the confused notion of 'Lusitanus'

Lyon, Strasbourg, Paris, Bordeaux, Barcelona),⁸⁷ Brudus Lusitanus (Venice, Zürich), Rodericus a Fonseca (Venice, Florence, Pisa, Basle, Frankfurt), Stephanus Rodericus Castrensis (Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro: Venice, Florence, Rome), Ferdinandus Rodericus Cardosus (Fernando Rodrigues Cardoso: Venice, Frankfurt).

Of all this list, only those in the last two categories constitute a genuinely international group of 'Lusitani'.⁸⁸

Zacutus did not only provide his reader with lists; he also wrote a history of medical doctrine in his preface, in which the following Lusitani are named as significant figures: Rodericus a Fonseca, Ambrosius Nunez, Rodericus a Castro, Thomas Rodericus a Veiga, Gasparus Lopus, Hieronymus Nonnius Ramires, Ludovicus Lemosius, Amatus Lusitanus, (who figures also as Joannes Rodriguez Albicastrensis), Petrus Vaezius, Garzias ab Horto (with Christophorus a Costa), Antonius Lodovicus, Stephanus Rodericus Castrensis, Alvarus Nonnius and Joannes Bravo Chamizo. The inclusion in such a summary history of at least six of these names may indicate a bias in favour of 'Lusitani' of which Jewish-Lusitanian doctors were accused, as we have noted; in comparison, Petrus Castellanus offers biographies of only two of these figures—Amatus and Petrus Hispanus—in his *Vitae illustrium medicorum* of 1618.⁸⁹

SOME CONCLUSIONS

What may we infer from all this about the use of denominators indicating birthplace on medical title pages in the late Renaissance? If we begin with the broadest category ('Hispanus'), it would seem that this is not used by Portuguese authors of themselves; and that when they use it of

noted above: António comments on this (*Bibliotheca hispana nova*, i.349: 'vereor ne Antuerpiae ex parentibus Lusitanis, nam Antuerpiensem eum appellat Zacutus.')

⁸⁷ Zacutus does not know that Amatus initially used the name Joannes Rodericus de Castelli Albi, although Schenck, Spachius and Gallus all do.

⁸⁸ A case might be made for those in the fifth category who are advertised at the Book Fairs (such as a Castro, Nonnius a Costa, Thomas Rodericus a Veiga (for their Coimbra publications), Petrus de Peramato for his Sanlucar publication, which may have reached the Frankfurt Fair via Antwerp), and possibly Alvarez Nonnius, whose commentary on Franciscus Arcaeus appeared in the Book Fair Catalogues, but hidden behind Arcaeus's name.

⁸⁹ *Vitae illustrium medicorum qui toto orbe ad haec usque tempora floruerunt*, Antwerp: a Tongis, 1618.

others, they clearly intend it to designate Spanish, even Castilian, extraction. Moreover, I have not found 'Lusitanus' anywhere used to denote the non-Jewish Portuguese, with their hardy, bellicose character, except in the quotation from Rodericus a Castro cited above: but it may well be that in vernacular texts, this is its primary connotation, and that Damianus a Goes is implying it by calling himself an 'eques Lusitanus'. The proclivity of the Portuguese for discovery may be recognized as a connotation of 'Lusitanus', as in the case of a Costa and ab Horto. The dominant connotation of Jewishness would lend weight to the theory that nearly all medical authors were of such extraction, and used 'Lusitanus' to express the aptitude of their race for the medical profession. This is explained, as we have seen, in different ways: Huarte de San Juan attributes it to the persistent if fading effects of the middle eastern climate in which their distant forbears were brought up; Andreas Schottus recognizes it as a feature of Portuguese culture; Zacutus ascribes it to a tradition of practical medicine whose founding father was Maimonides.⁹⁰

If there is a Portuguese style of medical learning, I believe that it is that shared through *peregrinatio academica* with Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares, and that its reputation derives (as Schott suggests) from the *Centuriae* of Amatus Lusitanus (a classic work of practica) more than anything else. There are anomalies found before the middle of the century, notably Antonio Ludovicus, whose titlepage and contents page is frequently quoted, although I have never found a reference to the contents of the works themselves; but it seems safe to say that after about 1560, when anti-Galenism is no longer found in Iberian writing, the character of this medicine resides in a conservative attitude to *theoria*, allied to therapeutics and regimen enriched by a long empirical tradition perhaps informed by folk-memory, an accurate reading of Arabic medicine, and (if one accepts Schleiner's arguments) by a specific kind of medical ethics. That would make Iberian medicine's reputation (after 1560) to be conservatively Galenic on the one hand, and in the specific case of 'Lusitani', synonymous with Jewish medicine, which was as widely respected in practice⁹¹ (to judge by the number of Jewish physicians who served the elites of Europe) as it was repressed by ordinances and reviled in polemical literature.

⁹⁰ See also Gutwirth, 'Amatus Lusitanus', 223, cited above, note 70.

⁹¹ See *ibid.*, 234, for the suggestion that this practical approach is allied with a preference for empiricism and observation over the citing of authority.

Local editions of medical writers produced in Lisbon, Coimbra, Salamanca and Alcalá seem in most cases not to have aspired to a pan-European sale,⁹² and to bear some of the marks of vanity or prestige publication, in formats which would not ensure wide diffusion. The same may be indicated by the very low number of surviving copies in many cases (suggesting a short print run), and the absence of any recorded copies in others, on which the bibliographer António and his successors frequently remark.

The final question to be asked is whether all this went through the minds of purchasers of learned books on seeing the designation 'Lusitanus', which they would associate with the most widely disseminated of the authors I have cited: Amatus, Thomas Rodericus de Veiga and Rodericus a Fonseca, and later Rodericus a Castro, Zacutus, and Stephanus Rodericus Castrensis. If it is the case (and I suspect that it is) that this group of physicians was seen as Jewish, then the contribution to European intellectual life ought more fairly to be ascribed to a fusion of Jewish-practical and Greek-humanist medicine rather than to Portugal (or rather, Iberia) itself. It is striking, however, that by the eighteenth century, bibliographers such as Barbosa Machado did not hesitate to cite such medical writing of this period to enhance the prestige of the nation state of Portugal.

⁹² Or possibly to have achieved it by chance, as in the case of Lodovicus and Cuelhar.

APPENDIX:

ZACUTUS'S LIST OF 'LUSITANI PERITI', IN *OPERA*, LYON: JEAN-ANTOINE HUGUETAN, 1644, I.E4R

Numbering has been supplied by me. A vernacular version of their name is given, together with the category into which their work falls according to that given on pp. 394–6 above, and the places in which their works were published. References are given to two bibliographies: (1) Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 4 vols, Lisbon: Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca, 1741–9, iv.581–6 (the list headed 'medicina', referred to hereafter as BL. I have not put 'not in BL' by the names of those whose works of history or theology appear elsewhere in Barbosa Machado); (2) Nicolás Antonio, Rafael Casalbón y Geli, Juan Antonio Pellécer y Pilares, and Tomás Sánchez, *Bibliotheca hispana nova, sive: Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD. ad MDCLXXXIV. floruerunt notitia*, Madrid: heirs of Joachin de Ibarra, 1783–8, fol. (hereafter referred to as BHN).

1. Aluarus Nonnius.
BL; BHN i.60; Álvaro Nunes (4) Antwerp
2. Ambrosius Nunnus.
BL; BHN i.67; Ambrosio Nunes (2) Coimbra
3. Amatus.
BL; BHN i.63; Amatus Lusitanus (João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco) (7) Antwerp, Florence, Venice, Lyon, Strasbourg, Paris, Bordeaux, Barcelona
4. Andreas Antonius.
BL; BHN i.69; André António de Castro (3) Villaviciosa
5. Antonius Ludou, Olyssip.
BL; BHN i.141; António Luís (1) Lisbon
6. Antonius à Cruce Olyssip.
Not in BL; BHN i.113; António da Cruz (1) Lisbon (vernacular)
7. Benedictus à Castro.
BL; BHN i.200; Bente de Castro (5) Hamburg
8. Brudus.
BL; BHN i.231; Manuel Brudo (7) Venice, Zürich
9. Conimbricensis Cursus.
(The commentaries on the Aristotelian philosophical corpus undertaken by Pedro da Fonseca and others) (6) Coimbra, Lisbon, Cologne, Mainz, Lyon, London, Basle
10. Didacus Lopus.
Not in BL; BHN i.294; Diogo Lopes (1) Lisbon
11. Didacus Moranus.
BL; BHN i.300; Diego Morán (5) Orthez
12. Emmanuel de Morais.
Not in BL; BHN i.352; Emanuel de Morais [liber] mihi ignotus
13. Emmanuel Nunnus Olyssip.
Not in BL; BHN i.353; Emanuel Nunes (2) Lisbon, Alcalá

14. Emmanuel Gomez Antwerp.
Not in BL; BHN i.249; Emanuel Gomes (5) Antwerp
15. Ferdinandus Roder. Cardosus.
BL; BHN i.388; Fernando Rodrigues Cardoso (7) Venice, Frankfurt
16. Ferdinandus Sola.
Not in BL; BHN i.380; Fernando de Sola (2) Seville
17. Franciscus Aluarez.
BHN i.389–90; Francisco Álvares (1) Lisbon
18. Franciscus Lopus.
Not in BL; BHN i.437; Francisco Lopes (1) Lisbon
19. Gaspar Lopus Canarius.
BL; BHN i.529; Gaspar Lopes Canario (3) Alcalá
20. Garzias ab Horto.
BL; BHN i.515; Garcia de Horta (4) Antwerp
21. Garzias Lopus
BL; BHN i.515; Garcia Lopes (4) Antwerp
22. Georgius Gomes.
BL has Jorge Gomes Pereira (Gometius Pereira in BHN i.541) who is certainly a Spaniard
23. Georgius è Saâ.
BHN i.540; Jorge de Sá (2) Coimbra
24. Georgius Henricus.
BL; BHN i.538; Henrique Jorge Henriques (2) Salamanca (in Spanish)
25. Gondicaluus Rodericus Cabreira.
BL; BHN i.559; Gonçalo Rodrigues Cabreira (2) Lisbon
26. Hieronymus Nunius Ramires.
BL; BHN i.591; Jerónimo Nunes Ramires (4) Lisbon, Antwerp
27. Hieronymus Osorius.
BHN i.593–4; Jerónimo Osório (6) Lisbon, Florence, Basle, London, Cologne, Rouen, Venice, Paris, Antwerp, Dillingen, Louvain, Geneva, Rome
28. Hieronymus Touar.
No entry in BL or BHN; Jerónimo Tovar (2) Seville (in van der Linden)
29. Ioannes Rodericus Albicastr.
See above, 3
30. Ioannes Brau. Chamicus.
BL; BHN i.665; João Bravo Chamiço (2) Coimbra
31. Ioannes Barrus Historic.
BHN i.657–8; João Barros (1) Lisbon
32. Ioannes Fonseca.
No entry in BL or BHN
33. Isidorus Barrerius.
BHN i.828; Isidoro Barreira (1) Lisbon
34. Ludouicus Isla.
Not in BL; BHN ii.44; Ruiz Diaz de Isla: see above note 68
35. Ludoucius Lemosius.
BL; BHN ii.44; Luís de Lemos (6) Salamanca, Venice

36. Maffeus.
No entry in BHN: Giovanni Pietro Maffei: see above note 68
37. Martinus Henr.
No entry in BL or BHN
38. Nonnius à Costa.
BL; BHN ii.156; Nunes da Costa (4) Padua
39. Petrus à Fonseca.
BHN ii.194; see above, 9
40. Petrus Lopius.
BL; BHN ii.208–9; Pedro Lopes (2) Lisbon, Malaga
41. Petrus de Peramato.
BL; BHN ii.227; Pedro de Peramato (3) Sanlucar de Barrameda
42. Petrus Vaësius.
BL; BHN ii.243; Pedro Vaz (3) Madrid
43. Petrus Vascus Castellus.
BL; BHN ii.246; Pedro Vaz Castelo (5) Toulouse
44. Raphaël Vaësius.
Not in BL; BHN ii.259; Rafael Vaz
45. Rodericus à Castro.
BL; BHN ii.262–3; Rodrigo de Castro (5) Hamburg
46. Rodericus à Fonseca.
BL; BHN ii.267–8; Rodrigo da Fonseca (7) Venice, Florence, Pisa, Basle, Frankfurt
47. Rosales.
BHN ii.127–8; Jacob de Rosales
48. Stephanus Roderic. Castrensis.
BL; BHN ii.293; Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro (7) Venice, Florence, Rome
49. Thomas à Veiga.
BL; BHN ii.312; Tomás Rodrigues da Veiga (6) Coimbra, Lyon, Rome, Padua, Antwerp
50. Thomas Aluares.
BL; No entry in BHN; Tomás Álvares (4) Antwerp
51. Thomas à Valle.
No entry in BL or BHN
52. Valla.
No entry in BL or BHN
53. Valverda Olyssip.
No entry in Bl or BHN

Notable absentees

BL; BHN i.1 Abraham Nehemias

BL; BHN i.242.Cristovão da Costa

BL; BHN i.563 Henrique de Cuellar

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

LOUIS JACOB DE SAINT-CHARLES (1608–1670) AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIALIST BIBLIOGRAPHY

On April 25 in the late 1880s, Charles Pooter of the Laurels, Brickfield Terrace, Holloway, North London decided to try out the new Pinkford's red enamel paint. He began by painting flower pots, and was so pleased with the result that he went upstairs to the servant's bedroom and painted her washstand, towel-horse, and chest of drawers. The next day he painted the coal-scuttle and the backs of his edition of Shakespeare, the binding of which had almost worn out. On 27 April, he painted the bath red, and proclaimed himself delighted with the result, although his wife was not. Two days later, he bought some more enamel paint, black this time, and spent the evening touching up the fender, picture-frames, an old pair of boots, and a walking-stick. The following day (a Sunday) he took a bath, and emerged from it 'perfectly red all over', the paint having dissolved in the boiling water. This incident seems to have cured him of his new-found enthusiasm for decoration.¹

The specific tribulations of the author of *The diary of a nobody* may not befall bibliographers, but the obsessive attachment to their passion for lists bears a not so distant resemblance to Pooter's exuberant search for objects to daub, and may even not be so susceptible of a cure. Louis Jacob de Saint-Charles, who is the subject of this paper, was undoubtedly a passionate creator of inventories. His biographer Cosme de Villiers de Saint-Etienne records that he was responsible for more than thirty bibliographies and finding-lists of different lengths and scope over the course of his life, few of which found their way into print; these are referred to in this paper, and recorded in an appendix.² Of all these lists, the ones which brought him most fame were his annual Parisian

¹ George and Weedon Grossmith, *The diary of a nobody* (1892), London: Dent, 1937, pp. 57–62.

² Cosme de Villiers de Saint-Etienne, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, 2 vols, Orléans: M. Couret de Villeneuve and J. Ronzeau-Montaut, 1752, ii.272–88. In both French and Latin quotations, I have standardised the use of i and j, u and v and expanded contractions, but not supplied accents. I should like to thank Robin Briggs for his careful reading of this paper and his helpful suggestions.

and national bibliographies published between 1645 and 1654, which introduced into France a practice which had been successfully initiated elsewhere in Europe. I list them here for ease of reference hereafter:

1. *Bibliographia Parisina*. Paris imprints of 1643 and 1644; Paris: Rolet Le Duc, 1645, 4to, [8] + 108 pp. (dedicated to Gabriel Naudé: hereafter BP 1645)
2. *Bibliographia Parisina*. Paris imprints of 1645; Paris: Rolet Le Duc, 1646, 4to, [12] + 52 pp. (dedicated to Gui Patin: hereafter BP 1646)
3. *Bibliographia Gallica universalis*. Provincial imprints of 1643, 1644 and 1645; Paris: Rolet Le Duc, 4to, 1646, [4] + 27 pp. (dedicated to Jacques Mentel: hereafter BGU 1646)
4. *Bibliographia Gallica universalis*. Paris and Provincial imprints of 1646; Paris, veuve de Jean Camusat and Pierre Le Petit, 1647, 4to, [6] + 64 pp. (dedicated to Guillaume Colletet: hereafter BGU 1647)
5. *Bibliographia Parisina*. Paris imprints of 1647 and 1648; Paris: Sébastien and Gabriel Cramoisy, 1649, 4to, [6] + 52 pp. (dedicated to Jacques and Pierre Dupuy: hereafter BP 1649)
6. *Bibliographia Parisina*. Paris imprints of 1649; Paris: Sébastien and Gabriel Cramoisy, 1650, 4to, [3] + 29 pp. (dedicated to Achille de Harlay: hereafter BP 1650)
7. *Bibliographia Parisina*. Paris imprints of 1650; Paris: Sébastien and Gabriel Cramoisy, 1651, 4to, [5] + 32 pp. (dedicated to Sébastien Cramoisy: hereafter BP 1651)
8. *Bibliographia Gallica universalis*. Paris and Provincial imprints of 1651; Paris: Sébastien and Gabriel Cramoisy, 1652, 4to, [4] + 47 pp. (dedicated to Gilles Ménage: hereafter BGU 1652)
9. *Bibliographia Gallica universalis*. Paris and Provincial imprints of 1652 and 1653; Paris: Sébastien and Gabriel Cramoisy, 1654, 4to, [4] + 92 pp. (dedicated to Abraham van Wicquefort: hereafter BGU 1654)

Subsequent historians have hailed these as precursors of good bibliographical practice, and Jacob as a visionary, who foresaw bibliography's future course.³ My purpose in this paper is to look at them in the context both of his life and times and of his other bibliographical enterprises.

³ The excellent article by Rudolf Blum, 'Vor- und Frühgeschichte der nationalen Allgemeinbibliographie', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 2 (1959), 233–303 amends this view (at 234n). It concentrates on the prehistory and early history of national bibliography, and does not consider the full historical context of Jacob's work.

Who supported his work, and whom did he set out to serve? And how did he use the resources available to him? As well as giving a fuller account of his life than has hitherto been given, I shall examine some neglected texts and contexts: his manuscript bibliography of women writers and his use of scribal publication; his involvement in the various scholarly factions in 1640s Paris; the full range of his surviving bibliographical enterprises. This will make it possible to locate Louis Jacob in the history of bibliographical instruments, and to assess what his contribution to it was.

A QUIET LIFE

Bibliographers as a group do not often lead eventful lives: Jacob is no exception to this rule.⁴ He was born on 20 August 1608 in Chalon-sur-Saône in Burgundy, and entered the Carmelite order there in 1625, taking his vows on 11 June 1626.⁵ It is likely that he began work on two large-scale bio-bibliographies while still in his home town, one devoted to members of his order, the other to Cardinals (Appendix, 1 and 6). He also wrote other general surveys.⁶ In 1638, he began work on an ambitious bibliographical project, *La Bibliothèque Universelle de tous les Auteurs de France, qui ont écrits* [sic] *en quelque sorte de sciences et de langues que ce soit*, in four folio volumes, two for works in Latin, and two for works in French (Appendix, 10).⁷ This was to be

⁴ The one modern study entirely devoted to Louis Jacob is by Louise-Noëlle Maclès, 'Le fondateur de la bibliographie nationale en France, le R.P. Louis Jacob de Saint-Charles 1608–1670', in *Mélanges Frantz Calot*, Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1960, pp. 243–55. It contains a number of errors, and omits quite a lot of material. See also Rudolf Blum, 'Vor- und Frühgeschichte der nationalen Allgemeinbibliographie', 282–93.

⁵ His biographer Villiers de Saint-Etienne, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, ii.272, refers to the names of his parents (Jean and Claudine, née Mareschal) and his (remote) Italian origins: he himself refers at one point to a great uncle who was also a Carmelite, whose name he records as 'Jacot' or 'Jacob': see *De claris scriptoribus Cabilonensibus, libri tres*, Paris: Sébastien and Gabriel Cramoisy, 1652, 4to, pp. 152–3. *Ibid.*, p. 72, refers to a brother Octavianus who died in 1625.

⁶ There are references to his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* and *Bibliotheca Cardinalitia* in his *Bibliotheca pontificia*, Lyon: heirs of Gabriel Boissat and Laurent Anisson, 1643, 4to, pp. 273, 275, 299, 371. Villiers de Saint-Etienne, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, ii.278, records that the *Bibliotheca Cardanalitia* was dedicated to Retz (i.e. some time after 19 February 1652, when he became a Cardinal); but that would not prevent its having been composed earlier. *Ibid.*, ii.283 records two of his other early works, both dated 1634: *Description de toutes les Abbayes et Prieurés de divers Ordres*, and *Description des Empires, Royaumes, Provinces, Villes, Montagnes, Mers et Fleuves de tout le monde*.

⁷ This is also referred to in *Bibliotheca pontificia*, p. 324, where the mis-spelling occurs.

an extension and completion of the bibliography of works in the vernacular by French authors that had been undertaken in the 1580s by both François Grudé de la Croix du Maine and Antoine du Verdier.⁸ The addition of Latin was to serve the interests not only of humanist scholars but also Catholic theologians. Even at this time, Jacob's interests included epigraphy, in which he engaged as he travelled through France to Rome in 1639. Once there, a number of things happened to him. While in the Catacombs, he mislaid the collection of epitaphs he had transcribed on his travels (Appendix, 47); he came into contact with Gabriel Naudé, then the Librarian of the bibliophile Cardinal Gianfrancesco dei Conti Guidi di Bagno, who was to have a profound influence on his life; and he presented Cardinal Antonio Barberini (of whose household Naudé became a member in 1641–2 after the death of di Bagno) with a record of all the Greek and Roman inscriptions in the Chiesa San Martino ai Monti (Appendix, 46). He also was witness to a solemn procession by members of his order associated with the same church of which he wrote an account which appeared at Paris in 1641 and possibly before.⁹

Naudé, who generously introduced Jacob to his contacts in Rome,¹⁰ persuaded him to defer work on his vast comprehensive bibliography of all French authors, and to adopt a rather less ambitious bibliographical project—a systematic account of the writings by and about the popes up to the present—which came to fruition and was published in 1643.¹¹

⁸ See Louis Jacob, *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques publiques et particulieres, qui ont esté, et qui sont à present dans le monde. Divisé en deux parties [...] première partie*, Paris: Rolet Le Duc, 1644, 8vo, 'Au Lecteur', â6^v; François Grudé de la Croix du Maine, *Premier volume de la bibliothèque [...] qui est un catalogue general de toutes sortes d'Auteurs, qui ont escrit en françois depuis cinq cents ans et plus [...]*, Paris: Abel L'Angelier, 1584; Antoine du Verdier, *La Bibliothèque, contenant le catalogue de tous ceux qui ont escrit, ou traduit en françois*, Lyon: Jean d'Ogerolles and Barthelemy Honorat, 1585.

⁹ According to Villiers de Saint-Etienne, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, ii.273, Jacob referred to a prior edition (Paris, 1639) in his Nachlass.

¹⁰ These included Cassiano dal Pozzo and Leone Allacci: see the dedication to Naudé in BP 1645, â2^v. On Cassiano dal Pozzo, see Giacomo Lumbroso, 'Notizie sulla vita di Cassiano dal Pozzo', *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, xv (1876), 129–388; on Allacci, see Thomas Cerbu, *Leone Allacci: life and letters*, Rome: Vatican Library, forthcoming.

¹¹ The full title reads *Bibliotheca pontificia, duobus libris distincta. In primo agitur ex professo de romanis pontificibus, a S. Petro usque ad Urbanum VIII, ac de pseudo-pontificibus qui scriptis claruerunt. In secundo vero, tum in particulari, eorum vitas et laudes, necnon praecellentiam auctoritatemve posteritati consecrarunt. Cui adiungitur catalogus haeticorum, qui adversus Romanos pontifices aliquid ediderunt. Accedit*

Naudé, who expressed his somewhat condescending affection for Jacob in a letter to the Dupuy brothers, seemed convinced of the value of this undertaking, presumably on the grounds that it would be a useful finding-list for historians, and contributed much to it himself.¹² Jacob tells us that this took him three years to complete.¹³ Before it appeared, however, he was to spend a further year and a half on his travels, compiling accounts of the libraries of individuals and religious institutions in the towns of Italy and France through which he passed. He tells us that he stayed in Padua in 1640 with another Churchman historian who was engaged in producing bio-bibliographies, Giacomo Filippo Tomasini, a contact of Naudé's who became his friend.¹⁴ Tomasini, who demonstrates the link between bibliographical activity and eulogistic biography which is a feature of Jacob's own writing, went on to revise his bio-bibliography of learned men in 1644 which Jacob was later to

fragmentum libelli S. Marcelli, Romani martyris, B. Petri apostoli discipuli, hactenus ineditum de disputatione B. Petri et Simonis Magi.

¹² *Lettres de Gabriel Naudé à Jacques Dupuy (1632–52)*, ed. Philippe Wolfe, Edmon-ton, Lealta/Alta press, 1982, xxxviii, p. 122 (Rome, 17 May 1641): 'Certain religieux m'écrit de Lyon qu'il y va mettre sous la presse un livre que pour seconder son génie je lui fis commencer ici. Vous rirez du titre, mais néanmoins il ne laira pas d'être utile et il ne tiendra pas à moi qu'il ne soit aussi très particulier, car je lui envoie tous les mémoires dont je me puis servir. Voilà donc le titre de son ouvrage: *Athaeneum Papale duobus libris distinctum in primo agitur de omnibus pontificis a Sto Petro usque ad Urbanum octavum inclusive ubi praesertim ex professo de omnibus qui scriptis floruerunt. In 2o de omnibus auctoribus qui de Romanorum pontificorum vitis tum in generali tum in particulari scripserunt Aeterno Pontificii Jesu Christo dicatum auctore R.P. Ludovico Jacob a S. Carolo Cabilonensi Carmelita*. Toute la science de ce bon père est fondée sur la connaissance des auteurs, et il ne travaille à autre chose qu'à faire des catalogues, bibliothèques, etc., en quoi il a beaucoup de génie et d'inclination.' Jacob confirms on more than one occasion how much the work owes to Naudé's notes: *Bibliotheca pontificia*, pp. 242, 318; BP 1645, ã3r.

¹³ He also says in his dedication of the work to Cardinal Giulio Mazarini (later Jules Mazarin) that he wrote it in his palace in Rome, where he spent less than two years: '[bibliotheca] noctibus Romanis elaborata, Quirinalem tuam adire gestit': *Bibliotheca pontificia*, *4r.

¹⁴ *Bibliotheca pontificia*, pp. 138, 260, 314, 328 ('mihi amicissimum'). The copies of Tomasini's *Bibliothecae Patavinae manuscriptae publicae et privatae*, Udine: Niccolò Schiratti, 1639 and *Prodromus athenarum Patavinarum*, Padua: Giacomo Filippo Tomasini, 1633, in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, shelfmark K 3405 (1) and (2) have each an inscription: the first, 'dono auctoris' in Tomasini's hand, the second, Louis Jacob's note: 'hunc Prodromum possidet F. Ludovicus Iacob A.S. Carolo Carmelita Cabilonensis beneficio R.P. Tomasini Auctoris Patavii Anno Christi 1640 Mense Iunio.' I am grateful to Frédéric Gabriel for this information. On Naudé as a friend of Tomasini, see P.O. Kristeller, 'Between the Italian Renaissance and the French Enlightenment: Gabriel Naudé as editor', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 32 (1979), 41–72 (46).

use extensively.¹⁵ By 1642 he had reached Lyon, where he set about having his *Bibliotheca pontificia* published. Naudé acquired on Jacob's behalf a *privilège* or a book licence for this work from the Garde des Sceaux Pierre Séguier, and the author transferred it to the publishers who paid for the book to be printed.¹⁶ In his *Bibliotheca pontificia*, Jacob included a section on protestant anti-papal writing, but he did not hide his distaste for the 'insane barkings of the Lutheran and Calvinist sects.'¹⁷ In later works, too, he was to declare his partisan interest in the Roman Catholic church, but he did not allow this to affect his principle that a bibliography should be as comprehensive as possible. As a result, his *Bibliotheca pontificia* contains many references to works on the Roman index, as well as a clear expression of Jacob's submission to its decrees.¹⁸ The work was dedicated to Mazarin in the very month of his return to France as Richelieu's successor. It was Naudé who urged Louis Jacob to seek the support of the bibliophile Cardinal, whose Librarian Naudé was to become in 1643, and for whom he was to scour Europe for important collections to buy.¹⁹

¹⁵ *Elogia virorum literis et sapientia illustrium ad vivum expressis imaginibus exornata*, Padua: Sebastiano Sardi, 1644. An earlier edition had appeared in 1630. Villiers de Saint-Etienne, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, ii.276–7, lists eight *Elogia* of individuals by Jacob published between 1651 and 1666.

¹⁶ BP 1645, â3^r. The *privilège* was granted upon payment for the imposition of the seal and the provision of a number of free copies: see *Histoire de l'édition française: tome 1: le livre conquérant*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and Jean-Pierre Viret, Paris: 1982, p. 238 (Annie Charon-Parent) and 369–73 (Bernard Barbiche). The publishers, Laurent Anisson and the Heirs of Gabriel Boissat to whom Anisson was tutor, specialized in Catholic theology: see V.F. Goldsmith, *A short title catalogue of French books 1601–1700 in the Library of the British Museum*, Folkestone and London: Dawson's of Pall Mall, 1973, M 315, N 229, C 390, P 1100. As well as *privilèges*, there are ecclesiastical approbations: that provided by the General of Jacob's order for the *De claris scriptoribus Cabilonensibus* is unusually generous, in that it covers 'opera omnia hactenus ab ipso [Ludovico Jacob] composita et imposterum componenda'. But cf. Philibert Papillon, *Bibliothèque des auteurs de Bourgogne*, Dijon: Philippe Marteret, 1742, i.324: 'j'ay appris de quelques personnes très instruites et très dignes de foi, que le P. Jacob eut quelque chagrin à essuyer dans son Ordre, parce qu'il ne paroissoit persuadé de quelques Traditions, communément reçues parmi ces Religieux.' See also Jean-Dominique Mellot and Elisabeth Queral, *Répertoire d'imprimeurs/ libraires: vers 1500–vers 1800*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2004, p. 29 [no. 82]; and Gui Patin, *Lettres*, ed. J.-H. Reveillé-Parise, Paris: J.-B. Baillièrre, 1846, iii.491 (to M. Falconet, 14 November 1664): 'je trouve M. Anisson un fort bon homme.'

¹⁷ *Bibliotheca Pontificia*, â3^r: 'insanos Lutheranae et Calvinianae sectae latratus'; see also *ibid.*, pp. 296–7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

¹⁹ See Jack A. Clarke, *Gabriel Naudé, 1600–1653*, Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1970.

Louis Jacob himself moved to Paris in October 1643, in the year after Naudé's return.²⁰ The close association of the two bibliographers²¹ was made clear in Jacob's next venture, the *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques publiques et particulieres, qui ont esté, et qui sont à present dans le monde*, which appeared in 1644 at the same time as the second edition of Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, to which it served as an extensive introduction.²² Both books were produced by the Parisian publisher Rolet Le Duc at his own expense. In his *Traicté*, Jacob enthusiastically declares that Mazarin's fast-expanding Library was open on Thursdays to all who wished to consult its holdings. The *Gazette de France* of 30 January 1644 reveals further that Jacob was present to assist Naudé on these occasions.²³ Unusually for a Carmelite of the ancient observance, Jacob possessed his own personal collection of books, which he supplemented at this time by buying the duplicates from Mazarin's Library, made available for purchase by Naudé's strategy of acquiring whole collections rather than selections from them.²⁴ It is clear also that he relied on Mazarin's Library as a place of research into what had by now become a number of concurrent projects, until its confiscation and dispersal through auction by order of the Paris

²⁰ Naudé was back in Paris by 1 June 1642, as the dedication to his edition of Leonardo Bruni Aretino's *De studiis et literis*, Paris: widow of Guillaume Pelé, shows. For Jacob's date of arrival in Paris, see his *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, 'Au Lecteur', â6^r.

²¹ The term is apt: Naudé was the first writer to use the word in Latin and French: *Bibliographia politica*, Venice: Francesco Baba, 1633; *La bibliographie politique*, Paris: widow of Guillaume Pelé, 1642, 8vo. See also Rudolf Blum, *Bibliographia. Eine wort- und begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Frankfurt am Main: Buchhändlerische Vereinigung, 1969, and below, note 115.

²² *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques Divisé en deux parties [...] premiere partie*, The preface 'Au Lecteur' (â7^{r-v}) makes it clear that the words 'premiere partie' are to be taken to indicate that Naudé's *Advis* constitutes the second part; see also Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, ed. Claude Jolly, Paris: aux Amateurs de Livres, 1990, introduction, v. Naudé's *Advis* was first published in 1627.

²³ Cited by Clarke, *Naudé*, p. 69.

²⁴ Jacob's ownership of books is indicated in the *Bibliotheca pontificia* by the word 'mihi' (i.e. 'in my edition') placed before a page reference, as in *Bibliotheca pontificia*, p. 1 and *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum, quae scriptis claruerunt*. (MS A.F.Fr. 22865), f. 3^r. See also Clarke, *Naudé*, p. 78. Naudé issued an interfoliated catalogue of the library of Jean des Cordes in 1643 (*Bibliothecae Cordesianae catalogus*, 2 vols., Paris: Antoine Vitre, 1643, 4to), presumably in view of a public sale, but Jacob records in his *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, pp. 486–7 that Mazarin's library was 'erigé depuis un an sur celle de feu M lean Des-Cordes', suggesting that Naudé purchased the major part, if not all of it, for his employer.

Parlement in 1652.²⁵ He also worked in a wide range of other libraries and archives in the capital, including that of the Chambre des Comptes (Appendix, 22 and 50).

Jacob dedicated his *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques* to the assistant (Coadjuteur) to the Archbishop of Paris, Paul de Gondi (after 1652, the Cardinal de Retz), whose Librarian he was later to become.²⁶ The work attracted the attention of the physician and book dealer Gui Patin, with whom Jacob became associated around this time.²⁷ At some point before 1 January 1649, he acquired the titles 'Conseiller et Aumônier du Roi', presumably thanks to a connection at court.²⁸ Through a range of contacts which included Naudé, Patin and the literary and scholarly figure Gilles Ménage, he became well-connected in the worlds of publishing, the salons and scholarship. He attended the reunions of the Dupuy brothers, to which I shall return below (pp. 422–3). Pierre Séguier, accorded him a *privilege* for his project to produce annual Parisian and later national bibliographies, entitled the *Bibliographia Parisina* and the *Bibliographia Gallica universalis*. These were initially published by Naudé's own publisher, Rolet Le Duc, at his own expense. When Le Duc disappeared from the scene in 1646, first the widow of Jean Camuzat together with her son-in-law Pierre Le Petit, then (from 1649 to 1654) the doyen of the Parisian Book Trade, Sébastien Cramoisy, undertook to publish these and other works by Jacob.²⁹ During this time, he lived either with the Carmelites of the Place Maubert,³⁰ or with a series of

²⁵ On this event, see *Avis à Nosseigneurs de Parlement, sur la vente de la bibliothèque de M. le Cardinal Mazarin*, n.p., n.d., translated as *News from France, or a Description of the Library of Cardinall Mazarini: before it was utterly ruined. Sent in a Letter from Monsieur G. Naudaeus, Keeper of the publick Library*, London: printed for Timothy Garthwait, 1652. For Jacob's reference to his own use of the library, see *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum*, f. 20^v: 'Theatrum illustre quod legi in splendissa. Bibli. Par. Iulii Card. Maz.' (and *passim*).

²⁶ The dedication to the *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, ã3^{r-v}, makes this clear: 'aussi j'espere que ce discours [...] reveillera bien tost en vous ce noble et ardent desir que vous avez d'en dresser une qui soit digne de la grandeur de vostre naissance, et du rang notable que vous tenez dans l'Eglise. C'est un employ qui n'est pas seulement utile, mais absolument necessaire à un grand Prelat, comme vous qui doit sçavoir par les bons livres, tout ce que les autres sçavent, et mesme tout ce qu'ils ignorent.'

²⁷ Gui Patin, *Lettres*, i.116 (to M. Belin, 8 August 1644): 'il y a ici un livre qui est fort curieux, c'est un traité de toutes les bibliothèques du monde, en deux volumes in 8°, et principalement de celles de France, où il y a de grandes particularités.'

²⁸ See the title and date given in the dedication of BP 1650, ã2^r, ã3^r.

²⁹ On Cramoisy, see Henri-Jean Martin, *Livres, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII^e siècle (1598–1701)*, Geneva: Droz, 1999, p. 625.

³⁰ In BP 1647, p. 47, he gives this as his address.

not very prominent patrons connected with the law courts, including Claude Corberon and Barnabé Le Gay.³¹ His independent existence away from his order (an arrangement which seems to have been amicable) is signalled by his own use of 'Carmelita alumnus' (which he first employs in 1643, on the title-page of the *Bibliotheca pontificia*), and Gui Patin's jocular reference to him as a 'carme défroqué'.³²

The heady early days of the regency of Anne of Austria (1643–51) were succeeded by the civil wars known as the Fronde (1647–53). One of the major players in the complex political scene (in which allegiance or opposition to Mazarin was a defining feature) was the Cardinal de Retz. He appointed Louis Jacob his Librarian sometime between January 1650 and August 1651, before his arrest and imprisonment in November 1652.³³ Louis Jacob continued to use this office as an *epitheton ornans* on title-pages until 1654, the year of Retz's dramatic escape from prison. Jacob seems to have been caught between various factions (his mentor Naudé was a strident supporter of his patron Mazarin, of whom de Retz was no friend and Patin an outspoken opponent), and to have (perhaps with some naivety) associated himself with figures who ended up on the losing side after Mazarin's return to power (such as Abraham van Wicquefort, the Ambassador of the Elector of Brandenburg and dedicatee of the 1654 edition of the *Bibliographia Gallica universalis*, who was eventually dismissed from his office by Mazarin in 1658).³⁴ At the height of the civil disorders, Jacob was advised by friends to leave the capital, and 'ce bon garçon', as Patin calls him, became the chaplain of the Bishop of Autun in 1652,³⁵ the same year in which his

³¹ On Claude Corberon, Conseiller et Trésorier Général des Ligues des Suisses, in whose house Jacob was residing in October 1646 when he finished the *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum*, see Archives départementales de la Charante, fasc. E 531 and Archives départementales du département du Haut Rhin, fasc. 1 J 2. The advocate Barnabé Le Gay, 'in curia Paris[iensi] causarum' describes himself as an 'patronus amicus' in a preliminary verse to *De claris scriptoribus Cabilonensibus*, ē2^r.

³² Gui Patin, *Lettres*, i.185 (to M. Belin of Troyes, 16 November 1652).

³³ Jacob does not use the title in BP 1650; for the terminus ad quem, see *De claris scriptoribus Cabilonensibus*, ē4^r (date of the approbation of the General of the Carmelite order, who accords Jacob the title of Gondi's Librarian). On the vicissitudes of Retz's existence at this time, see Derek A. Watts, *Cardinal de Retz: the ambiguities of a seventeenth-century mind*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.

³⁴ On van Wicquefort, see Jean-Christien-Ferdinand Hoefer, *Nouvelle biographie générale*, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1852–66, s.v.

³⁵ BGU 1654, ā1^r: 'amicorum meorum auctoritas, cui nihil non debeo, me ab urbe addu[xerat]'; Gui Patin, *Lettres*, i.185 (to M. Belin of Troyes, 16 November 1652): 'Je suis bien aise qu'ayez vu à Troyes l'aumônier de M. L'évêque d'Autun que nous nommions

De claris scriptoribus Cabilonensibus, a work celebrating the writers of his home town of Chalon-sur-Saône, was printed by Cramoisy in Paris. It is likely that *De claris scriptoribus Aeduensibus* (Appendix, 19: a similar celebration of the writers of Autun, dedicated to the Bishop), was written at this time. Thereafter, either after the flight abroad of the Cardinal de Retz in August 1654, or after his definitive disgrace in 1661, he was appointed as Librarian by Achille de Harlay, a magistrate who was also a rich literary patron, to whose son Jacob had dedicated the volume of the *Bibliographia Parisina* which appeared in 1650.³⁶ The last edition of the *Bibliographia Gallica universalis* came out in 1654. Patin correctly predicted that Jacob did not have the heart to continue with it, although there may have been other contributory factors.³⁷ The *privilège* had expired, and Cramoisy may have refused to pay for their publication as his finances were precarious.³⁸ Only Cramoisy attempted to carry the initiative further, for his own publications alone.³⁹ Thereafter one more book was to appear in Paris through Jacob's efforts: the *Tumulus Gabrielis Naudeae*, a volume of occasional verse which appeared in 1659 and was dedicated to the memory of his 'dearest friend' Naudé who had died in 1653.⁴⁰ In 1663 or 1664, he was to publish another

ici le père Jacob: c'est un bon garçon; je doute s'il ne continuera plus à nous faire des bibliothèques tous les ans.' The Bishop of Autun, Louis Doni d'Attichy (1598–1664), was at this time the aspirant author of a major ecclesiastical reference work, which eventually appeared from the Cramoisy press in 1660 with the title *Flores historiae Sacri Collegii S.R.E. Cardinalium*: see *ibid.*, ii.87 (to Charles Spon, 25 February 1653) and *Dictionnaire de Biographie française*, ed. J. Balteau, M. Barrous, and M. Prévost, Paris: Letouzey, 1933–, s.v. Doni d'Attichy, Louis.

³⁶ On Harlay (1606–71), see *ibid.*, s.v. Harlay, (Achille II de). Villiers de Saint-Etienne, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, ii.278 records that one of Jacob's MS (Appendix, 7: *Bibliotheca Burgundica*) was said to be at one time in Harlay's Library.

³⁷ Gui Patin, *Lettres*, i. 185 (to M. Belin of Troyes, 16 November 1652): 'je doute s[i] le Père Jacob] ne continuera plus à nous faire des bibliothèques tous les ans.'

³⁸ See the dedication to Abraham van Wiquefort in BGU 1654, ã2^v: 'annus iam agitur decimus, ex quo Gallicorum Typographorum industriam, ut toti Europae innotescat, publici iuris facio.'

³⁹ *Bibliotheca Cramosiana: sive catalogus librorum, quos Sebastianus Cramoisy, ab anno 1654, ubi desiit Bibliographia Gallica universalis, usque ad hunc annum 1659, excudit*, Paris, 1659. He had already produced a second catalogue of the *Typographia regia*, in 1650.

⁴⁰ *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum*, f. 69^r: 'charissimus amicus noster Gabriel Nau-daeus'; also *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, ã7^r, citing 'l'etrote amitié qui est entre [Naudé] et moy'. The commemorative volume, published in octavo by the Cramoisy press, included a bibliography of Naudé's writings, surprisingly not by Jacob himself but by Antoine Cramoisy.

short book, which his early bibliographers attributed to the presses of his former Lyonnais publisher, Laurent Anisson.⁴¹

He had his fair share of disappointments after the accession of Louis XIV. The disgrace of his patron de Retz and the death of Naudé in 1653 cannot have helped him maintain his place in post-Fronde Paris society. He could no longer work in the Library of Cardinal Mazarin after its dispersal. His hopes for a second edition of his *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques* and for cooperation with the provinces were dashed, and he suffered the indignity of seeing the unsold copies of his text re-issued twice before his death, in 1655 and 1668, with all its errors uncorrected.⁴² Much of his work remained unpublished, and even his plea to Cramoisy in the *Bibliographia Parisina* of 1651 to produce the catalogue of all the books he had printed between 1600 and 1650 fell on deaf ears. The *Bibliographia Augustiniana* (Appendix, 18), which was 'ready for the press' in 1660 according to his close acquaintance, the Jesuit Philippe Labbe, never appeared.⁴³ Jacob's final years seem to have been spent quietly in the house of the Harlay family, of whose slighting treatment he complained to his friend Ménage.⁴⁴ He died there on 10 March 1670, and his body and his books were speedily and unceremoniously dispatched by coach to the Carmelite House of Les Billettes in Paris, which gave a home to his mortal remains and his surviving papers, many of which concerned the history of his order.⁴⁵

⁴¹ This is the *Compendissa descriptio provinciae Narbonae ordinis Carmelitarum*, which survives today in the Bibliothèque de France in a copy without imprint.

⁴² Ibid., 'Au Lecteur', é1r: 'quelques [bibliothèques] ont esté omises [...] mais dans une seconde edition elles seront placées selon leur ordre.' The two publishers who bought the unsold sheets of the *Traicté* were Louis Chamhoudry and Sébastien Eschart, in 1654 and 1668 respectively.

⁴³ Philippe Labbe, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, quos attigit Eminentiss. S.R.E. Card. Robertus Bellaminus, philologica et historica dissertatio* [...], Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1660, i.714 [= 734]: 'pro sermonibus ad Fratres in Eremito multi ex Augustinianis Eremitis, et adversus eos quamplurimi omnium ferme ordinum saeculares Regularesque scripserunt, quorum Catalogum brevi expectamus a R.P. Ludovico a S Carolo Carmelita, qui Bibliographiam Augustinianam praelo paratam habet.' I am grateful to Jean-Louis Quantin for this reference. Another work said to be ready for the press was the *Bibliotheca Cardinalitia* (Appendix, 6), according to Papillon, *Bibliothèque*, i.328.

⁴⁴ *Menagiana ou les bons mots, les pensées critiques de Monsieur Ménage*, Paris: Florentin and Pierre Deaulne, 1694, p. 181. In 1658–60 he was in correspondence with the historian Samuel Guichenon: see Institut de France, MS 644, pièces 25–7.

⁴⁵ Ibid.: 'il mourut chez M. de Harlay; et il ne fut pas plutost expiré, que l'on mit son corps dans un carosse avec ses livres, pour être porté à son Couvent des Billettes.' See also Appendix, 1, 27–43.

These were presumably dispersed when the French state sold the contents of the House in 1793.⁴⁶

SCRIBAL PUBLICATION IN PARIS

Although Paris in the Regency of Anne of Austria was one of the most prolific centres of printing in Europe at the time, scribal culture was still an active feature of its intellectual and literary life. The practice of creating a manuscript exemplar and distributing multiple copies of it (or allowing others to copy it for themselves) is well attested: François, duc de la Rochefoucauld had his *Maximes* distributed to a select circle of friends in this way in the early 1660s.⁴⁷ Nor was the practice limited to aristocrats who thought that publishing a book smacked of trade and would be demeaning to their nobility. Political and religious pamphlets, treatises on topics requiring a certain type of illustration, and polemics of various kinds were produced in manuscript form, and even the scientific and philosophical community had recourse to this medium, as they had done elsewhere in Europe.⁴⁸ The English mathematician John Pell wrote to Samuel Hartlib in April 1657 about his search for a work by his Parisian colleague Gilles de Roberval that had been 'published after the old fashion. That is, [the pieces] were not given to a Printer; but any man that would pay for the transcribing might have a copy of them.'⁴⁹ I do not wish to suggest that Jacob's preferred

⁴⁶ Charles Lefeuve, *Histoire de Paris, rue par rue, maison par maison*, Paris: Reinwald and Twietmeyer, 1875, i.435–6.

⁴⁷ See *Réflexions ou sentences et maximes morales et réflexions diverses*, ed. Laurence Plazenet, Paris: Champion, 2005, pp. 120–1.

⁴⁸ See Harold Love, *Scribal publication in seventeenth-century England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993; Henry Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the circulation of manuscripts, 1558–1640*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996. Girolamo Cardano's *Metoposcopia* was circulated in manuscript because of its many fastidious illustrations: see Bibliothèque de France, MS Lat. 17857 and Lat 18502. Giacomo Castelvetro circulated his cookery book (*Breve racconto di tutte le radici, di tutti l'herbe, e di tutti i frutti che crudi e cotti in Italia si mangiano*) in London in scribal form: H.A. Dick, 'Renaissance expatriate: Giacomo Castelvetro the Elder', *Italian Quarterly*, 7 (1963), 3–19, records that there were six MSS produced between May and September 1614. An earlier example of scribal publication is examined in Giancarlo Zanier, *Ricerche sulla diffusione e fortuna del "De incantationibus" di Pomponazzi*, Florence: La nuova Italia, 1975.

⁴⁹ Hartlib Papers, 31/12/14A, quoted by Noel Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 157. Noel Malcolm has since been kind enough to give me the source of this in a letter from Pell to Hartlib: British Library, MS. Add. 4364, f. 146^r.

mode of scholarly transmission was anything other than the printed book. He was so keen to see his writings in print that he contrived to get texts consisting of a single page or gathering produced in this way; there are several examples of this practice in Villiers de Saint-Etienne's bibliography.⁵⁰ But it would seem at the same time true that although Jacob hoped that all his bibliographical efforts would be published, he expected certain of his manuscripts to be available as exemplars, as he made reference to them in his printed works, and left them after his death in bound form for others to consult.⁵¹ In this, he followed the practice of his acquaintance Marin Mersenne, who advertised his own marginal notes in his writings, and invited interested parties to consult them, at the same time as borrowing books from others in order to transcribe their marginalia.⁵²

The list of unpublished manuscripts provided by Villiers de Saint Etienne in 1752 includes a number of examples of potential scribal publication, one of which survives as a copy (rather than an exemplar) in the Bibliothèque de France (MS A.F.Fr. 22865). This appears in the Library's catalogue with the title *Dictionnaire biographique des femmes écrivains, depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XVII^e siècle*. It was known to Jacob's contemporaries as *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum, quae scriptis claruerunt* (Appendix, 14). I shall come back to the project itself below; it is pertinent here to examine the status of this manuscript, and the reasons which might have deterred Jacob from seeking to publish it in print. On the last folio of the text, it is stated to be a holograph exemplar, for the person who commissioned the copy notes that it was taken from the 'autographum du pere Jacob gardé aux Billettes écrit de sa main'. This note was almost certainly written by l'abbé Philippe

⁵⁰ See above note 9, and the *Catalogus Auctorum, qui probant nobilissimum D. Renatum Gros a Sancto Joyrio, e familia Illustriss[imi] Comitis Fulcodii Gros parentis Clementis Pape procreatum*, Lyon, 1642, a quarto single sheet reproduced in *Bibliotheca pontificia*, pp. 50–3, cited in the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, ii.273.

⁵¹ *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, pp. 496, 499; also above, note 6. Appendix 1, 19. 31, 41 (the last two with notes by subsequent readers correcting errors), 1, 19.

⁵² See *L'harmonie universelle*, Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1636, book 2, p. 50; see also Descartes, *Oeuvres*, ed. Charles Adam and Paul Tannery, Paris: Vrin, 1996, ii.336 (letter to Mersenne, 23 August 1638) and ii, 381 (letter to Mersenne, 11 October 1638), where reference is made to the exchange of copies to allow marginal notes to be transcribed. On this practice, which makes the marginal notation of books a public exercise similar to a medieval gloss, see Claudio Buccolini, 'Les marginalia dans l'*Harmonie universelle* du P. Marin Mersenne', in *Actes du XVI^e congrès international de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, forthcoming. In BGU 1647 p. 47, Jacob offers himself as a public service in respect of enquiries about a book.

Drouyn (1661–1736), Librarian of the Collège de Navarre in 1689, who was forced eventually to resign his office for what was described as a ‘crimen pessimum’ in 1703.⁵³ He was the author of a history of the Paris Theology Faculty, and like Jacob planned an ambitious general bibliography.⁵⁴ Throughout the manuscript, the names of French women writers have been struck out. It seems that Drouyn was planning to publish a bio-bibliography of ‘femmes etrangeres’ only, as the final note indicates: ‘femmes etrangeres qui ont ecrit que j’ajoute au pere Jacob.’⁵⁵

The most plausible reason for the manuscript not being printed is the discovery made by Jacob that his friend the poet Guillaume Colletet, to whom Jacob dedicated the *Biblographia Parisina* which appeared in 1647, had already embarked on an ambitious project to write the bio-bibliographies of all French poets of both sexes. Jacob had certainly found this out by 1646, when he published the relevant entry extracted from his *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum* as a eulogy of the remarkable Dutch scholar, linguist and feminist Anna Maria van Schurman: this includes a reference to Colletet’s ‘Vitae poetarum’.⁵⁶ The striking-out

⁵³ This is a Canon Law phrase usually denoting sexual malpractice. The Jacob manuscript was given with a number of others to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in the latter half of the nineteenth century by a member of the Drouyn family. On Drouyn, see Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, *Correspondance*, ed. Charles Urbain and Eugène Levesque, vol. 14, Paris: Hachette, 1923, pp. 348–50. I am grateful to Jean-Louis Quantin for this information.

⁵⁴ The draft of this now resides in the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Paris.

⁵⁵ *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum*, f. 255^v. Four references follow, one of which is to a work which first appeared in 1666 (Bartholin’s *De scriptis Danorum*) another in 1688 (Salden’s *De libris varioque usu abusu et neglectu lectionis scriptorum secularum et antiquitatis*). It may also be that there are some additions made by Louis Jacob himself (two books referred to in the *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum* date from 1647: the second edition of Hilarion de Coste’s *Eloges et vies des reynes, princesses, dames et damoiselles illustres en pieté, courage et doctrine, qui ont fleury de nostre temps et du temps de nos peres*, Paris: Sébastien et Gabriel Cramoisy (ff. 5^r, 136^v) and the *Gallerie des femmes fortes* by Pierre le Moynes, Paris, Antoine de Sommaville: (f. 136^v). Jacob either added the references, or he had access to the works as they were being printed.

⁵⁶ BP 1647, p. 30 records an *Elogium eruditiss. Virginis Annae Mariae a Schurman ex. R.P. Ludovici a Sancto Carolo Cabilonensis Carmelitae Bibliotheca illustium Foeminarum*, Paris, sumptibus Roleti le Duc, 1646, in 8, and an *Eloge de Mademoiselle Amme Marie de Schurman Holondoise tiré de la Bibliothèque Latine des Femmes Illustres qui ont écrit composé par le R.P. Louys Jacob [...] Et traduit en François par le Sieur Paul Jacob, Lyonnois, Advocat en Parlement. Avec un autre eloge du Sieur Jacob et des vers de Messieurs Colletets pere et fils et Du Pelletier*, Paris, chez Rolet Le Duc, 1646 in octavo’ The eulogy was later published in Anna Maria van Schurman, *Opuscula*, ed. Fridericus Spanhemius, Utrecht: Johannes a Waesberge, 1652, 8vo, pp. 346–64. This is not the only extract from the *Bibliotheca illustrium mulierum* to be published around

of the entries for French women writers in the *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum* may have already been done in the exemplar, and slavishly reproduced by the copyist. In this truncated form, Jacob's work was mentioned by his contemporary, the Minim Hilarion de Coste (who also compiled lists of eulogies of women), and celebrated by his friend Naudé in an epigram.⁵⁷ It continued to be known to the scholarly community up to the time of Drouyn and was recorded in at least one late seventeenth-century German bibliography in a way which suggests that the bibliographer knew that it was in manuscript form.⁵⁸

CULTURAL POLITICS, PRINT AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Of all cities in Early Modern Europe, Paris was one of the richest in intellectual resources, both material and human. Jacob had already indicated in his *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques* of 1644 just how many splendid libraries could be found in the capital (more, he averred, than in Germany and Spain put together).⁵⁹ A year later, in his *Bibliographia Gallica universalis* of 1646, he proudly announced that it also could boast more learned men than anywhere else in Europe, and produced more books in any one year than the whole of Germany.⁶⁰ This state of affairs had not escaped the notice of powerful figures of the French monarchical establishment, who lent their support to the cultural and intellectual life of the capital in the interests of royal propaganda. The Premier Ministre, Cardinal de Richelieu, had been instrumental early in his career in establishing strong links with the book trade through

this time: see also 'Elogium Annae Commenae', which was included in Pierre Poussin's Latin translation of the *Annae Commenae Porphyrogenitae Caesarissae Alexias*, Paris: Typographia Regia, 1651, fol.

⁵⁷ Hilarion de Coste, *Eloges et vies des reynes, princesses, dames et damoiselles illustres en piété, courage et doctrine, qui ont fleury de nostre temps et du temps de nos peres*, ii, 170; Gabriel Naudé, *Epigrammatum libri duo*, Paris: Sébastien and Gabriel Cramoisy, 1650, 8vo, ii.53. A fuller list of near-contemporary citations is given by Villiers de Saint Etienne, *Bibliotheca carmelitana*, ii.279–80.

⁵⁸ Martin Lipenius, *Bibliotheca realis philosophica*, Frankfurt am Main: Johann Fridericus and Egidius Vogel, 1682, p. 520: 'Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum, quae scriptis claruerunt Paris 4o.' The absence of imprint suggests a scribal form.

⁵⁹ Jean-Pierre Niceron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la République des lettres*, (1729–45), vol. 40, Paris: Briasson, 1739, p. 93 accuses Jacob of not checking himself on the contents of all the libraries he mentions, and of including some very mediocre collections in his list.

⁶⁰ *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, ã1^v; BP 1645, ï1^r–2^r.

the Compagnie des Usages. He went on to take a number of measures in the area of what we might now call cultural politics. He founded the Académie française, supported the newly established Imprimerie Royale, and encouraged accessible public debate about the burning issues of the day at the Bureau d'Adresse (a sort of popular academy accessible to all) which was run by the protestant entrepreneur Théophraste Renaudot with Richelieu's full support.⁶¹ These initiatives enhanced the dignity of French as a culturally respectable language vis-à-vis Latin (to the extent that the royal historiographer Charles Sorel remarked that one no longer needed to know ancient languages),⁶² and at the same time promoted the open discussion of topical scientific and philosophical issues.⁶³

After Richelieu's death in 1642, this movement was if anything strengthened by the arrival of Mazarin, a man who believed passionately in public libraries and tolerated open discussion, even of controversial political theories in which figures close to Jacob engage, including Naudé and Louis Machon.⁶⁴ The Garde des Sceaux, Pierre Séguier, actively supported bibliography which he described as an 'opus utile et necessarium' in that it facilitated the transmission of knowledge.⁶⁵ Naudé's various publications gave substance to this prevailing policy in which the issues of access to libraries, literary activity, public discussion and scholarship were closely linked to each other.⁶⁶ Bibliography

⁶¹ Howard M. Solomon, *Public welfare, science and propaganda in seventeenth-century France: the innovations of Théophraste Renaudot*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972; Martin, *Livres pouvoirs et société*, pp. 467–71. See also BGU 1647 p. 47, where Jacob offers himself as a public service in respect of enquiries about a book, and above, note 52.

⁶² *La Bibliothèque française* [...], 2nd. ed., Paris, 1667, pp. 1–2, quoted by Henri-Jean Martin, *Livres, pouvoirs et société*, p. 625.

⁶³ Solomon, *Public welfare*, pp. 60–99.

⁶⁴ See René Pintard, *Le libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle*, Geneva-Paris: Slatkine, 1983, pp. 58–9, 545–7; K.T. Butler, 'Louis Macon's "Apologie pour Machiavelle"—1643 and 1688', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 3 (1940), 208–27; Peter S Donaldson, *Machiavelli and the Mystery of State*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 142–222 (on Naudé and Machon). Machon's connection with Jacob is confirmed in the preface to *Bibliographia parisiensis*, 1646, â4^v, where he is identified as the go-between between Jacob and Séguier. His 'Apologie' records the fact that Richelieu himself described Machiavelli as 'cest escrivain solide et veritable' who had written 'maximes indispensables et raisonnables' (cited by Butler, 'Machon's Apologie', 209). On politics in Paris at this time, see Etienne Thuau, *Raison d'état et pensée politique à l'époque de Richelieu*, Paris: Armand Colin, 1966.

⁶⁵ BP 1646, â4^v.

⁶⁶ Robert Damien, *Bibliothèque et état: naissance d'une raison politique dans la France du XVII^e siècle*, Paris: PUF, 1995; Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Between the Italian

prospered in this turbulent decade. It was even celebrated in a satirical but affectionate pamphlet which appeared in 1649 entitled *Rymaille sur les plus célèbres bibliothèques de Paris en 1649*, which mentions both Jacob and Naudé.⁶⁷ Its dignity was recognized by the unprecedented inclusion of dedications and preliminary verses in what are in effect no more than book lists, suggesting that what was previously taken to be a lowly activity was on a cultural and scholarly par with literary and historical writing.⁶⁸ The ownership and accumulation of books also took on a new importance, and the library itself became what Robert Damien has called a 'machine of culture', whose very openness was a challenge to the authority of the Church and its attempts to repress certain doctrines and theories. Librarians now became specialised administrators of the free transmission of knowledge, in which the multiply-produced printed book took precedence over the single manuscript accessible only to those with the skills to read it.⁶⁹

A further aspect of this movement was the enhanced status of book production and the book trade. The Parisian publisher Sébastien Cramoisy became the Director of the Imprimerie Royale in 1640, and the secretary who issued *privilèges* on behalf of the King at about the same time. This brought him a number of municipal honours, but more especially influence in the area of cultural productions.⁷⁰ The 1640s were also however a time of turbulence in all areas of the commerce in books, arising from such factors as competition from provincial presses, inefficiencies of the system of *privilèges*, and difficulties in the paper trade. It would therefore be wrong to suggest that prosperity was enjoyed by all Parisian printers, publishers and booksellers.⁷¹ One means of improving the conditions under which they all operated was perceived to be systematic bibliography itself, as it would make their products known, and indicate through which outlets their books might be acquired. This is one of the three reasons for producing bibliographies to which Louis Jacob explicitly refers, the other two being the more conventional ones

Renaissance and the French Enlightenment: Gabriel Naudé as an Editor'; Clarke, *Gabriel Naudé*, p. 30.

⁶⁷ *Rymaille sur les plus célèbres bibliothèques de Paris en 1649*, ed. Albert de la Fizelière, Paris: Auguste Aubry, 1868.

⁶⁸ Blum, 'Vor- und Frühgeschichte der nationalen Allgemeinbibliographie', 286.

⁶⁹ Damien, *Bibliothèque et état*, pp. 306–8.

⁷⁰ Martin, *Livres pouvoirs et société à Paris*, pp. 455–71.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 440–54, 559–96.

of the glorification of Paris and service to the Republic of Letters.⁷² His awareness of the financial implications of his preferred activity is tinged however with naivety. He complained that provincial publishers were not sending him details of all their productions, and attributes this to their indolence,⁷³ failing to grasp the fact that a significant part of their activities consisted in pirating Parisian editions, something they were unlikely to be willing to advertise. A close associate of Jacob who engaged in this trade was Gui Patin, who was implicated on several occasions in the trafficking of illegal books.⁷⁴

For all this ideology of secular openness, Catholicism was still a very potent force in the capital. Both the hierarchical church and the many orders which maintained Parisian houses had a vested interest in promoting Latin culture. The *Respublica Literaria* was thus doubled by the *Respublica Christiana*, as Jacob himself acknowledges in the preface to his *Bibliotheca pontificia*.⁷⁵ Religion and linguistic issues were closely linked to politics at this time. France was governed by a Cardinal, but maintained a strong sense of independence from the Papacy. This was the era in which the liberties of the Gallican Church were emphatically reaffirmed, figures such as Tommaso Campanella who were under investigation by the Inquisition in Italy were given refuge in Paris,⁷⁶ and probing investigations into the history of the relations between France and the Roman Catholic Church were commissioned.⁷⁷ The promotion of French as opposed to Latin as a privileged means of scholarly communication which has already been mentioned might be seen in the same context. In reaction to this, an important group of religious writers promoted teaching and writing in Latin and the publication of reference works (*Bibliothecae*) which celebrated in a partisan way the contribution of various religious orders both to spiritual and secular life and to the whole domain of printed scholarship. Jacob was among the

⁷² BP 1645, i2^r.

⁷³ BGU 1646  1^v (referring to Jacob's provincial informants, all priests); BGU 1647,  2^v.

⁷⁴ Pierre Pic, *Gui Patin*, Paris: G. Steinheil, 1911, liv–lv.

⁷⁵ *Bibliotheca pontificia*,  3–4.

⁷⁶ This may have been done with the connivance of Pope Urban VIII to save Campanella from ill-treatment by the Inquisition in Naples: see Michel-Pierre Lerner, *Tommaso Campanella en France au XVII^e si cle*, Naples: Bibliopolis, 1995. See also Pierre Pithou and Pierre Dupuy, *Preuves des libert  s de l'Eglise gallicane*, n.p., 1639, fol.

⁷⁷ Louis Machon was commissioned to write a report on the history of Franco-papal relations by Richelieu: see Donaldson, *Machiavelli and the mystery of state*, p. 186.

figures helping to chart these new intellectual territories, but he is not alone. The Minim Pierre Blanchot, author of a systematic catalogue of patristic sermons by date and topic, also produced as a prospectus an *Idea bibliothecae universalis*,⁷⁸ the Jesuit Philippe Labbe wrote in 1653 a *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, and there were works on Jesuit publication by Philippe Alegambe in 1642 (a continuation of Pedro de Ribadeneira's *Illustrium scriptorum religionis Societatis Iesu* of 1608), and Theodorus Petreius's earlier *Bibliotheca cartusiana* of 1609.⁷⁹ Other groupings of religious authors to be celebrated include cardinals, about whom Jacob himself had produced a bibliography (Appendix, 6) and on whom Jacob's patron the Bishop of Autun wrote two massive volumes.⁸⁰

COLLECTORS, SCHOLARS, PATRONS

All of these tendencies in the French capital were associated with patronage networks, erudite gatherings, international epistolary activities, and libraries as spaces of social and cultural contact between learned men—humanist scholars, historians, jurists, philosophers, mathematicians, scientists, students of politics—who were strongly inclined to give free rein to their intellectual curiosity. There was great enthusiasm for collecting of all kinds, most notably of antiquities.⁸¹ This captious combination of persons, institutions and practices led to the description of those who frequented them as *libertins érudits*, members of a sort of clandestine society of men of letters and of science, who, whether in orders or secular, shared a rationalistically inspired religious scepticism, or were at the very least indifferent in matters of Christian faith. This view has since been strongly challenged. It is now thought that

⁷⁸ This appeared as an appendix ('ad calcem': BP 1645, p. 90) to his *Bibliotheca SS Patrum concionatoria*, Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1631 and 1643. See also Louis Machon, *Discours pour servir de règle ou d'avis aus bibliothécaires*, ed. Daspit de Saint-Amand, Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhou, 1883.

⁷⁹ Labbe, *Nova bibliotheca mss librorum*, Paris: Jean Henault, 1653, 4to (including the *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*); Philippe Alegambe, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu post excusum Anno 1608 Catalogum Petri Ribadeneirae*, Antwerp: Joannes Meursius, 1643, fol.; Theodorus Petreius, *Bibliotheca Cartusiana, sive illustrium sacri Cartusiensis ordinis scriptorum catalogus*. Cologne: Antonius Hierat, 1609, 8vo.

⁸⁰ *Flores historiae Sacri Collegii S.R.E. Cardinalium*, Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1660, fol.

⁸¹ See Peter N. Miller, *Pieresc's Europe: learning and virtue in the seventeenth century*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.

the scholars in holy orders who were part of this society were not in conflict with their professed beliefs in this way, and that the secular figures were not necessarily religious sceptics either.⁸²

The *locus amoenus* of scholarly encounters was the Cabinet of the Brothers Jacques and Pierre Dupuy, who after 1635 were hosts to a wide variety of luminaries including Pierre Gassendi, Jérôme Bignon (the King's Librarian), François de la Mothe le Vayer, Marin Mersenne, Théophraste Renaudot and Jean Chapelain, as well as Jacob himself and most of the dedicatees of the various editions of the *Bibliographia Parisina* and *Bibliographia Gallica universalis*: in sequence of date, Naudé, Patin, Ménage, the Dupuy brothers themselves, Cramoisy, and van Wicquefort.⁸³ Some members of the Cabinet ran their own assemblies—Mersenne's concerned itself with science and philosophy, Ménage's with literary matters⁸⁴—but Jacob's allegiance was to the Dupuys, as the dedications show. For his part, Naudé declared that he was deeply moved by the *libertas philosophica* to be enjoyed there.⁸⁵ The Dupuys were clearly committed to a range of political and cultural positions, most notably the freedom to engage critically in all fields of learning, the liberties of the Gallican Church, the high status to be afforded to the Parlement and the magistracy, and the need to defend scholarship even if its practitioners were committed to religious beliefs as protestants (as were Joseph Justus Scaliger and Claude Saumaise) or as Catholic priests (Gassendi and Ismaël Bouillau).⁸⁶ These convictions were shared by most of those who frequented the Cabinet, notably

⁸² The classic work on this society, still indispensable for any prosopographical investigation of it, is that of René Pintard, *Le libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du 17^e siècle*, which first appeared in 1943; in its second edition (Geneva: Slatkine, 1983), Pintard added an 'avant-propos' (xiii–xliii) which amended his previous view. See also Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'The myth of Renaissance atheism and the French tradition of free thought', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 6 (1968), 233–44.

⁸³ See Pintard, *Libertinage érudit*, pp. 90–5. The Dupuy brothers became Gardes de la Librairie du Roi in 1645.

⁸⁴ On Mersenne, see Peter Dear, *Mersenne and the learning of the schools*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988; on Ménage, see Gilles Ménage (1613–92), *grammairien et lexicographe*. ed. L. Leroy-Turcan and T.R. Wooldridge, Lyon: SIEHLDA, 1995.

⁸⁵ See his letter to the brothers Du Puy dated 9 April 1645, quoted by Pintard, *Libertinage érudit*, pp. 590–1: 'ita sermonibus illis [i.e. the conversations in the Cabinet des frères Dupuy] afficior, sic me suavissima vestra consuetudo rapit atque delectat; tam alte in mentem meam insinuat libertas illa philosophica.'

⁸⁶ Jacob himself in his dedication to the brothers in BP 1649, 22^v, named the following scholars who received support from the Dupuy brothers: Scaliger, Saumaise, Allacci, Gassendi, Naudé, Tomasini, Jean Besly (a historian), Bouillau, François Blondel (both mathematicians) 'et alii'.

Naudé himself, who had already enshrined them in his previous writings,⁸⁷ but it is not clear how liberal Jacob's own views on these matters were, and his commitment to the *Respublica Christiana* may lead us to wonder whether he wholeheartedly shared the spirit of the Dupuys' gatherings.

The literary, artistic and cultural life of the capital in the late 1630s and 1640s was notably rich, and gave rise to intense social, political and aesthetic debates about the roles of monarchs, ministers, magnates, magistrates and women. Jacob's involvement was principally with the feminist movement in the capital.⁸⁸ As well as women themselves, religious moralists connected with Jacob, such as Louis Machon and Pierre Le Moyne, also wrote in favour of women.⁸⁹ Jacob was an admirer of various feminist writers, including Marie de Gournay, who ran a small salon until her death in 1646.⁹⁰ The publication of the debate between Anna Maria van Schurman and André Rivet (translated into French in 1646 as *Question célèbre, s'il est nécessaire ou non que les filles soient sçavantes*) highlighted the question of female scholarly and literary activity.⁹¹ Jacob had by then already embarked on his Latin bio-bibliography of women writers, which contains a disproportionate number of Italians, reflecting the fact that it was mainly undertaken in Mazarin's library, which was rich in relevant sources.⁹²

These discussions were tinged with Counter-Reformation concerns about the appropriate social activities and reading for women. They reflect a quiet, moralistic approach to the issue of women's role in society, characterised by the Cordelier Jacques Du Bosc's cautious and conservative recommendations in his *Honneste femme* of 1630. Such

⁸⁷ See note 22, and Kristeller, 'Between the Italian Renaissance and the French Enlightenment: Gabriel Naudé as an editor'.

⁸⁸ See Ian Maclean, *Woman triumphant: feminism in French literature, 1610–52*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.

⁸⁹ Machon, whom Jacob mentions as a recent friend ('paucis mihi charum') in the dedication to BP 1646, é1', was the author of a *Discours ou sermon apologetique, en faveur des femmes*, Paris: Thomas Blaise, 1641, 8vo; Pierre Le Moyne, *La Galerie des femmes fortes*; Suzanne de Nervèze, 'Apologie en faveur des femmes', in her *Œuvres spirituelles et morales*, Paris: [Jean Paslé], 1642, 8vo.

⁹⁰ There are several relevant articles in *Montaigne et Marie de Gournay: actes du colloque de Duke 31 mars-1er avril 1995*, ed. Marcel Tetel, Paris: Champion, 1997.

⁹¹ Paris, Rolet Le Duc, 1646, 8vo. The work first appeared in Latin in 1638 at Paris with the title *Amica dissertatio inter nobilissimam virginem Annam Mariam a Schurman et Andream Rivetum de ingenii muliebris ad scientias et meliores literas capacitate*.

⁹² Jacob himself praises Achille de Harlay's sisters for their aspiration to learning in the dedication of BP 1650 to their brother (â2^v). For sources, see below, note 130.

works stand in contrast to a new sort of writing about women which was much more militant and radical in character. Notable in this latter category was the virulently anti-masculine *Femme genereuse qui monstre que son sexe est plus noble, meilleur politique, plus vaillant, plus sçavant, plus vertueux, et plus oeconome que celui des hommes* of 1643, and two lavishly illustrated tomes by Catholic moralists, Jacques Du Bosc's *La femme heroïque* of 1645 (a change in tome and style from his earlier *Femme honneste*) and the Jesuit Pierre Le Moyne's *Gallerie des femmes fortes* of 1647, who, as well as praising heroic exploits by women, expresses unease about the social and political implications of his work.⁹³ The energetic, positive image of women provided by these writers reflects the triumphalist atmosphere arising from the military successes of the Regency of Anne of Austria. Many of these books were dedicated to the Queen Regent or to her fiery niece, la Grande Mademoiselle.⁹⁴ What Jacob made of this strident promotion of feminine interests is not known. Unusually, he does not seem to have produced his *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum* for a patroness.⁹⁵ Its support for female education is expressed through the accumulation of examples, not through argument or the citation of the opinions of approved authorities. Its conservative tenor suggests that Jacob's own preferred role for women was that characterised by a pious contemplative existence, perhaps with a small space allowed for imaginative or devotional writing.

VERSIONS OF BIBLIOGRAPHY

It has already become apparent that Louis Jacob practised a number of different versions of bibliography. Before examining these in turn, it

⁹³ *La Gallerie des femmes fortes*, pp. 153–4, quoted by Maclean, *Woman triumphant*, p. 80: 'je ne dispute pas icy contre l'usage universel; ny ne pretens faire casser d'autorité privée, un Reglement immemorial, et une Politique aussi ancienne que la Nature. Encore moins est-ce mon dessein, de publier un ban, par lequel toutes les Femmes soient appellées à la guerre. Elles se doivent tenir à la distribution que la Nature et le Droit ont faite, et que la Coustume a receuë: et se contenter de la part qui leur a esté assignée dans l'oeconomie et dans le ménage.'

⁹⁴ On the latter figure, see Vincent J. Pitts, *La Grande Mademoiselle at the court of France, 1627–1693*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

⁹⁵ It is possible that Jacob undertook the *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum* for the wife of Achille de Harlay, Jeanne-Marie de Bellière, whose praises he sings in BP 1650, â2°, and in whose household he was later to live.

will be helpful to examine the two general models which informed his enterprises.⁹⁶ The first of these models is the late medieval *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* by Johannes Trithemius (himself the producer of a celebratory account of Carmelite authors), which borrowed much from scholastic pedagogical practices and the earlier *De viribus illustribus* tradition.⁹⁷ This is the model for the combination of eulogy, biography and bibliography practised by many Renaissance writers before Jacob, and it provides us with a defining difference between his annual essays in national bibliography, in which the contents are determined by date and subject alone, and the other genres in which he engages, which are generated by Jacob's commitments to country, Church, religious order, town or province. The university practice of *accessus ad auctorem* is also relevant here. Through it, the lecturer situated his subject according to his moral status, the genre in which he writes, the sources he used, the relation of the text under consideration to his other writings, and the value of his works.⁹⁸ The lecturer's approval of his subject was implicit in the *accessus*, just as it was in the Renaissance tradition of the presentation of authors in prefaces, in which the presenter is expected to 'protect' his subject from criticism.⁹⁹ The practice of eulogy in which Jacob engages is rather different, in that he is not committed to praise all aspects of his subjects, and indeed, he feels at liberty to express his disapproval of them if they are not of the right religious persuasion.

The other model acknowledged by Jacob (and by nearly all other bibliographers of his day) is Conrad Gessner, who was the first to use the word 'bibliotheca' in a metaphorical sense to indicate a virtual

⁹⁶ Like others, he alludes to a much longer history of bibliographical practice stretching back to antiquity, but is guided principally by more recent sources: see *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, pp. 1–81.

⁹⁷ Joannes Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Basle: Johann Amerbach, 1494; *De luminaribus sive de illustribus viris Germaniae*, Mainz, 1495; *Carmelitana bibliotheca*, ed. Peter van Licht, Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1593, 4to; Helmut Zedelmaier, *Bibliotheca universalis und Bibliotheca selecta: das Problem der Ordnung des gelehrten Wissens in der frühen Neuzeit*, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1989. Gessner recognizes Trithemius as a source and model: Nelles, 'Reading and memory in the universal library: Conrad Gesner and the Renaissance book', forthcoming, points out that he is the most cited author in the *Bibliotheca universalis*.

⁹⁸ On *accessus*, see Girolamo Cardano, *De libris propriis*, ed. Ian Maclean, Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2004, Introduction, pp. 13–16, 22–3.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 352: 'Namque in conscribendo libros scopus est, rei veritas: in explicandis autem libris aliorum, auctoris sententia. [...] Quatuor igitur sunt munia boni expositoris: auctoris mentem declarare, demonstrare quod ita sit quod dicitur, amplificare illius doctrinam, et tueri ipsum a calumniatoribus.'

scholarly space, and whose avowed purpose it was to furnish an informative but not selective aid to navigating the world of books and learning, by providing details of the contents of books as well as their title, place of publication, format and date. He clearly promoted the idea of public access to libraries by recording the location of rare books and manuscripts, and believed in providing the easiest means by which readers could find their way to the books they wished to read. Gessner is also the probable source of Jacob's method of compilation by scissors and paste and repeated entries as a primitive method of cross-referencing.¹⁰⁰ His *Bibliotheca universalis* of 1545 is arranged alphabetically by first name, but was accompanied by a separate index of surnames, and supplemented three years later by an arrangement according to subject entitled *Pandectae sive partitiones universales*.¹⁰¹ Gessner's practice contrasts with that of scholars such as the post-Tridentine Jesuit Antonio Possevino, who clearly announce their intention to produce *Bibliothecae selectae* in which (even if the subject is humanist and not religious) the selection is driven by a concern to ensure the reader's orthodoxy and piety and to avoid any threat to his or her salvation.¹⁰²

We may now turn to Louis Jacob's own products. One omission from his very varied practice of bibliography should first be noted: he did not produce subject bibliographies for disciplines such as philosophy, theology, medicine or law, although they existed in his day and he used them extensively.¹⁰³ Such bibliographies were clearly undertaken in the service of pedagogy and professional practice. Their creation was recommended by Gessner because he saw that the history of disciplines was an essential part of the evolution of knowledge and could point

¹⁰⁰ Nelles, 'Reading and memory in the universal library: Conrad Gesner and the Renaissance book', citing Gessner, *Pandectae*, Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1548–9, ff. 19–20.

¹⁰¹ *Bibliotheca universalis*, Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1545, fol.; *Pandectae*; Paul Nelles, 'The library as an instrument of discovery: Gabriel Naudé and the uses of history', in *History and the disciplines: the reclassification of knowledge in early modern Europe*, ed. Donald R. Kelly, Rochester: Rochester University Press, 1997, pp. 41–57.

¹⁰² Zedelmaier, *Bibliotheca universalis und Bibliotheca selecta*, pp. 125–223. A list of Possevino's relevant works is given in *ibid.*, p. 314.

¹⁰³ For medical specialist bibliographies of this period, see Ian Maclean, *Logic, signs and nature in the Renaissance: the case of learned medicine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 55ff.; see also note 97 (for Catholic theology) and the Lutheran Paulus Bolduanus, *Bibliotheca theologica*, Leipzig: Thomas Schürer, 1614, 4to, followed by companion volumes for philosophy (1616) and history (1620). All of these works were known to Jacob: see *Bibliotheca pontificia*, p. 139.

to its future course.¹⁰⁴ Jacob's practice is more static and conservative. He does not seem to have had much to do with the various faculties of University of Paris, although in 1647 he heaps praise upon them for their learning and productivity.¹⁰⁵ The readers which he sets out to serve are closer to the worlds of politics, scholarship and patronage.

Louis Jacob was undoubtedly a compulsive compiler of lists, with a strong attachment to inscriptions of all kinds. He practiced what might be called the *degré zéro* of bibliography, that is, the establishment of lists whose entries are linked by an accidental feature and nothing else: people with the same name (Appendix, 21), with the same rank (Appendix, 11), inscriptions in the same place (Appendix, 46) or gathered on the same journey (Appendix, 47). He was also a man of strong loyalties and a sense of public duty. In the dedication to *Bibliographia Parisina* of 1646 he quotes Cicero's adage about not being born for ourselves, but for our friends, for our country, and for humanity in general.¹⁰⁶ One way to survey his activities in the field of bibliography is to look at the various ends he serves in his different undertakings. It is this, rather than any difference in method, which distinguishes his various essays in bibliography. He states that his general motivation is to engage in a morally respectable task for the use of scholars and the glory of France.¹⁰⁷ He has a strong feeling of the need to commemorate all authors, even those who are only known through pseudonyms or initials (Appendix, 2 and 3), or who are grouped by gender (Appendix, 14), and he has a particular affinity to printers and publishers, both in respect of their products and their own writing (Appendix, 13 and 20). He even recognizes that their commercial interests are legitimate.¹⁰⁸ He treated early printing with veneration, and argued the case for Johannes Mentelin of Strasbourg as the founder of printing, on behalf of his friend Jacques Mentel (a descendant).¹⁰⁹ He expressed his regret

¹⁰⁴ Paul Nelles, 'Reading and memory in the universal library: Conrad Gesner and the Renaissance book', forthcoming.

¹⁰⁵ BP 1647, â1^{r-v}.

¹⁰⁶ BP 1646, â4^r: 'cum itaque non nobis tantum nati sumus (ut inquit Romanus orator) sed partem ortus nostri sibi vendicat communis utilitas [...]'; Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.22. One of his works, the *Description de toutes les Abbayes* [...] (see above, note 7), was inscribed with the words 'mihi non sum natus': see Villiers de Saint-Etienne, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, ii.283.

¹⁰⁷ BP 1645 il¹-2^v.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, pp. 531-5; BGU 1646, â3^v. See also Appendix, 20.

at the low status from which incunabula suffered in his society.¹¹⁰ His first recorded large-scale undertaking shows him to be committed to his country and to its printed monuments (Appendix, 8 and 10). He is clearly also committed to his religion, celebrating the writings of cardinals (Appendix, 6), and accepting the commission from Naudé to produce a *Bibliotheca pontificia*. To the Carmelite Order he shows a particular devotion (Appendix, 1, 32–44), as he does to his place of birth (Appendix, 22; the published *De claris scriptoribus Cabilonensibus*), his province (Appendix, 7 and 50) and his country (Appendix, 8). He commemorates his friends and their possessions (Appendix, 17; the published *Tumulus Gabrielis Naudeae*). Beyond all this, he recognizes the need to serve the new conception of open scholarship promoted by the Dupuys, to make undervalued elements of the past and present visible (notably women's writing; Appendix, 14), and to give access to information about public and private libraries and the location of unpublished materials (the *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*).¹¹¹ All of these undertakings entail comprehensiveness, which on occasions brings their author into conflict with his religious commitments because of the need to record publications which he sees as pernicious.

Some of the versions of bibliography in which he engages invite further comment. As Jacob's posthumous fame rests on his contribution to national bibliography, I shall begin with this. By 1645, it

¹¹⁰ *Menagiana, ou les bons mots, les pensées critiques de Monsieur Ménage*, pp. 181–2: 'Le Pere Jacob [...] a fait un livre des anciennes éditions de tous les livres qui ont été imprimez depuis l'an 1440 que commença l'impression, jusqu'en 1500 inclusivement. Il ne pouvoit souffrir le mépris que l'on fait de ces anciens livres, dont on fait, disoit-il, des fusées, et dont les charcutiers parent leurs boutiques, au lieu qu'on devoit les considerer comme des originaux.' Mentel himself wrote a short pamphlet in 1644 dedicated to Naudé with the title *Brevis excursus de loco tempore et authore inventionis typographiae* (Paris: Antoine Vitré, 4to). The claim came at an apposite time: 1640 was considered to be the year in which the print age began, and in Germany its duocentenary was celebrated, with Strasbourg as the town credited as the site of its emergence. Bernardus Mallinckrodt, *De ortu ac progressu artis typographicæ dissertatio historica*, Cologne: Ioannes Kinchius, 1640; see also Anthony Harper, 'A man of many parts: some thoughts on the career of Christina Brehme, student, soldier, courtier, librarian, burghermeister, poet', in *The German book 1450–1750*, ed., John L. Flood and William A. Kelly, London: The British Library, 1995, pp. 203–12 (208), and Jacqueline Glomski, 'Incunabula Typographiae: seventeenth-century views on early printing', *The Library*, 7.2 (2001), 336–48. It was natural for Jacob to be interested in incunabula; his association with Mentelin made him doubly eager to press the claims of Strasbourg.

¹¹¹ These commitments can operate in tandem. The compulsive compiler is also likely to try out different combinations: the axes of France and popes come together in Appendix, 16, for example.

was already a well-established genre. Jacob himself refers to John Bale (1548), François Grudé de la Croix du Maine and Antoine Du Verdier (1584–5), Antonius Sanders (1624) and Frans Sweerts (1628) as his predecessors.¹¹² In various of his texts, he acknowledges the work of Georg Draut in creating compendia organized by discipline and subject of all the books advertised at the Frankfurt Book fairs from 1564 to 1624.¹¹³ In his *Bibliotheca classica*, Draut saw it as his duty to provide complete disclosure of all available books known to him on any subject. In this he was reflecting the ideological commitment of his alma mater the University of Marburg, to which he dedicated his bibliography, which sought to reconcile opposing philosophical and theological views through a comprehensive survey of the relevant field and the resolution of conflicts within it.¹¹⁴ This is not compatible with Jacob's view, according to which the Roman Catholic Church embodies an orthodoxy which cannot be challenged. He acknowledges (albeit allusively) two other sources: Broer Jansz, a bookseller in Amsterdam, whose *Catalogus universalis* appeared annually between 1640 and 1652, and Claude Doresmieulx's *Bibliographicus belgicus* of 1641–4, from whom Jacob may have borrowed the coinage 'bibliographia' (his friend Naudé had used it before, but in a slightly different sense).¹¹⁵ The choice of the word was significant: it smacked more of recondite learning and scholarship than the word 'bibliotheca'.¹¹⁶ Jacob does not say who urged him to engage in annual national bibliography, but it is of note that Cramoisy was a bookseller like Jansz, and it may be that he was behind the initial project. He certainly used the first edition of the *Bibliographia Parisina* to advertise the full list of books produced by

¹¹² For La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier, see above, note 9; John Bale, *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum summarium*, Wesel [i.e. Ipswich], 1548; Antonius Sanders, *De scriptoribus Flandriae libri tres*, Antwerp: Gulielmus a Tongris, 1624; Frans Sweerts, *Athenae Belgicae*, Antwerp: Gulielmus a Tongris, 1628. This last work contains an *Elenchus praecipuarum Orbis Bibliothecarum* (pp. 45–[58]), which may have prompted Jacob to work on the *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*.

¹¹³ Georg Draut, *Bibliotheca classica*, Frankfurt: Balthazar Ostern, 1625. Jacob also cites the work of Draut's predecessor, Joannes Clessius: *Unius seculi: eiusque virorum litteratorum monumentis tum florentissimi tum fertilissimi: ab anno [...] 1500 ad 1602 [...] elenchus [...] librorum*, Frankfurt, Joannes Saur for Peter Kopf, 1602: see *De claris scriptoribus Cabilonensibus*, p. 29.

¹¹⁴ Barbara Bauer, *Melanchthon und die Marburger Professoren (1527–1627)*, Marburg: Schriften der Universität Marburg, 1999.

¹¹⁵ By *Bibliographia politica* Naudé meant 'writing about politics', not 'writings about politics'.

¹¹⁶ Blum, 'Vor- und Frühgeschichte der nationalen Allgemeinbibliographie', 286.

the Royal Printing House for which he was responsible.¹¹⁷ Like Jansz's initiative, Jacob's was short-lived; it was furthermore incomplete both in its coverage of Paris¹¹⁸ and of the provinces (for which no entries were made between 1647 and 1650). The description *Bibliographia Gallica universalis* was misleading: there were many small provincial presses whose products never appeared in its pages.¹¹⁹

Jacob's enterprise differed most notably from that of his immediate predecessors in its presentation. Jacob's various annual or biennial undertakings between 1645 and 1654 all have a dedicatee. Many contain verses in Latin and Greek languages as well as French, and there are some with prefaces. The dedicatees are not grand magnates, but rather Jacob's colleagues in the world of books and scholarship, as has already been noted. Only one dedication (to the son of the Harlay family) could be interpreted as an appeal for patronage. The paratext and title of these bibliographies are in Latin, although the majority of the contents are in French and published in Paris.¹²⁰ This may be because Latin was still the international language of scholarship, but it also reflects the usage of the Roman Catholic Church,¹²¹ whose interests are strongly represented in the classificatory system Jacob adopts, which has no less than thirteen out of twenty-seven divisions relating to religion.¹²² Draut's sequence of university disciplines is not used here. The division adopted by Jacob is inspired by the classifications in place

¹¹⁷ BP 1645, pp. 106–8.

¹¹⁸ A notable omission from BP 1645 is Mentel's *Brevis excursus de loco tempore et autore inventionis typographiae* (see above note 110), dedicated to Naudé; its second edition is however recorded in BP 1651. The omission of the myriad 'Mazarinades' in the period 1648–52 is also striking: see Charles Moreau, *Bibliographie des Mazarinades*, 3 vols., Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1850–1.

¹¹⁹ After 1651, Jacob ceased to distinguish between Paris and provincial imprints. Of the 3586 entries overall, 3100 have Paris imprints and 486 are from 49 provincial towns.

¹²⁰ Of the 3586 entries, 1211 are in Latin, 2351 in French, and 24 in other languages.

¹²¹ The advisability of using French was recorded in a separate foreword by Rolet Le Duc in BGU 1646, ẽ1°, who attributed the failure of Jacob to elicit a response from provincial booksellers to their inability to understand Jacob's call for collaboration in Latin.

¹²² Jacob's divisions are as follows: Biblia sacra; concilia et decreta; patres; theologia scholastica; theologia positiva et moralis; theologia moralis seu casus conscientiae; theologia polemica seu conciones; theologia ascetica seu libri spirituales; theologia Mariana seu de beata virgine; libri ecclesiastici; iurisprudentia; ius canonicum; ius civile; historia ecclesiastica; historia prophana; historia mixta; philosophia; moralis et politica; medicina; mathematica; philologica; oratoria; poesis sacra; poesis prophana; grammatica; bibliothecarii; haeretici. The only change from the first edition is the promotion of decreta and concilia to second place after 1645.

in ecclesiastical libraries in Paris, especially those of Saint Victor, Saint Magloire and Saint Germain des Près.¹²³ Books by 'haeretici' are listed at the very end, but their inclusion is consistent, however grudgingly, with the practice of the Cabinet of the Dupuy brothers, with its overt toleration of alternative views.¹²⁴ Inside the sections, the listing follows no method (whereas Draut's are broken down further by subject, under which authors are listed alphabetically); it is reasonable to assume that they were compiled in the order in which Jacob found out about them. Nor is any index supplied, as Jacob himself points out: he clearly thought that the interested reader had been given enough guidance to navigate his list.¹²⁵

Whereas Jacob often translates vernacular titles into Latin in his other works, he does not do so here. In comparison to the practice of both Draut and Doresmieulx, who use the genitive of the author's name in their reference to books (followed by title, place of publication, publisher, date and, in the case of Doresmieulx, the number of sheets), Jacob is more passive, usually transcribing the title-page nearly as he found it, and adding only the format and dedicatee. We may take as an example his transcription of the title-page of his own work:

Traicté des plus belles Bibliothèques Publiques et Particulieres
qui ont esté & qui sont à present dans le Monde. Diuisée en deux parties. De-
diée à Monseigneur Paul François de Gondy, Archeuesque de Corinthe
& Coadiuteur de Paris. Composé par le R. Pere Louys Iacob de S.
Charles, Chalonnnois, Religieux Carme. A Paris, chez Rolet Le Duc,
rue S. Jacques, à l'Enseigne de la Iustice. 1644. in 8.

If one compares this with the actual title-page (below), we may note that the typeface has been changed both in respect to capitalisation and italics, some commas and one accent ('ruë') have been omitted, the address of the publisher is different, the words '*PREMIERE PARTIE*' have been left out, and the name of the dedicatee added.

There is some evidence here of lack of attention to detail. The mode of presentation in which the alternation of italic and Roman font is probably made in the interests of legibility, and the importation of the name of the dedicatee is provided as confirmation of the debt of the

¹²³ See Paul Nelles, 'L'érudition ecclésiastique et les bibliothèques de Paris au XVII^e siècle. Etude de catalogue et de classification', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 104-5 (1999), 227-52.

¹²⁴ In BGU 1651, p. 12, 'haeretici' is softened to 'eterodoxi'.

¹²⁵ BP 1649, â2^{r-v}.

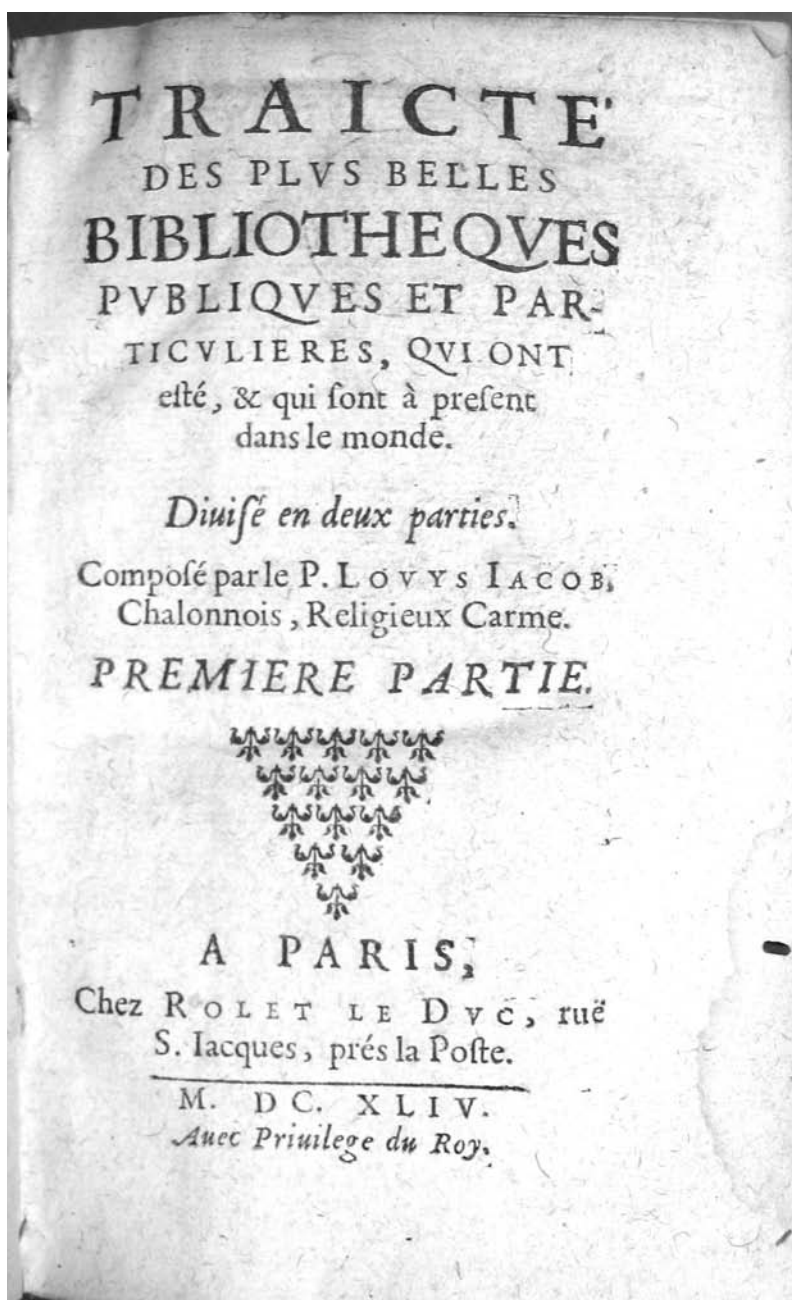


Fig. 9. Louis Jacob, *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, Paris, 1644, title page.

author to that figure (or the reward to be hoped for from him), and constitutes an acknowledgement by Jacob that he lived in a society governed by patronage. Jacob omits all mention of price from the books he lists. In this he follows the practice of his predecessors.

Other versions of bibliography can be dealt with more summarily. The *De claris scriptoribus Cabilonensibus* represents Jacob's contribution to the genre of civic bibliography. The expression of pride in the learning associated with a city was a feature of Italian culture from the late Middle Ages. It found early expression on printed title-pages, where the designation of a scholar by his town of origin became a frequently encountered *epitheton ornans*.¹²⁶ Jacob also shows his loyalty to Chalon-sur-Saône and to Burgundy in other bibliographical undertakings (Appendix, 7 and 20). There is nothing particularly politically charged about the celebration of writers from Chalon-sur-Saône: it is not on a frontier, nor does its population suffer any divided identity. Jacob includes not only those from all social classes born there, and those who died there, but also any others who achieved fame during their lives in connection with the town, through 'arms, letters, sanctity, honours or authority.'¹²⁷ The sources he acknowledges in this genre (as well as tombstones and monuments, which remind us of his initial forays into epigraphy) comprise a miniature bibliography in itself, of whom three—Trithemius, Sanders and Tomasini—held special importance for him.¹²⁸ This set of sources is different from those acknowledged in Jacob's essays on Popes, Cardinals and Carmelites, where together with Sweerts, he singles out Henri-Louis Chasteignier de la Rocheposay and Francesco Maria Torrigio.¹²⁹

There is no surviving preface to Jacob's *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum* to guide us to his views about the undertaking. There seems to be a policy of total inclusion, reminiscent of Conrad Gessner's *Bibliotheca* of 1545, which is cited quite often. Each entry begins with an attribu-

¹²⁶ See Margaret M. Smith, *The title-page: its early development 1460–1510*, New Castle, Del.: the British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2000; Ian Maclean, 'Lusitani periti: Portuguese medical authors and bibliography in the late Renaissance', above, pp. 375–86.

¹²⁷ *De claris scriptoribus Cabilonensibus*, ã3r: 'suiquique urbis aut provinciae viros sive armis, sive literis, aut sanctitate, vel honoribus, auctoritateve conspicuos.'

¹²⁸ The bibliography is given in *ibid.*, ã4^r.

¹²⁹ The authors respectively of *Nomenclator Cardinalium*, Toulouse: Dominique de la Case, 1614, and *De eminentissimis S.R.E. Cardinalibus*, Rome: Stefano Paolini, 1641. The Sweerts work (of which I could find no surviving copy) is entitled *Bibliotheca Pontificum et S.R.E. Cardinalium*.

tion of nationality, lists the subject's writings, comments on her social status, mode of life and religion and ends with all printed references to her that Jacob had been able to locate. From these it is possible to recreate the list of his most frequently used sources,¹³⁰ but he does not seek to determine which sources simply refer to their precedents, which would have saved much repetition. Most titles of vernacular books are translated back into Latin. As the work is not available in printed form, it is pertinent to offer here an example of an entry, with its reference to Hilarion de Coste's erroneous attribution of Catherine Parr's works to Catherine of Aragon:

Catharina Latimera vel parra angla henrici VIII anglorum regis conjux ultima, sapientiae, eruditione, ac ingenii subtilitate illustris. Scripsit anglico sermone/Meditationes psalmorum Lamentation[e]s peccatoris. Supra annotavi in catherina hispana patrem hilarionem Costaeum haec opera ei tribuere, non vero nostrae sed tamen ei adversantur auctores infra citandi.
Decessit anno post Christi nativitatem 1549.

¹³⁰ As well as a MS collection of the letters of famous Italian women in Mazarin's library (see f. 14^v), he frequently cites Francesco Agostino Della Chiesa, *Teatro delle donne letterate*, Mondori: Giovanni Gislandi and Giovanni Tomaso Rossi, 1620; Pietro Paolo Ribera, *Le glorie immortali de' trionfi et heroiche imprese d'ottocento quadrante cinque donne illustri, antiche e moderne dotate di conditione e sciencze segnalate*, Venice: Francesco Deuchino, 1609; Giulio Cesare Capaccio, *Illustrium mulierum et illustrium litteris virorum elogia*, Naples: Giovanni Jacopo Carlini, 1608; Lodovici Domenichi, *Rime diverse d'alcune nobilissime et virtuosissime donne*, Lucca: Vincenzo Busdragho, 1559; Tommaso Garzoni, *Le vita delle donne illustri della Scrittura Sacra*, Venice: Domenico Imberti, 1586; Giuseppe Betussi, *Libro delle donne illustri [...] con un'altra nuova giunta falta* [by Francesco Serdonati] *d'altre donne illustre antique e moderne*, Florence: Francesco Giunti, 1596; Girolamo Borro, *Dialogo del flusso e reflusso del mare, con un ragionamento* [di Teofilio Tilogenio] *delle perfettione delle donne*, Lucca: Vincenzo Busdragho 1561; Lucrezia Marinella, *La nobiltà, et l'eccellenza delle donne, co' difetti, e mancamenti de gli huomini*, Venice: Giovanni Battista Combi, 1621; Lucrezio Bursati, *La vittoria delle donne: nelle quale in sei dialoghi si scuopre la grandezza donnesca e la bassezza virile*, Venice: Evangelista Deuchino, 1621; François Du Soucy, sieur de Gerzan, *Le triomphe des dames*, Paris: chez l'auteur, 1646; Jacques Du Bosc, *La femme heroïque, ou les heroïnes comparées avec les heros en toute sorte de vertus*, 2 vols., Paris: Antoine de Sommaville, 1645; Alexandre Vandenbusche, *Sommaire des dames illustres et vertueuses*, Rouen: Claude le Villain, 1603; Hilarion de Coste, *Eloges et vies des reynes*; Giacomo Filippo Tomasini, *Elogia virorum literis et sapientia illustrium* (which includes the portraits and lives of eight women humanists); Joannes Perez de Moya, *Varia historia de sanctas e illustres mugeres, en toto genero de virtudes*, Madrid: Francisco Sanchez for Francisco Lopez, 1583.

*De ea Balaeus de angl scriptorib./ Eisengreinus in catal.
testium v[eritat]is/ gesner./ possev. in app./ Lucretius Bur-
satus dialogo 4o, de mulierum victoria/ Draudius Biblioth
class./ della chiesa*¹³¹

The manuscript consists in three alphabetical sequences (by Christian name, not surname), giving rise to a few repetitions of names. There is no prefatory material. The bibliography includes works in manuscript and printed writings, works intended for public consumption and those not, and works produced by all types of women. There are one or two prostitutes in the list (ff. 69^r, 93^r), a number of non-Catholics (this fact usually attracting the comment 'proh dolor' from the list's compiler),¹³² subjects who are still alive and subjects who are long dead, one analphabetic woman with a gift for song-writing (f. 169^v), one entry claimed to be of a fictional woman (the legendary Pope Joan: f. 62^r) and astonishingly (for a work in the genre of bio-bibliographical eulogy) two 'anonimae' (f. 11^{r-v}) one of whom was a member of the congregation of repentant prostitutes of Siena, who might have had good reasons as an authoress for not revealing her name.

Of all of Jacob's undertakings, that which comes closest to serving the interests of his friends in the Cabinet of the Dupuy brothers is the *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*. The undertaking began as a set of notes to supplement Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, a work which recommends aspirant owners of libraries to select acquisitions on the basis of the best editions and the most worthy studies in a given area. This is not to be done in the service of censorship or explicit religious ideology, but as an exercise in critical judgement. The privileged space of the library can accommodate all publications, whether produced with government or Church approval or not, and it is particularly important that works encapsulating new knowledge should find their way there, as they are privileged expressions of the *libertas philosophica*. Jacob never comments directly on these issues, and it may be that the talent he had for dealing with only the superficial aspects of books saved him

¹³¹ *Bibliotheca illustrium foeminarum*, f. 40^r. The references are to John Bale, *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum summariū*, Wilhelm Eisengreinus, *Catalogus testium veritatis*, Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1565, Antonio Possevino, *Apparatus ad omnium gentium historiam*, Venice: Giambattista Ciotti, 1597, Bursati, *La vittoria delle donne*, Georgius Draut, *Bibliotheca classica*, Della Chiesa, *Teatro delle donne letterate*.

¹³² This might be seen to invalidate Daniel Padebroch's description of Jacob (cited by Villiers de Saint-Etienne, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, ii.288) as a 'virum factione emancipatum'.

from having to consider them. His preface to the *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques* acknowledges instead a number of more prosaic models of writings concerning the history of libraries.¹³³

CRITIQUE

It will come as no surprise that Jacob records with a touchingly innocent vanity two printed approbations of his efforts in the *Bibliotheca Parisina* of 1649, and left behind a comprehensive citation list of his works which Villiers de Saint-Etienne reproduces.¹³⁴ But his work also attracted criticism, both in his own lifetime and thereafter. The first of these critiques reveals that the history of national bibliography is not a clear linear progression from Jansz to the present. As I have said, Naudé's *Advis* had called for a critical rather than an all-inclusive approach to building up a library. This point is made again forcefully in the first issue of the *Journal des Savants*, whose publication, together with that of the *Transactions of the Royal Society* and the *Acta Eruditorum*, marks the beginnings of the modern scientific journal. In January 1665, its editor, Denis de Sallo, set out a programme which expressed a very different conception of the role of an annual bibliography in support of scholarship, and implicitly repudiates Jacob's practice. Recent publications, Sallo averred, would indeed figure in his annual review, but they would encompass the whole of Europe, not just France, and they would be accompanied by a critical account of their contents. Even the genre of eulogy was subtly altered: recently deceased thinkers whose work had achieved recognition in their own day would be remembered in a memoir which would point out the significance of their work, and not just provide a calendar of their published and unpublished writings.¹³⁵

¹³³ *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, ã5–6.

¹³⁴ *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, ii.2 285–8: 'quos noverit Ludovicus Jacob Authores ipsum citantes aut laudantes'.

¹³⁵ *Journal des Savants*, Paris, Jean Cusson, 1665, 'L'Imprimeur au lecteur': 'Premièrement [il sera composé] d'un Catalogue exact des principaux livres qui s'imprimeront dans l'Europe. Et on ne se contentera pas de donner les simples titres, *comme ont fait jusques à present la plupart des Bibliographes*: mais de plus on dira dequoy ils traitent, et à quoy ils peuvent estre utiles. Secondement, quand il viendra à mourir quelque personne celebre par sa doctrine et par ses ouvrages, on en fera l'Eloge, et on donnera un Catalogue de ce qu'il aura mis au jour, avec les principales circonstances de sa vie.' [my italics].

Critique in a rather different sense followed later. In his *Jugemens des sçavans* of 1685, Adrien Baillet wrote an assessment of Jacob, whom he described as energetic and painstaking, but as 'lacking that element of judgement which gives delicacy to taste and finesse to discernment.' His knowledge of books and of the items of news worthy of interest in the Republic of Letters was 'superficial', although his talent for finding out about them was remarkable.¹³⁶ He also accused the Carmelite of vanity (in both senses of the word), citing his project of drawing up a list of all authors with the name of Jacob or Jacques (Appendix, 21). Half a century later, the bio-bibliographer Jean-Pierre Niceron accused Jacob of 'an insane urge to engage in citation' in order to create the effect of erudition, without bothering to check whether the repeated citations carry any new information; he refers to the example of an entry in the *De claris scriptoribus Cabilonsibus* dedicated to Claude Robert, which is followed by four pages of references adding nothing to our knowledge of the subject.¹³⁷ He also accused Jacob of naivety and lack of critical judgment in listing libraries in Paris without himself checking whether their contents were worthy of mention. We might now be inclined to be more tolerant, and recognize that Jacob's lists represent a necessary first step in any enterprise of this sort, and that bibliographers do not have to be interpretative historians as well; but that would not exonerate him from the charge of being at best a very poor proof-reader, or at worst an unthinking transcriber of data. The errata pages in the *Bibliotheca pontificia* and the *De claris scriptoribus Cabilonsibus*, and the much longer appendix in the *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques* (an 'ouvrage plein de fautes qui sont arrivées dans l'impression', as Jacob himself note)¹³⁸ do not reveal their full extent of the errors to be found there. Jacob seems to have found particular difficulty in transcribing German and English names, but that in itself cannot excuse him from spelling the same town or scholar in various ways.¹³⁹ We may compare this casual approach to accuracy with his

¹³⁶ *Jugemens des sçavans*, vol. ii.1, Paris: Antoine Dezallier, 1685, p. 98: 'car il étoit également laborieux et curieux, et il ne luy manquoit presque que cette partie du jugement qui fait la délicatesse du goût et la finesse du discernement, ayant d'ailleurs une adresse et une intrigue toute particulière pour découvrir et connoître superficiellement les livres et les nouvelles curieuses de la République des Lettres.'

¹³⁷ Jean-Pierre Niceron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la République des lettres*, vol. 40, Paris: Briasson, 1739, p. 96 ('une fureur de citer').

¹³⁸ *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, è2^r.

¹³⁹ E.g. *ibid.*, Heildeberg (pp. 192, 199, 200) Hildeberg (p. 197); Aberne, Aberdene

faulty transcription of title-pages (above, p. 19) and the failure to remove grammatical errors from them (see 'escrits' above, p. 3) Jacob even commits misspellings in mentioning the person who will later become his patron, here referred to as 'Achilles de Harlay' and 'Achilles du Harlay' in the same paragraph; and he misrecords the name of his colleague M. Bruneau, the Librarian of Gaston d'Orléans, as 'Brunier'.¹⁴⁰ Such errors might be laid at the door of a compositor who was misreading Jacob's handwriting, but his most spectacular errors are worse even than this. As Nicéron notes, he creates a German anti-papal author with the name of 'Articulus Smacaldus' in the *Bibliotheca pontificia* by failing to see that it is a reference to one of Luther's Schmalkald Articles of 1537.¹⁴¹ His tour de force, however, is in the *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques* in which he conflates the Cathedral city of Canterbury with the University City of Cambridge by misunderstanding the adjective 'Cantabrigiensis'.¹⁴² One is not left with the impression of great precision of mind, or even of a great desire to achieve accuracy outside the French and Italian spheres of which he had direct knowledge and to which he felt strong loyalty.

CONCLUSIONS

By the mid-eighteenth century, the number of inventories such as the ones Jacob produced had risen dramatically throughout Europe. To cite but one example, Diogo Barbosa Machado, who set out to give an account of all Portuguese writers in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana* of 1741–9, was able to call upon over five hundred printed finding-lists based on

(both p. 305); Ioannes Antonius Vander-Lynden (p. 29) Ioannes Antonides Vander-Linden (p. 229).

¹⁴⁰ *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, p. 514; [Ddd2^e 'fautes principales'].

¹⁴¹ *Bibliotheca pontificia*, pp. 455–6: 'Articulus Asmacaldus Germanus edidit De primatu et potestate Papae librum.' The error is all the more strange in that further down the same page there is the entry: 'Burchardus Harbartus, Theses de 3. et 4. Smalcald. Confessionis articulis, Lipsiae anno 1609 in 4.'. Baillet *Jugemens des sçavans*, ii.1.98 also claims that he describes Catholic authors as protestant and vice versa.

¹⁴² *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, Aaa4^v [correcting *ibid.*, p. 269]: 'Canterbury est une ville tres-recommendable, tant pour son siege Archiepiscopal, que pour son ancienne Université, laquelle possède une magnifique Bibliothèque. Lisez. Cambrige [sic] est une ville tres-recommendable, pour son ancienne Université, laquelle possède une Bibliothèque publique, &c. Je donne *advis que j'ay confondu Cambrige [sic] avec Canterbury, et que depuis la page 269. jusqu'à 286. où il se treuvera Canterbury lisez Cambridge.*'

towns, nations, religious orders, and professions, not to speak of the six unpublished general bibliographies of Portugal which he had at his disposal.¹⁴³ What is Jacob's place in the history of these kinds of bibliography? Such a history may not be a progressive narrative leading from Gessner to what is now recognized as best practice (accuracy, completeness, ease of access to data, consistency of transcription, and no doubt much else). I have noted one important discontinuity in this history: the introduction of critical comment, mooted by Naudé in his *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* and made explicit by Denis de Sallo in the *Journal des Savants*. Jacob did not exercise critical judgement in recording books, and in that sense he is closer to modern practice, but he did express his religious parti-pris, unlike his predecessor Draut, and there are other aspects of his undertakings that are unsatisfactory when looked at from a modern perspective. He did not check all his entries sufficiently, was not consistent in his practice of transcription, was capable of misunderstanding and carelessness, and neglected to provide multiple means of access to information. Some of his predecessors and some of his successors were guilty of a number of these failings, but few of all of them. He maintained a residual loyalty to Latin, and on occasions preferred it to the vernacular, translating titles and other details into the language of the Church. But he did show some instincts which are shared by subsequent bibliographers: he venerated early printing, and was careful to record the details of printers and publishers. He also was ready to generate specialised lists which served various interests in his own day.

How far was Louis Jacob a product of his times? He was able to benefit from a period of cultural politics in France which fostered a lively society with relatively free exchange of information in both scribal and printed forms, an official linguistic policy of support for the French language, and governmental subsidies for the promotion of scholarship which benefited the book trade. He played his part both in an energetic religious sector defending the interests of ecclesiastical scholarship and Latin in its diverse forms, and its counterpart, an equally vigorous society of learned men encompassing various interests through which they expressed their desire for philosophical freedom. He made a modest and conservative contribution to the promotion of certain rights for

¹⁴³ Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 4 vols, Lisbon: Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca, 1741–9, i.b2^o ff.

women during a female Regency. When seen against this background, the volumes of *Bibliographia Parisina* and *Bibliographia Gallica universalis* look less like the visionary model for modern national bibliography than a response to the heightened prestige of scholarly instruments in the 1640s, as their encapsulation in a flurry of dedications, forewords and liminary poems shows.

Jacob portrayed himself as the servant of the world of books, but what he was exactly a servant of was not always clear. His national bibliography was unable to be comprehensive because he did not understand the reluctance of provincial publishers to reveal the extent of their piracy of Parisian books. Both here and in his other lists, he was unable to discard a partisan distinction between orthodoxy and heresy. His openness to French did not extend to his bio-bibliography of women writers or Chalonais authors, where all vernacular references were translated back into Latin, although one might argue that this was done to make them accessible to an international learned readership. His celebration of women writers reveals implicitly a very conservative attitude to their role in society. Against all this, his all-inclusive *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques* and his national bibliographies served an international interest and an anti-authoritarian ideology probably without him being fully aware of it. The author of this corpus of bibliography comes across to us now as a cautious *savant* who would have been a natural supporter of the establishment in any sphere, but whose association with Naudé and other *esprits libres* (if not *esprits forts*) took him into areas about which he might well have felt some unease.

Jacob's resourcefulness as a compiler of inventories is however undoubted, and if he is to be remembered for this, we should perhaps not forget the ones which are purest in the sense of having least involvement with the values of the society of his day, and most to do with a disinterested *fureur d'accumuler*. In producing these, he resembles Charles Pooter with the paint-pot, choosing a variety of targets which all share the feature of being easy of access. One of these was a 'collection of eulogies of all the famous people who were called either Jacques or Jacob' (Appendix, 21).¹⁴⁴ This is an example of the *degré*

¹⁴⁴ Adrien Baillet, *Jugemens des sçavans*, vol. 1, Paris: Antoine Dezallier, 1685, 8vo, pp. 115–6: 'le Père Jacob a fait un Rec[ue]il d'éloges des illustres Jacques et Jacobs.' He is said to have been motivated to do this out of 'amour-propre'. It is possible that religious figures believed that their name in religion might attract special grace from the saint who first held it, and that there might therefore be a common link between

zéro of bibliography in a certain way, as there can be nothing useful to be gained by such an assembly of names who have been brought together for no reason other than that they share an accidental feature, as would be a list of red-haired Dutch cricket commentators, or theologians with wooden legs living on Anglesey. Close to Jacob's time, Michel de Montaigne records in his *Essais* having played a party game in which those participating had to collect examples of words which could be used of people or objects normally seen as contraries, such as 'Sire', a form of address appropriate both to a monarch and to a peasant. These he dubbed 'vain subtleties', yet he was able to use them to examine some moral, political and religious issues significant in his time.¹⁴⁵ Even if some of the lists that Louis Jacob compiled were as apparently unproductive as Montaigne's game, and as indiscriminate in their targets as Charles Pooter's brush, not all the results were trivial. They gave his contemporaries and their successors finding-tools which they could use for purposes of their own, and by their very existence helped expose the ideological underpinnings of bibliographical activity which are often (but not always) invisible to the worthy labourer who produces them.

all those who shared the name; perhaps that is what Philippe Labbe felt, who created a bibliography of all Philips (*ibid.*).

But this cannot apply to a surname given at birth.

¹⁴⁵ Montaigne, *Essais*, ed. Pierre Villey, Paris: Quadrige/PUF, 1967, pp. 311–13 (i.54, 'Des vaines subtilités').

APPENDIX

There follows a short-title bibliography of Louis Jacob's unpublished finding-lists ('manuscripta edenda') in Cosme de Villiers de Saint-Etienne, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, ii.277–83.¹⁴⁶ I have omitted historical writing and eulogies [some of which are extracted from finding-lists], and kept the same numbers as those given to the works by Villiers de Saint-Etienne. The citation of these MSS by Philippe Labbe is given from Antoine Teissier, *Catalogus auctorum qui librorum catalogos, vitas aut orationes funebres scriptis consignarunt*, Geneva: Samuel de Tournes, 1686, p. 224. I have retained the distinction between italic and Roman in the original.

1. *Bibliotheca Carmelitana, in qua agitur de Scriptoribus Ordinis Carmelitarum, qui claruerunt dumtaxat ab anno 1141 ad nostra tempora.*
This still existed in a 'truncated' form at the Carmelite Convent des Billettes in 1752.
2. *Bibliotheca Personata, ceu, Catalogus Librorum cujuscumque facultatis, eruditionis et Linguarum; quorum Authorum nomina vel mutantur, vel invertuntur, vel falso supponuntur; Libris XIX distincta in-folio, pag. 218.*
Extant in 1752 in the Couvent des Billettes. Superseded by Vincentius Placcius, *Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum*, Hamburg: Liebernickel, 1708.
3. *Bibliotheca adoptiva, in qua agitur de variis Auctoribus Orphanis, qui non habent neque Patrem, neque Matrem, neque nomen, neque cognomen, neque Patriam, neque honorem [...] quorum solum leguntur Litterae Elementares, aut Majusculae [...] In parvo folio.*
Less than four pages extant in 1752.
4. *Bibliotheca omnium Editionum Bibliorum, usque ad annum 1500.*
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*; whereabouts not known in 1752.
5. *Maxima Sacrae Scripturae Bibliotheca, in qua agitur de omnibus Sacrae Scripturae Interpretibus omnium Nationum et linguarum, seu Catholicis, seu Haereticis quorum nomina signo crucis signantur.*
Only the title-page was extant in 1752.

¹⁴⁶ In addition, there are several relevant 'aliena scripta' listed in the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, ii.284 which were not composed by Jacob, but published by him:

5. *Catalogus Abbatum et Abbatissarum Benedictionis Dei, Ordinis Cisterciensis, Diocoesi Lugduniensis.*

6. *Catalogus Abbatum Caroli-Loci, Ordinis Cisterciensis in Diocoesi Silvanectensi.* Both of these were printed in Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, *Gallia Christiana*, Paris: widow of Edmond Perpigné, 1656, vol. 4.

7. *Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Caroli de Montchal, Archiepiscopi Tolosani*, in Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca mss librorum*, pp. 191–206. Montchal frequented the Cabinet of the Dupuy brothers.

Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae PP. Carmelit[arum] Escalceat[orum] Claromontensium, in Arvernia, *ibid.*, p. 206.

6. *Bibliotheca Cardinalitia*.
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: whereabouts not known in 1752.
7. *Bibliotheca Burgundica*: in qua agitur de omnibus Burgundiae scriptoribus.
Extant as a 'macilentus et informis index' in 1752.
8. *Bibliotheca Historiographorum Franciae*.
Cited by Labbe.
10. *Bibliotheca Gallica universalis in tomos 4 distincta*, in folio.
See above, p. 404. Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: not extant in 1752.
11. *Bibliotheca regia, id est imperatorum, imperatricum, regum et reginarum, qui libris editis claruerunt*. Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* and Labbe; not extant in 1752.
12. *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum, hoc est, de omnibus auctoribus, qui Bibliothecas sive Catalogos Auctorum virorum illustribus et librorum ediderunt*.
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* and Labbe; not extant in 1752.
13. *Bibliotheca Antiquarum editionum, hoc est, ab incunabulis Typographiae usque ad annum 1500 inclusive*.
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* and Labbe; not extant in 1752.
14. *Bibliotheca Illustrium foeminarum, quae Libris editis claruerunt*.
See above, pp. 416–17. Whereabouts not known to Villiers de Saint-Etienne.
15. *Bibliothecae Mss. Parisienses, in quibus agitur de omnibus Manuscriptis, quae in Bibliothecis Parisiensibus extant*.
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: whereabouts not known in 1752.
16. *Bibliotheca Pontificia Gallica, in qua agitur de Romanis Pontificibus, de S.R.E. Cardinalibus, Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, et Ordinum Religiosorum Generalibus, natione Gallis*.
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: whereabouts not known in 1752.
17. *Bibliotheca Mentelliana Parisina, hoc est, Catalogus Librorum omnium Bibliothecae Viri clarissimi Mentelli Doctoris Medici Parisiensis. et publici ibidem Professoris, in-folio*.
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*.
18. *Bibliotheca Augustiniana*,
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: whereabouts not known in 1752. See above, p. 413.
19. *De claris scriptoribus Aeduensibus Lib. X*.
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* and Labbe; presumed to be in the *Bibliothèque Royale* in 1752. See above, p. 412.
20. *De claris Scriptoribus Typographis*.
Possibly the work referred to as *De vera origine Artis Typographicae* by Jean Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*, Amsterdam and The Hague: David Mortier and Pierre Husson, 1714–30, xi.356.

21. *De claris Scriptoribus, qui Jacob cognominantur, Libellus.*
See above, p. 441.
22. *Bibliotheca Cabilonensis, in qua exhibentur quam plurima Diplomata ad Historiam Civitatis Cabilonensis spectantia: ex Camera Computorum Parisiensi, et variis Archiviis desumpta.*
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: whereabouts not known in 1752.
- 27–31. *Catalogus alphabeticus Foundationum omnium Conventuum Carmelitar[um] utriusque [Sexus] et Observantiae, et Excalceatorum.*
This still existed in a bound form (with additional sheets) at the Carmelite Convent des Billettes in 1752.
32. *De Viris pietate et sanctitate Illustribus totius ordinis Carmelita[rum] libri XXII.*
Probably no more than a list of 24 saints mentioned in the Breviary, according to Villiers de Saint-Etienne.
33. *Catalogus Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, et Abbatum Ordin[is] Carmelit[arum].*
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: whereabouts not known in 1752.
34. *Catalogus Magistrorum Priorum Generalium Ordin[is] Carmelit[arum] antiquae regularis Observantiae.*
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: whereabouts not known in 1752.
35. *Catalogus Magistrorum Vicariorum General[ium] Ordin[is] Carmelitarum] antiqui regular[i]s Obser[v]antiae.*
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: whereabouts not known in 1752.
36. *Catalogus Magistrorum Procurator[um] General[ium] Ord[inis] Carmelitarum antiqui regularis Observantiae.*
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: whereabouts not known in 1752.
37. *Catalogus Vicariorum Generalium Carmelit[arum] Congregationis Mantuanae.*
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: whereabouts not known in 1752.
38. *Catalogus Praepositorum Generalium Carmelit[arum] Excalceatorum Congregationis Italicae, S. Eliae ab anno 1600 ad annum 1668.*
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: whereabouts not known in 1752.
39. *Catalogus Vicariorum Gener[alium] Carmelit[arum] Congregationis Albiensis.*
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: whereabouts not known in 1752.
40. *Catalogus omnium capitulorum Generalis Ordinis Carmelitarum.*
Cited by Jacob in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*: only the day, year and place of the election (between 1141 and 1666) are recorded, according to Villiers de Saint-Etienne.

41. *Catalogus Priorum Provincialium Provinciae Angliae.*
A 'nudus index' containing errors, according to Villiers de Saint-Etienne.
42. *Catalogus omnium Carmelit[arum] Parisiensium doctorum.*
43. *Catalogus Carmelitarum Lectorum magni Collegii Parisiensis.*
44. *Catalogus Priorum Provincialium Carmelit[arum] Provincialium Narbonae, Germaniae inferioris, Turoniae et Belgii.*
46. *Collectio omnium Inscriptionum Graecarum et Latinarum, quae habentur in Ecclesia S. Martini de Montibus Romae,*
In the possession of Cardinal Francesco Barberini: see above, p. 406.
47. *Collectio quam plurimum insignium Epitaphiorum, sive in Gallia, sive in Italia repertorum.*
'Illam amisit Ludovicus Jacobus Romae anno 1639, in Catacumbis S. Sebastiani, ipso die S. Sebastiani, dum eas perlustraret.' See above, p. 406.
50. *Collectio variorum Diplomatum ad Historiam Burgundiae spectantium, e Camera computorum Parisiensi desumptorum.*
58. *Calendarium Papale et Athenaeum.*
An imperfect MS owned by the Carmelite Emmanuel Charpy.
59. *Catalogus interpretum Epistolarum Canoniarum S. Petri.*
A version is cited by Louis Jacob in his *Bibliotheca pontificia*, pp. 179–83.

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